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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,  
OR  
*CRITICAL JOURNAL:*

FOR  
JANUARY, 1861. . . . APRIL, 1861.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

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JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

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VOL. CXIII.

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS, LONDON  
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK,  
EDINBURGH.

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1861.

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PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.  
NEW-STREET, LONDON.

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# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1861.

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N<sup>o</sup>. CCXXIX.

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- ART. I.—1. *Lights and Shadows of Church Life in Australia, including Thoughts on some Things at home.* By T. BINNEY. London: 1860.
2. *The Speech of Lord Elbury in the House of Lords, 8th May 1860, on the Revision of the Liturgy.* 2nd thousand. London: 1860.
3. *Liturgical Purity our Rightful Inheritance.* By J. C. FISHER, M.A., of the Middle Temple. 2nd edition. London: 1860.
4. *The Liturgy and the Dissenters.* By the Rev. ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Trotters-cliffe. 3rd edition. London: 1860.
5. *Thoughts on the Liturgy. The Difficulties of an honest and conscientious Use of the Book of Common Prayer, considered as a loud and reasonable call for the only remedy, Revision.* By the Rev. PHILIP GELL, M.A., some time Rural Dean and Minister of St. John's, Derby. London: 1860.
6. *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Norwich, from the Rev. C. N. WODEHOUSE, M.A., Canon of Norwich.* London: 1860.
7. *Church Questions. Practical Methods for the Arrangement of an abridged Morning Service, &c. &c.* By the Rev. C. ROBINSON, LL.D., Incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Blackburn. London: 1860.
8. *Liturgical Revision illustrated and vindicated on Orthodox Principles.* By the Rev. C. H. DAVIS, M.A. London: 1859.
9. *Thoughts on the proposed Revision of the Liturgy.* A VOL. CXIII. NO. CCXXIX.

*Charge delivered by RICHARD WHATELY, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, 14th and 15th of June, 1860.* London: 1860.

10. *A Charge delivered at the Triennial Visitation of the Diocese, September and October, 1860.* By CHARLES, Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: 1860.

11. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, at his Fourth Visitation, September, 1860.* By ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff. London: 1860.

12. *Revision of the Liturgy. Five Discourses, with an Introduction.* By CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and late Head Master of Harrow School. London: 1860.

THE book which stands at the head of the foregoing list is a remarkable one, not only for the intrinsic interest of the matter which forms its principal topic--the Church of the Future--but on account of the parties between whom the correspondence originated, the theatre on which it was carried on, and the spirit which was manifested throughout the discussion.

The Rev. Thomas Binney, the well-known Independent minister of the Weigh-house Chapel in London, having been laid aside for a while by ill health, was induced in 1858 to make a voyage to the Australian colonies, where he remained for about a twelvemonth. The presence of so eminent a preacher naturally excited a feeling of regret among the Churchmen of those colonies that ecclesiastical differences should prevent him from ministering in their congregations; and hoping that restrictions of this kind might be somewhat relaxed under Colonial laws, many lay members of the Anglican Church in South Australia, and at the head of them the Governor himself, petitioned the Bishop of Adelaide that Mr. Binney might be invited to occupy the pulpit of some of the episcopal clergy. To this request the Bishop declared himself unable to accede. But so far was he from withholding his sympathy from the memorialists, that he had already, of his own spontaneous impulse, addressed a letter to Mr. Binney, in which he set forth elaborately and at considerable length his own views and proposals for a fusion of the 'Protestant Evangelical Churches;' and invited the co-operation of his correspondent in promoting so desirable an end--invited at least the friendly interchange of sentiments and suggestions with the view to eventual co-operation. The subject thus started engaged a large portion of public attention for some time in the Australian colonies, both among Churchmen and Dissenters; and the volume before us shows us to what issues the discussion was brought.

This book is principally composed of the Bishop's letter, mentioned already, and a minute examination of it by Mr. Binney in reply, embodied in an address delivered before the 'Tasmanian Congregational Union,' over which he was invited to preside. These two documents are followed by letters exchanged between the principals in the discussion, and a few supplementary papers, the most remarkable of which is a letter addressed to Mr. Binney by the Governor of South Australia, Sir Richard McDonnell.

The controversy, as we have said, is one of the deepest interest; and it is carried on, not only with very high ability and remarkable clearness of statement, but with a courtesy, a generosity, and a spirit of large-minded charity which it is most agreeable to observe. We speak of the temper of the principal controversialists; for there is not lacking evidence, even in this volume, and doubtless there were many more instances on the spot, of the existence and utterance of very different feelings on either side. But as far as the principals are concerned, the temper and tone maintained throughout is most creditable to both of them; and if we add, especially to the Bishop, this is because the circumstances of his position imposed upon him greater difficulties than those which beset his correspondent. The topics upon which the Bishop enlarges most earnestly, are the advantages, the blessings, and the duty of union between professing Christians -- union outward as well as inward; the necessity of mutual concessions to insure this end; and the new and favourable opportunity which a colony presents for effecting it. The terms on which he proposes to conclude the desired union are,

A. The acceptance in common by the Evangelical Churches of the orthodox creed.

B. The use in common of a settled Liturgy, though not to the exclusion of free prayer.

C. An Episcopate freely elected by the United Evangelical Churches.

Mr. Binney, on his side, maintains that, however beautiful such a dream may be, it is a dream only, hopeless of realisation. And, justifying in great measure what he feels to be inevitable, he urges the unsatisfactory nature of the contemplated union, which after all would be a nominal union only, and would involve embarrassments which all parties at present are able to keep clear of. How, for instance, could it be expected that the ministers of other denominations should avow or imply their present *status* to be unauthorised and schismatical—an avowal which would tacitly be made by accepting their commission, or

a renewal of it, from the hands of a bishop? Or that those denominations should so far waive their own distinctive points of doctrine, as to make themselves, by a formal act of union, responsible for what they believe to be grave and noxious errors in others? Would it not be at once a more practicable and a more excellent way to accept the present state of things as inevitable, and then proceed to make the best of it? to look upon a diversity of denominations as a necessity following from the imperfect spiritual apprehensions of men, a necessity designed perhaps to minister to the diverse needs which that imperfection produces; while by co-operation in good works, and by acts of joint worship, Christians, whether in their individual or their corporate capacity, recognise the other branches of the universal Church; and wait for time and Providence to evolve the conditions of a more complete union, whenever that shall be possible?

Such are the visions of the Church of the Future, in which the Bishop and the Nonconformist minister respectively indulge; and to the realisation of which, on either side, they show the first steps. Both prospects are delightful to contemplate. Either of them is a cheering contrast to the actual state of things at home or abroad. And the boundary lines of either vista converge perhaps eventually to the same point. But it is obvious that at first starting they are widely divergent. At this divergence the Australian controversy joins issue; and at this issue it is left. Will either vision prove to be prophetic? and if so, which of them will it be?

We cannot but think that in Australia at least the best prospect which the circumstances of the case allow us to entertain is that which is indicated by Mr. Binney. The predominance of the Episcopal Church, imperilled even in England, is at present in Australia virtually lost. When we read the statement of the Governor himself, that of the Protestant denominations in South Australia 'the Church of England, with all its old associations and prestige, only numbered as its members one-eighth' of the inhabitants in 1858\*; while in one of the sister colonies the result, taken from authentic Government statistics, is shown to be this:— 'At a specified time the Episcopalians are one-fifth of the Protestant population; a little time after, some of the other bodies are found to have doubled, while the Church has gone back; and yet, during that period, the Immigration Reports show that the accessions to it, according to the tabular classification of arrivals in the colony, exceeded by nearly a hundred per cent. those received by all

\* Lights and Shadows, Appendix, p. 80.

‘the other evangelical denominations put together;’\* when we consider such facts as these, taking place in a country where the Church has already its full organisation, how is it possible to suppose that the sects can be absorbed after the fashion proposed by the Bishop of Adelaide? And if, while other religious bodies are drawing closer the bonds of friendly recognition and respect, strengthening themselves and each other by harmonious intercommunion, the Church of England shall stand aloof, relying on its Apostolical constitution, its exclusive traditional claims, and the dignity reflected upon it from the mother country, is it not likely that its influence, instead of growing, will wane at a still decreasing rate; and that it will come to be regarded, like the Roman Catholic Church, not as a possible focus of genera’ union, but rather as a hindrance to that union? By waiving its exclusive pretensions in some measure, the Church of England may very possibly, through its learning, its social rank, and its venerable associations, preserve the first place of dignity, even in Australia, and make its influence widely felt as the most trustworthy depository of a sober and elevated Christianity; but to expect to be recognised as the controlling centre of the other religious communities, and to begin by imposing upon them its discipline and traditional forms — this is manifestly and utterly impossible.

At home, however, we think that the case is widely different. Not that here, either, the National Church can look to absorb the other denominations, still less to suppress them. Every year that passes is raising the position of some of these denominations in their social and ecclesiastical status, as well as in political importance; and this process will be accelerated by the reflex influence of the British colonies, even as it has been and still is by the influence of the great kindred American nation. Still there is far more hope, we are persuaded, that in some measure the Church of the Future may follow the course which the Bishop indicates, in our own land, than in the dioceses over which he and his colonial brothers preside. And this for two obvious reasons.

First, because in the British colonies the claim of the Church of England to be considered the National Church is (as we

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\* Appendix, p. 120. This, no doubt, is given as an extreme instance; and there is another side to the case. We observe that in a lecture on ‘The Church of England in Australia,’ delivered at Melbourne in July last, by the Bishop of Sydney, that prelate estimates the churchmen of the diocese of Melbourne at from one third to one half of the population, while in Tasmania he claims nearly two thirds.

must remind our southern fellow-countrymen) a divided claim. Anglicans must not be allowed to forget that in the eye of the law, and in the eye of all who have not prejudged the case, the Church of Scotland stands upon precisely the same footing as the Church of England in those new communities which own a common parentage. Every claim to consideration and deference which can be urged by the one Church belongs by exactly the same title to the other also.

And secondly, because, apart from this conflict of claims, the position of a National Church in the old country is one which does not and cannot reproduce itself in a colony. So far are we from recognising with the Bishop of Adelaide the greater advantages accruing to the Episcopal Church from its colonial independence, that for the practical purposes of comprehensive attraction, we unhesitatingly maintain the very contrary. An ancient established ecclesiastical system has unparalleled opportunities for exerting such attraction, if it will but use them wisely, frankly, and generously. Granted that its position exposes it to some odium, bringing it into direct contact with those who object on principle to any alliance between Church and State, yet in the eyes of the vast majority it has claims on their respect and veneration which they cannot fail to admit. Untroubled by the theories of Separationists on the one side, or of the maintainers of Apostolical succession on the other, the great mass of educated men regard a National Church as an inheritance transmitted to them from past ages, an instrument well adapted for effecting a sacred and useful end. They feel that they are not left to decide an open question. Whether theoretically right or not, the Church is at any rate a deeply-rooted and cherished institution, which it would be mischievous to subvert, and which every consideration of justice and good policy persuades them to turn to the best possible account. Originated and preserved by the providence of God, bound up with the whole course of the national history, intertwined with the laws and habits and language of the people, associated with every territorial division, actively present in every locality, and connected more or less with the personal experience of every individual, it is a mighty power existing in the land, the removal of which would amount to a disastrous revolution. The sternest champion of Anti-State-Church theories would be cautious how he destroyed at once so large a portion of our social and political framework; while the great majority of statesmen and citizens see in it a beneficent and invaluable instrument of good; for all the faults of which, as set forth by its bitterest opponents, the remedy is not abolition, but reform.

But then, on the part of the Church itself, there must be a corresponding readiness to accept and discharge the duties of its vocation, generously as well as faithfully. If it refuses to be expansive, it ceases to be national. If it be unable or unwilling to obey the organic laws of the nation's spiritual development, the confession of such inability (on whatever plea it is excused or even justified) is at any rate an abdication of its national character,—an admission that its claims can be no longer maintained, or no longer at least in their exclusiveness.

That the National Churches of England and Scotland have fallen far short in actual fact of what they profess to be, is a matter patent and confessed. Still that is no reason for giving up the hope or the effort to bring them nearer to so desirable an end. We shall confine the observations which we now propose to make to the prospects of the Church of England; both because it is the more hopeful subject of the two, since the lamentable disruption of the Scottish Kirk, and also because it is in England more especially that the topic is now engaging the serious attention of the community.

Nearly fifty years have passed since we raised our voice to warn the Church of England of the unnecessary disadvantages she exposed herself to.\* Independently of the removal of scandals and abuses, it was then predicted in this journal, that unless the Church consented to adapt itself more to the wants and necessities of the public, the Establishment would not live out another half century. If the fears which were then expressed have not been realised, it is because such remonstrances have in large measure been attended to. The Church has assumed far more of that popular character which was required of her. But is it possible to look forward to another half century without somewhat similar apprehensions? If the warning signs of the times were neglected, we should be forced to repeat our prophecy. We are deeply convinced that a measure of reform will be needed to avert the danger a second time. And if we look forward now with greater hope, it is only because we see a far greater willingness to proceed with the indispensable measures of improvement.

In endeavouring to form an estimate of the defects and requirements of the Established Church, no reflective man will overlook the aid to be derived from the complaints and representations of the Dissenters. Not of course that those complaints are always just, nor those representations always true: but at the very least they are always indicative of facts which call for careful

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\* See Ed. Rev., No. xxxiv. Feb. 1811.



consideration. Even in regard of the separation of truth from error, it is presumptuous to assume that no progress can have been made since the period of the Reformation. And waiving this possibility, it cannot at any rate be doubted that the forms of dissent, and the notions which it most emphatically reiterates, demonstrate in what particulars the Church fails to engage the sympathies and satisfy the wants of those for whose good it exists. We rejoice to see that under this last aspect the phenomena of dissent are constantly engaging the thoughtful consideration of good men in every school and section of the Church, and suggesting useful measures of improvement. A supplementary order of ministers, of lower social rank (professional emissaries at least, if not actually ordained), the employment and organisation of voluntary lay agency, a freer and more elastic system of preaching, more attractive services, a larger infusion of the musical element into our worship, and the increase of Church influences upon social amelioration, — not only on the charities but on the comforts also and even the amusements of life,—all these are points to which attention is everywhere awakened, and the importance of which is now almost universally acknowledged. In all these points the Church of England must develop her resources, and amend her machinery, if she would make good her position as a National Church. And hardly less obvious, certainly not less important, is the necessity which exists for amendment in the laws of clerical discipline, Church patronage, and diocesan administration, to say nothing of the still unsettled question of Church rates.

But these are points which we cannot profess so much as to enumerate fully. The point to which we desire to invite attention now is one which is not so readily entertained by the great body of the clergy, yet without which we are persuaded that any great advance of Church comprehensiveness is absolutely impossible: we mean the revision of the Liturgy.

We say the *Liturgy* rather than the *Articles*. For it is not by the latter that the communion of the Church is restricted to its present limits. And surely it is a fact, as encouraging as it is remarkable, that the documents which set forth most fully and most deliberately the doctrines of the Church of England, are hardly less acceptable, and hardly less dear, to the great body of orthodox Dissenters, than to the Church itself. Whether even here it might not be desirable to qualify dogmatic assertions on some abstruse or disputed points, is a question which may very reasonably be raised. We do not conceal our sympathy with those who think so, and who demand a larger Christian liberty of thought; whether such demands proceed from the

High Church school, or from other quarters. Still it is not our province, nor do we presume, to suggest or recommend any changes purely doctrinal. And as far as the Articles are concerned, we believe that little is needed but an alteration in the terms of subscription to them. They are a monument, as they now stand, of the large-minded wisdom of the Reformers; a noble confession put forth by the Church of England before all Christendom; an invaluable bond of union and of toleration within the Church itself. Only let the subscription to them be made *deferential*, not *rigidly affirmative*. For what can be more unfair, and what more injurious, than to expect that a young man shall form a deliberate judgment on every particular in a long series of abstract propositions; and, while expecting this, to demand also that his judgment shall in every case coincide exactly with the ready-made results that are set before him? Yet this is what the Church of England does at the very entrance to the ministry, thereby repelling some of the noblest who wish to serve her, stunting the mental growth of others, perplexing and burdening all. Surely the right use of such documents is to establish a fixed rule of doctrine; of which the ministers of the Church, in their official capacity, shall accept the guidance and admit the authority. Under such an aspect, the Articles would become what is simply good and desirable,—a stay for the humble and the undecided, a check to the rash and speculative, and for all alike a recognised standard by which ministers were bound to regulate their teaching, and bishops to limit their interference with it.

What we have said of subscription to the Articles, applies, we think, with double force to a subscription required to the Liturgy. It is a refinement of ecclesiastical tyranny, due to the counter-reformation party of the 17th century, to turn forms of devotion into engines of inquisitorial stringency, by requiring plenary assent and consent to all and everything contained in them. But in the case of the Liturgy, we cannot but think that more is wanted than a mere alteration in the terms of ministerial subscription. Forms of prayer are essentially different from doctrinal aphorisms; and to dwell upon points by which disputations are provoked, is in them a supererogatory offence. Moreover, they belong to the laity, at least as much as to the clergy; and, unlike a code of doctrine, which is only occasionally referred to, they necessarily challenge attention. Hence the peculiar importance we attach to a revision of the Liturgy.

And here it will be seen of course that we are not speaking merely of such things as the abbreviation of the Sunday Services,

the better arrangement of its component parts, the avoidance of wearisome repetitions, the removal of obsolete terms, nor even of the reform of the calendar, and the clearing up of the rubrics. All these things, desirable, nay, needful as they are, come more properly under the heads which we have glanced at already. We speak now of the weightier matters which concern conscience and truth. It will be comparatively useless for the purposes of comprehension to improve the machinery of the Church, and even to remove moral blemishes from her administration, so long as forms are imposed and language is forced upon her ministers and her lay members also, to which the best of the Nonconformists have always pointed in justification of their position, and against which the judgment and conscience of growing multitudes within her communion are loudly declaring themselves. For be it observed, that it is not from Dissenters only, or even chiefly, that the complaints and urgent remonstrances proceed, which we have now to consider, but from loyal and attached members of the Church, both lay and clerical. This fact gives the question of Revision a very grave and pressing importance. The issue now pending is not so much the attraction of new members to her communion, as the preservation of those limits of doctrinal comprehensiveness which hitherto she has practically maintained.

But if these limits have been maintained hitherto, why (it may be asked) should not things go on as before? why not be satisfied with the practical licence hitherto allowed,—with the compromise of which the Prayer-book itself is the monument and the pledge? Because, we answer, that compromise has never been sufficiently defined: because, indeed, it has been based on false assumptions; and it is in the very nature of such a compromise to end either in an avowed rupture, or in a more satisfactory adjustment. We have long foreseen the crisis which is now precipitating itself. We have long complained of those expressions in the Liturgy ‘which jarred three centuries ago, and ‘still jar the convictions of thoughtful men.\* As long ago as 1834 the language held by this journal was as follows:—‘The reformation of the Liturgy has long been called for loudly by ‘the worthiest members of the English Church. Archbishop Tillotson, Archdeacon Paley, Bishop Watson, and many others ‘have long demanded an alteration in various parts of the service. ‘But no, the clergy will not. There must be no change: the ‘more things are shown to be wrong,—the better the men be ‘that call for an amendment—the more obstinately it is to be

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\* Ed. Rev., No. ccv. p. 260.

'refused. This cannot last much longer; and our hope and trust is that the correction of the abuses will save the Church in spite of itself.\* This language was perhaps somewhat too strong, and savoured a little too much of impatience: but it pointed out an inconsistency between the professed toleration of the Church, and the actual language of her devotional formularies, which a sense of truthfulness could not long suffer to remain. And various circumstances since that time have combined to bring out that inconsistency into stronger light. On the one hand, the earnest labours of the Oxford Tract writers confirmed in this respect by the no less earnest conclusions of their strongest opponents, have established beyond a doubt the true meaning of expressions in the Prayer-book, over which a convenient veil had long been suffered to hang. While on the other hand, 'the Gorham decision' has legalised the position of those clergymen who cannot accept some of these expressions in their true and obvious meaning; the Privy Council justifying that decision by the impossibility of reconciling the various Church formularies, the doubtful intention of the compilers of the Liturgy, and the long existence within the Church of a recognised licence of interpretation.

The present state of things, then, involves this glaring inconsistency. The law compels the use of certain formularies, and even insists upon a profession of unreserved adherence to them on the part of the ministers of the Church; while at the same time the Church tribunals authorise, and custom encourages, those ministers to evade the plain meaning of the formularies by expedients manifestly sophistical. Such a state of things cannot be maintained. It cannot be called a compromise in any honest sense. And there are but two solutions of the difficulty. Either reduce the Church to limits narrower than those which it has already sunk to; or do what is asked for by the revisionists, — adapt the Liturgy to a larger comprehensiveness, a comprehensiveness already established by the Articles, allowed by the practice of centuries, required by the best interests of the country, demanded by public opinion, solemnly sanctioned by the ecclesiastical courts.

But before we touch further on this subject, we will notice some of the works which are enumerated at the head of this article.

The principal spokesman in Parliament of the revisionist cause — the experience of last session would almost lead us to say, the only one — is Lord Ebury. Beginning some years ago

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\* Ed. Rev., No. cxviii. p. 506.

with the advocacy of those smaller and merely structural alterations to which we have already alluded, he has gradually been led to pay more and more attention to the graver points upon which the crisis must ultimately turn. Lord Ebury has long stood high in general estimation, on public, as well as private grounds; and the perseverance and quiet resolution with which he has encountered overwhelming opposition and chilling indifference within the walls of Parliament, as well as obloquy and ridicule from without, in maintaining an unpopular cause, have conciliated the respect of all good men who differ from him, while winning the gratitude of those for whom he pleads. His speech delivered last May in the House of Lords, under the most discouraging circumstances, sets forth ably, temperately, and as we think unanswerably, many of the reasons why liturgical reform is urgently needed and ought no longer to be delayed. We say unanswerably: for certainly the answers of the bishops turned almost wholly on the dangers and difficulties which they foresaw in the course he was recommending; and, in as far as they touched upon the fundamental question, either conceded the justice of his case, or repeated the excuses and palliations which have been proved again and again to be utterly unavailing. How profound and how strong is the movement of thought and conscience which they are opposing, is shown by the stream of pamphlets and larger works which the press is pouring forth upon this subject, not to speak of the many influential journals and periodicals which have declared themselves on the same side. Lord Ebury, at the end of his printed speech, enumerates twenty-six publications which had appeared in favour of revision during the few preceding months—a period which had only produced four on the opposite side; and the months which have since elapsed have added considerably to the number. Of these we have enumerated at the head of this article those which seem to us to be the most noteworthy; though not by any means all which deserve commendation.\*

Of those which we have mentioned, Mr. Fisher's book is entitled to the first rank. The second edition, here announced, has long been looked for and demanded; the delay having been caused by the careful recension to which it has been subjected by its author. The book first appeared in 1857, and at once gave a new impulse to the revisional movement. No one had yet handled the subject with such

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\* Of the smaller pamphlets, we would especially notice one by the Rev. G. Venables of Friezeland, Manchester; and one by the Rev. D. Mountfield, of Oxon, Salop.

exhaustive fulness, such closeness of reasoning, and such earnestness of purpose. It is the work of a layman and a lawyer, trained to examine evidence, and free from clerical prejudices: a man moreover who is thoroughly master of his subject, and thoroughly possessed with its importance: and who, while not concealing his own strong (and, as we think, one-sided) theological opinions, knows how to set them aside when engaged in the elucidation of facts. His main point is to show the real meaning of the language of the Prayer-book, in various passages on which controversy has been raised. This he does by illustrating the words, as they originally stood, by the contemporary utterances of the compilers of the Prayer-book: after which he proceeds to point out the extent and significance of the further alterations to which it has been subjected. For the present Prayer-book—the fact, however well known, is often forgotten, often studiously concealed) is not the work of the Reformers; but one which the reactionary revisions of 1559, 1604, and 1662 have tampered with most seriously. Even could we restore it to its earlier form, we should find it in many points inconsistent with those views of Christian truth, simpler at once and higher and more expansive, which a sounder Biblical criticism has now very generally diffused. Calling in the name of truth and morality for a more honest consideration of this matter, he shatters to pieces the shallow sophistical expedients to which the Evangelical clergy are driven to have recourse: and pleading in the name of justice and conscience for legislative interference; also, to give that wider and freer character to the Liturgy which the necessities of the Church demand, he concludes his book with some temperate and judicious suggestions as to the way in which this could be effected.

Mr. Fisher's work has produced a profound sensation in the Church, and was the main cause of inducing some 500 clergymen two years ago to petition Her Majesty for a Royal Commission to consider the subject of liturgical reform: since which time the movement has been continually gaining fresh strength, both among the clergy and the laity, aided as well as indicated by the other publications which have followed on the same side.

Of these the ablest perhaps is that of the Rev. Isaac Taylor, a son (as we understand) of the author of 'Ancient Christianity,' and himself a minister of the Established Church. Mr. Taylor has confined himself to the historical aspect of the question, and to its present bearing on the Dissenters, a subject upon which his birth and connexions give him peculiar opportunities for forming a judgment. In the historical part of his pamphlet he

goes over nearly the same ground as Mr. Fisher, presenting in a condensed form, with excellent terseness and point, and sometimes with a juster impartiality, what that writer had so laboriously worked out: while under the second head he urges forcibly and well the debt of reparation due to the Dissenters, the just claim they still have as citizens to a voice in the constitution of the National Church, and the true wisdom as well as the Christian duty of not pressing controverted dogmas beyond the plain warrant of Scripture.

Mr. Gell's pamphlet is one of a very different strain,—coinciding rather with that part of Mr. Fisher's work which Mr. Taylor has purposely abstained from touching upon, and dealing with the subject in a theological and religious aspect. In this we shall refrain from following him, and from noticing the points on which we either agree or differ. But as an exposition of what are usually known as Evangelical principles, and of their necessary bearing on the Liturgy when the subject is fairly faced, we should rank this pamphlet above any other similar publication. Breathing a spirit of piety and truthfulness which commands respect, and setting forth with pathetic earnestness the profound convictions of the writer, it shows unequivocally—illustrated also by Canon Wodehouse's modest and manly letter—how heavily the present state of things weighs on the consciences of hundreds if not thousands of the clergy: and how necessary it is, if the bounds of the Church are to be—we do not say enlarged, but maintained, that the authorities should consent to some modification of the present stringent rules of uniformity. Mr. Gell himself has withdrawn, we believe, from the active duties of the ministry; and is able therefore, with peculiar propriety, (like Mr. Wodehouse, who has recently resigned his canonry and his living on the same grounds,) to plead for those who feel compelled, as long as conscience permits and hope remains, to cling to their present painful position.

• Dr. Robinson's 'Church Questions,' which stands next on our list, is again quite dissimilar from those we have already noticed. It is the work of an active parish clergyman, in a manufacturing town, who has been led to the conclusions he maintains by practical necessity. Inclined himself to acquiesce contentedly in the ordinary doctrines of moderate Anglicanism, he yet feels how unjust and impossible it is to make these the necessary basis of Christian union; while the scandalous evils of disunion have forced themselves painfully on his notice. He proposes therefore some slight concessions in doctrinal matters; while in the arrangement of the services, and other minor particulars, he

The words just quoted form the declaration which has recently obtained the signature of nearly 10,000 clergymen; a majority perhaps (though this is hardly certain) of the ordained ministers of the United Church of England and Ireland. But, in any case, we agree with Lord Ebury in thinking that this declaration will not bear the weight which his most zealous

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opponents have endeavoured to lay upon it. Every one knows that in so conservative a body as the clergy are, any change, or rumour of change, however salutary, will be received at first with suspicion and dread. Yet even amongst this highly conservative body, it is notorious that nothing like 10,000 would have joined in signing the declaration we have quoted, had it not been couched in studiously cautious and moderate terms. Large no doubt as is the High Church party in its various gradations of opinion, all opposed more or less to any abatement of sacerdotal and sacramental pretensions, and numerous as are those who without any deep convictions either way simply cling to things as they are, there are many (to our certain knowledge) among the subscribers, and some even (we more than suspect) among the promoters of the declaration, who readily confess that the Prayer-book needs reform, and who would thankfully see such a reform effected, but who doubt nevertheless whether the time be come, and whether the persons to do the work can be found; so that they apprehend worse evils than at present exist, from the opening of a question which has been so long closed. To these it would be a welcome result, could moderate and comprehensive measures be made practicable, and rendered acceptable to the Church; and every endeavour to excite an interest in the subject, and clear away the difficulties which surround it, will have their heartiest concurrence.

Of these difficulties the greatest and most formidable is of course the danger of narrowing the basis of the Church on one side, while endeavouring to extend it on the other. That such a result would be a most disastrous one, no reasonable man can doubt. But is it possible to effect the contemplated good, without this countervailing evil? Is it possible to concede such claims as those we have been speaking of, and to remove the barriers which now exclude so many thousands of conscientious nonconformists, without at the same time alienating an equally large, perhaps a larger, number of loyal members of the Church, laymen no less than clergymen, whose acceptance of its formularies as consistent with Catholic truth, depends very materially on some of the very expressions which are most obnoxious to the revisionists?

To this question many will answer at once, It is not possible. But it may be allowed to those who are sanguine enough to entertain a different hope, to give their reasons for their unaltered convictions. Believing as they do that the very existence of the National Church depends upon timely concessions in this matter; believing, moreover, that elasticity of comprehensiveness is a necessary element of Catholic doctrine; and that

the progress of the ages, while revealing new secrets in the physical and moral world, manifests itself chiefly in the province of theology by disclosing more and more the breadth and simplicity of the great principles of truth—they cannot but believe also, that, if really approached in a spirit of wisdom and mutual forbearance, the question is one which admits of a satisfactory adjustment.

Let us examine then with this view the principal points which are at issue with regard to the Liturgy. It will not be difficult to fix upon them.

It is indeed a favourite habit of the advocates of the *status quo*, to represent the demands of the revisionists as vague and discordant; and on this account, as well as others, unworthy of serious attention. If it be meant by this that various independent minds, working freely and independently, have not pursued quite the same line of thought, or arrived at precisely the same conclusions, there is truth, no doubt, in the charge. But surely it is very unreasonable to point to this fact, as bringing discredit on the cause. Nay more, it is highly unadvisable also to insist upon a more complete agreement between its supporters, before their case is thought worthy of consideration. Such an agreement could only be brought about by an organised combination—a result which can hardly be desired either for the peace of the Church, or for the interests of truth. As it is, each of the remonstrants now speaks his own convictions only; and all that can fairly be expected under such circumstances, in token that the cause deserves respectful attention, is that there should be found a general congruity and consistency in the representations and demands thus separately expressed.

Now in this respect the cause of the revisionists can with no good reason be stigmatised as vague and inconsistent. They write and speak as men who fully know their own minds; and, all unconcerted for the most part as the movement has hitherto been, there is a remarkable concurrence among those who have taken part in it. It is true that in this as in most other things, there is a less and a more,—some who desire considerable changes, and some who would be content with a few,—but to a certain point all advance alike; and beyond that point it is not so much divergence that divides them, as a greater or less tendency to proceed further. That we may more thoroughly estimate the apprehended difficulties of revision, let us at once consider the case of its more advanced supporters, those who are represented as advocating extreme views. The points of the

Liturgy, which they fix upon as open to objection, are substantially five.

1. The form of words used in the Ordination of Priests.
2. The absolution contained in the Office for Visitation of the Sick.
3. The use of the Athanasian Creed in Public Worship.
4. Some phrases in the Burial Service.
5. The structure and language of the Baptismal Services, with the corresponding parts of the Catechism and of the Order for Confirmation.

Some of these points would be urged with greater vehemence by some of the remonstrants, others by others. But these are unmistakably the points where men feel their consciences offended or perplexed; these are the points on which a very large proportion of the clergy (consciously or not) are at variance with the plain grammatical meaning of the formularies in which they minister: these are the points which the great body of doctrinal Dissenters would cite in justification of their nonconformity: these are the points (we believe that we may add) in which an immense majority of the lay members of the Church, whether desiring revision or not, would unhesitatingly repudiate the views which the Prayer-book encourages.

Now it is not our intention to enter upon a theological discussion of the points in question, which would be a proceeding foreign to our usual habit. Without departing from the proper province of a lay journal, we may still be permitted to ask, what we proposed to ourselves just now, whether some change or licence in all these five points might not be admitted without alienating or disgusting that large element which it is as desirable to retain within the National Church as it is to embrace those others who are now excluded? The difficulty, if we understand it aright, is this, that any distinct abandonment of what are technically called 'Church principles,' even the deliberate omission of them in the Church formularies, would be considered by a large number of estimable men, both lay and clerical, such treason against what they hold to be emphatically Catholic truth, that secession from the Anglican Communion would in their opinion become a duty.

1. In the Ordination Service that which is especially complained of, and as most men will think not without abundant reason, is the language put into the mouth of the bishop, when he ordains a priest. 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain,

‘they are retained.’ That these words, identical (but for some amplification) with the Saviour’s authoritative benediction of the apostles after the resurrection\*, should be arrogated by mortal man on any occasion however solemn, does indeed seem monstrous to ordinary apprehensions, and would go beyond the pretensions (one should think) of those who have the loftiest views of priestly dignity and apostolical succession. Nothing, in our opinion, but the positive permission or command of Christ himself would justify their use. Still, if only the terms of clerical subscription were so altered as to relieve the clergy from seeming to approve of all and everything contained in the Prayer-book, this is a matter perhaps which might be left wholly to the consideration of the bishops. It concerns them chiefly. Let them decide it. If they really think such language becoming and right—if by any interpretation they have been used to give to the words, they can justify their retention, and are content to employ them—it may be the wiser course to let this matter alone, and not to alarm the susceptibilities of that portion of the Church who think most reverently of the grace of ordination. And yet let it be remembered what a prolific source of scandal these words have proved, and will always prove to be so long as they continue in the Ordinal. Many are those whom they have forced into unwilling nonconformity, and who else would have sought orders at the hands of the bishops. They are a source of deep distress too to some excellent clergymen of the Church, and may occasion great practical difficulty to others besides bishops, seeing that presbyters are associated with the latter in the act of ordination, and virtually involved with them therefore in responsibility for the language then employed.† They fall strangely and harshly on the ear of many a young minister, who is devoting himself with humility and simple faith to the work of the Gospel: while in others of a different stamp they excite or encourage feelings of superstitious arrogance, quite foreign to the better judgment of sound and moderate High Churchmen, and quite unessential (to say the least) to the principles of the ancient Church, the Church of the Fathers. For consider the origin of this formula. It is well known, and universally acknowledged, that the words in question were not introduced into the Ordinal till the twelfth or at least the eleventh century,—a period which we suppose is allowed by all, who are not essentially Romanists in doctrine, to have been one of peculiar darkness and superstition, and to

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\* John, xx. 22, 23.

† See Canon Wodehouse’s Letter, p. 6.

which therefore the stoutest Anglican champions of primitive tradition will forbear to appeal. Is it then too much to hope that in a revision of the Prayer-book, this omission, so earnestly desired by large numbers of the Church, would be readily permitted by their more ecclesiastical brethren; or at least that a departure from an usage only seven or eight centuries old would not be considered by any as an act of apostasy from Catholic tradition?

2. We come next to the form of Absolution in the Visitation Service. 'By his authority committed to me, I absolve thee, from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, &c.'

Nearly all that we have said of the preceding formula would apply almost equally to this. Still, as the use of it is practically obsolete in most cases, and may be treated as obsolete by every member of the Church, lay or clerical, at his discretion\*, we see no absolute necessity for expunging it, provided only that by a change in the terms of clerical subscription (which of all reforms for the relief of conscience is the one most urgently required) clergymen be discharged from declaring or seeming to declare their approval of it. We are aware that its excision would be earnestly demanded by a numerous and powerful party, and indeed that a popular agitation would be far more easily organised against this and similar forms than for the furtherance of broad and comprehensive measures. But as it is solely with this latter object in view that we are discussing revision, we are bound to say that we should be content to see the Visitation Service and its rubrics left as they now are, should such be the wish of the High Church party; believing that practically the most perfect liberty is already enjoyed in this matter.

3. Again, with respect to the Athanasian Creed, we believe that all which is absolutely needed is such an alteration in the rubric as will forbear to *enjoin* the reading of this creed on the days which are specified. Even now the rubric is systematically disregarded in many parish churches throughout the realm; and this by the tacit, if not open permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. The late Archdeacon Hare, for instance, never read the Athanasian Creed, even on Trinity Sunday; and there are not a few who follow his example. We would gladly, it is true, see the use of it discontinued altogether in public worship; and we do not see why the stiffest Churchman should object to its discontinuance. It forms no part of the

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\* The whole Visitation Service may be set aside at discretion by licensed preachers, according to Canon 67.

congregational services of the Roman Catholic Church\*; and why should Anglican usage in this point go beyond that of Rome? Its intrusion upon the laity is a Protestant innovation, and a most unwelcome one to the great majority of English Protestants. Nothing in the Church formularies is practically so offensive to the mass of the educated laity, who for the most part think and care little about those occasional services which are a deeper source of distress to clergymen. Still, if the retention of this Creed in the Service Book is strongly insisted on, let not those who object to it press their opinions so far as to debar their brethren of its use. Let the occasional recitation of the Athanasian Creed be permissively directed by the rubric; if only those who shrink from its anathemas, and disapprove its dry technical treatment of the highest mysteries of faith, be suffered to lay it aside.

4. The next question we have to consider is that of the Burial Service. In strict truth this need not have been classed among the points which involve doctrinal differences. Yet as it is one in which conscience is deeply concerned, and not merely sound order, expediency, and edification, it may with good reason be placed here. We have observed that on this point there is no conflict of theological systems. For though Evangelical Churchmen may perhaps feel more keenly for the most part how unfit the language of the Burial Service is for universal and compulsory use, yet the fact is so obvious that few will deny it; and an intense and widely spread desire exists among the clergy, without distinction of party or school, for the removal of the scandal which they deplore. It is only nine years ago that 4000 clergymen, of every shade of opinion, concurred in declaring that 'the existing state of the law imposed a heavy burden on the consciences of the clergy, and is the occasion of a grievous scandal to many Christian people.'† Now it may be true that many who signed this declaration would prefer to have the grievance removed by the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. But it is none the less certain that the grievance would be removed quite as effectually, and indeed far more so, if only the Church abstained from pronouncing any opinion whatever upon the state of the individual over whom the ser-

\* It is only recited at *Prime*, in the Dominical Office; Prime being the early morning service for the clergy, chanted by cathedral chapters and choirs religious; and to the daily recital of which, in private, if not in public, all the clergy are bound by vow.

† Petition presented to the Archbishops and Bishops in June 1851.

vice is read. How slight an alteration would effect this end is seen in the Report of the Royal Commissioners of 1689, or still better in the revised Office of the American Prayer-book; indeed to some extent even in the Anglican Service for Burial at Sea, by which the American amendments were suggested. A reference to the American Liturgy is sufficient answer to those who complain that the alterations desired would 'lower the note of the service,' and deprive it of its distinctive Christian character. The altered service still keeps as firmly as ever before the minds of the mourners those Christian hopes which alone can minister consolation at such a time. And what additional comfort can really be imparted in any case by the use of a stereotyped personal application? While in the numberless cases where the real lesson of the grave is at best unedifying, and in those fewer and more startling cases where the contradiction between fact and hypothesis is palpable and fearful, the Clergy and the Church would be spared the scandal which now too often attaches to them. The objections raised against the change are dexterous rather than solid. 'How,' asks the Bishop of Oxford, 'is a burial service to be constructed, which Christians would read with comfort over those they have no hope of?'\* But this question is wholly irrelevant. No one seeks to effect such an impossibility. No one wishes that it could be effected. In all such cases the painfulness of feeling would remain what it now is, and must remain; however the service might be altered. But the scandal would be gone—the enforced employment by the minister of words which he does not, and cannot believe,—the indiscriminate application by the Church of language which is only applicable to the faithful—an application which jars upon the hearts of the pious and simple-minded, which drugs the conscience of the worldly, and which gives much and grievous occasion to the enemies of Christianity to blaspheme.

5. We have now come to the last and most important point of all—that of the Baptismal Offices, and of some passages in other formularies which coincide with them, or are ruled by them. It cannot be denied that this, which is the most important, is also by far the most difficult point to settle, and even to treat dispassionately with a view to proposing an adjustment. Theological differences here are perhaps irreconcilable. Language, which to some devout and thoughtful minds seems questionable, or even full of serious error, will be regarded by others, to whom equal respect is due, as the very bulwark of truths most necessary to maintain. We have the more diffi-

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\* Report of the Debate, May 8. 1860, in the Guardian Newspaper.

culty also in approaching the question, as we are anxious to avoid strictly theological discussion. But there are two considerations which we venture earnestly to press upon men of all sides and opinions, before we proceed to make any practical suggestion for the settlement of this much vexed question.

First, let it be considered that if there be a question upon which exact agreement between man and man is likely to be impossible, that question is the theory of Sacraments. Agreement here is impossible, because (we say it with all reverence, but with confidence also,) it was not intended by the Creator Himself. There seems to be an essential difference in the constitution of human minds, such as philosophers have noticed between Realists and Nominalists, between Platonists and Aristotelians, which requires to be met by a corresponding adaptability of the Divine communications. And hence the special value of Sacraments. They have an elasticity of application to the human mind, in its two great varieties, and the endless minor differences under which these varieties appear. The eloquent symbol, the visible object, the significant action, the pregnant fact, which has been made the vehicle or instrument of Divine truth, finds its way through the understanding and the feelings to the spiritual apprehension, adapting itself, in accordance with the subtle laws of our moral and mental constitution, to the capacity of the individual addressed. Symbolical words do to some extent—parables, for instance, and other figurative utterances. But a symbolical action does it still more, and of such a nature is a Sacrament. Surely we may trace the Divine goodness and wisdom very notably in this, in thus providing Sacraments to be the perpetual witnesses and media of truth revealed,—the channels, under various modes, of grace imparted. But if this be so, let the Church take heed lest she hinder this wise and beneficent purpose—lest by requirements and interpretations and dogmatic definitions of her own she mar the Divine machinery, stiffening its elastic play, and rendering it totally unfit to affect the hearts and inform the minds of whole classes of human beings.

And secondly, let it be remembered, that when Christians are at a loss for words and phrases in the use of which they may all concur, they have always at hand an arbiter to which all defer alike,—a repository to which all may betake themselves,—in those Scriptures which all accept cheerfully and unhesitatingly as of paramount authority. Is it not obvious then, that whenever a formulary of the Church is found to offend the deliberate judgment of large numbers of Christian men, it is the wisdom, not to say the duty, of the Church to reduce



that formulary to a more exact agreement with Scripture; to correct all deviations from that language which are complained of as involving an important difference; to admit the limiting conditions with which Scripture itself has qualified its assertions, and which must not be disregarded when universal deference to those assertions is claimed? And is it not certain, that, though entire agreement may not even so be obtained, and important differences of opinion will often remain, yet these differences will resolve themselves into a discrepancy as to the interpretation of Scripture,—a discrepancy which, if removable, will disappear at last with further light; and if not removable, is permitted, and perhaps intended, by the Giver of the Scriptures?

We proceed to apply these principles to the question before us. That the Church of England has overloaded the Sacrament of Baptism, or left it overloaded with requirements and definitions and dogmas which offend the judgment and repel the sympathy of vast numbers of pious, thoughtful, and reasonable Christian men, is an assertion which needs no proof to support it. Under one form or another this fact has been the most fruitful cause of dissension and secession for three centuries and more. It is above all else the cause at this moment of that dissent which is computed to have involved nearly half the English nation. And even among those who remain within the pale of the Church, it is more than all else the prolific source of dissatisfaction, perplexity, and heartfelt pain to thousands of the best and worthiest of her children — of disputes and subterfuges and mutual recriminations among those who vainly endeavour to reconcile statements which are in fact irreconcilable.

The parts of the service through which 'these offences come,' are unmistakably indicated by the united voice of Dissenters and Churchmen. The consecration of the font (re-introduced into the service book in 1662)—still more, the application of the term *regenerate* to infants after, and by virtue of, their baptism—but, most of all, the expressions which forbid that term to be understood of a simple transference into a privileged state—and the language which is put into the mouth of the sponsors—these are the points which either severally or altogether contradict the earnest convictions of men who are neither opiated nor sceptical; and the determined maintenance of which necessitates the secession of many unwilling nonconformists, and threatens more than all besides to lead to the disruption of the present Church of England.

From the very first a warning voice was raised on this matter. Martin Bucer, the large-minded Lutheran, the chosen coun-

seller of the English Reformers, in his treatise addressed to Archbishop Cranmer on the English Service-book, strongly recommends an alteration in most of these points, and especially in the engagements of the sponsors, warning him that a departure here from the gravity and simplicity of Christian truth leads and will lead men to reject infant baptism altogether.\* And most remarkably his prophecy has been fulfilled. Baron von Bunsen, while strongly condemning the English Baptismal Service, much as he admires the English Prayer-book, calls attention to the fact that from England has proceeded not only the sect of the Quakers, rejecting Sacraments altogether, but that of the Baptists also in its modern and permanent form, which has made such surprising progress among the Anglo-Saxon race, though not in those Protestant countries where the baptismal theory has been less rigid.†

But what then can be done? For these very points, so obnoxious to some, are those which are most earnestly clung to by a large proportion of the clergy, and by many of the laity also, and among them by men whose learning and piety and self-devotion render them worthy of the vast influence they undoubtedly possess. Nor is it possible to think that these men would ever consent to a change which they would consider to be apostasy from the Church.

We believe that there ~~are~~ ways of meeting the difficulty. And first of all that which seems to be the best way, though we confess we have little hope of seeing it adopted -- the reconstruction, namely, of the service on such a principle as to leave all controverted points to be expressed in the plain words of Scripture. Many texts, many which are not recited and scarcely referred to in the present services, might (if desired) be so advanced as to express unequivocally to the minds of Anglicans the doctrines for which they contend; while all these would be received with equal deference by their fellow-churchmen of other opinions, provided only that in the accompanying prayers and thanksgivings, the Church allowed God's Word to commend itself by its own unborrowed light. Let it not be

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\* See 'M. Bucer's Censura super libro sacrarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.' It is true that his criticisms are directed against the *first* Baptismal Office of Edward VI. (1549), which contained exorcism and other things; and that they produced some effect upon the second Prayer-book, published (1552) after Bucer's death. But the alterations then made still fell short of what Bucer urged: and as the Office *now* stands, it remains even more obnoxious to his remonstrances.

† Hippolytus, vol. ii. (2nd edition.)

said that such a course would be impracticable; or, if practicable, only to be realised by the sacrifice of all distinctive doctrine. We point in answer to the Office for the Holy Communion. On the subject of that sacrament there exists within the English Church at this moment as wide a difference of opinion as upon baptism itself. And yet the Christian wisdom of our Reformers has produced a service in which all concur; in which all devout Churchmen, of whatever shade of opinion, find their convictions and aspirations expressed, without any sense either of a void left unfilled, or of too strong an assertion needing to be explained away. Nay, the same testimony would be borne to it by the great majority of the Protestant Dissenters. We unhesitatingly believe that a similar office might be compiled for the administration of baptism. We do not doubt that were Cranmer and his coadjutors now alive, with the added experience of three centuries to guide and warn them, they would readily construct one.\* Nor can we doubt that the same faculties still exist within the Church, and are only dormant because not evoked. Such a task would require doubtless great wisdom, great fairness, great reverence for truth, great skill and tenderness of touch. But are such graces too high for a Church to expect to be endowed with them, if only sought aright? Here, however, is the disheartening part of the matter. We are often told that it is vain to look now for such qualities in the Church; and indeed, till there is more of that penitential feeling with which so humiliating a confession ought to be accompanied, and a tenderer consideration also for alienated Christian brethren, we must not think of this better and more excellent way as being practical yet.

Other ways still remain; which though less satisfactory would be more easy of execution. For instance (1) a slight modification of the parts of the service most objected to, such as that which was proposed in the American Revision of 1785†, leaving

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\* Even were it only by adhering more closely to the beautiful services contained in the *Simplex Deliberatio* of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, from which they have already drawn very largely. The necessities of the times forced them to retain much of the familiar Roman Offices; though not on the ground of deference to primitive antiquity, to which these last have no claim.

† It is not generally known that at the first Convention of the American Episcopal Church held at Philadelphia in 1785, these alterations of the Baptismal Service were not only proposed, but adopted. The interrogations addressed to the sponsors were simply to be 'Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian faith, as contained in the Apostles' Creed; and wilt thou endeavour to

all the rest unaltered; or (2) the permissory omission, or permissory modification (according to a specified form) of these particular portions, if absolute change be forbidden — a method for which it will be recollected there are many precedents in the Prayer-book already, some in the Communion Service itself; or (3) that which commends itself most to our judgment of these secondary plans — the admission, by a simple alteration of the rubric, of the present office for Private Baptism to be used in the Church as well as in private houses for those who object to the other form; the rubric giving a discretionary power to the minister, as to some extent it does already, to select what parts of the longer office he thinks fit, and extending that discretion also to the Thanksgiving with which the Private Office now concludes.\* The advantages of this plan are first, that it is *rubrical* only; and secondly, that the objection cannot be urged against it that it involves any doctrinal innovation whatever. For the Church already in the strongest language affirms that children so baptized 'have been lawfully and

'have this child instructed accordingly?' 'Wilt thou endeavour to 'have him brought up in the fear of God, and to obey His holy will 'and commandments?' The thanksgiving after baptism was altered to 'We give Thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath 'pleased Thee to receive this infant for Thine own child by baptism, 'and to incorporate him into Thy holy Church. And humbly we 'beseech Thee,' &c. In the Catechism the child is asked 'When did 'you receive this name?' *Ans.* 'I received it in baptism, wherein 'I became a member of the Christian Church.' Q. 'What was promised for you in baptism?' *Ans.* 'That I should be instructed, &c., 'and brought up,' &c. &c. It is understood that these amendments were rescinded in deference to the expostulations of the English Episcopate when consenting to consecrate the American Bishops White and Provoost in 1787. The far more rapid advance of the *Wesleyan* Episcopal Church since then in the United States, and the enormous growth of the Baptist denomination, cannot but suggest reflections on the wisdom of this proceeding.

\* It was not till the revision of 1662 that this thanksgiving was made a necessary part of the Private Office. It is peculiarly objectionable to the opponents of Baptismal Regeneration, as involving the assertion 'It hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with 'Thy Holy Spirit.'

Some such additional clause as follows might be introduced into the present rubric:—'And it shall be lawful to use the same form of 'administration in the church, at any time not during the celebration 'of Divine Service; if the parents or guardians of the child shall signify 'their desire therefor [pledging themselves to instruct and bring up 'the child in the knowledge and obedience of the Christian faith].'

'sufficiently baptized;' and the worst that can be said against the arrangement is that it would be a relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline. And ought not such a relaxation to be granted, for the sake of those whom too imperious a rule has driven, and is still driving, out of the communion of the Church? That it is but an expedient, and a temporary expedient, we do not deny. We look for the time, and doubt not it will come, when the better and more harmonious course of which we have spoken will be adopted instead. But meanwhile an inestimable contribution would have been made to the cause of peace and union, and the ground prepared for the growth of that higher wisdom and broader appreciation of truth which will both incline and enable the authorities of the Church to compose an office for the administration of Baptism worthy to be ranked with that for the Holy Communion.

As the alterations to be made in the Catechism must depend upon the altered Baptismal offices, we will not follow them in detail now, nor touch upon other points in which the Catechism seems justly open to censure.

We are of course aware that very grave objections may be urged against these suggestions, as indeed against any other — objections which may seem insuperable to those who forget or refuse to see the far greater evils which attend the present state of things. But in fact the only effectual way for discovering the true solution of such difficulties, is by the erection of a tribunal authorised to collect information and opinions from all quarters, and impartially to weigh all the contending arguments. The refusal of the Bishops to allow such a tribunal to be constituted (for their consent to this proposal would have been sufficient to insure its adoption) seems to be a sore injury done to the cause of truth and charity. Should such a Commission as has been asked for be granted, and after full inquiry come to the conclusion that the Prayer-book cannot be revised without unwafrantable risk to the highest interests of the Church, then, however the conclusion might be deplored, and whatever anticipations it might give rise to, the effort would at least show a generous desire to promote the noblest of earthly causes. That such a desire exists among the Bishops, we cannot doubt. But the difficulties and embarrassments which are foreseen have hitherto checked any measures of advance; and these difficulties are magnified in the prospect. The Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance, shrinks more especially from 'subjecting the Liturgy to the discussions and controversies, not to say dissensions, which the passage of any changes through both Houses of Par-

‘liament and of Convocation must necessarily give rise to.’\* But is this fear a well-grounded one? We firmly believe, that as far as Parliament is concerned, whatever proposals came before the Houses in the last stage, authenticated by the consent of the Church, would be received with the reverential forbearance and reticence which became the nature of the subject; and no proposals would come before them which had not passed that ordeal. While as to the consent of the Church itself, there might be other and better ways devised for ascertaining that, than through Convocation. Convocation (as we have elsewhere shown) has no claim to be considered the organ of the Church.† It does but represent the clergy, and even them very defectively; while its separate organisation in the two English provinces and in Ireland would make it practically still more objectionable. Neither is precedent by any means conclusive in favour of consulting Convocation in this matter: so as to leave no choice open to those who desire to adopt a constitutional course. Better ways might therefore be adopted for taking the sense of the Church — ways which it would be part of the duty of the Royal Commission to devise, obtaining for them the sanction of the Legislature, after all the details of the proposed changes had been patiently and thoroughly considered, and the Report of the Commissioners published.

But irrespectively of these difficulties in detail, there seems to be far too little willingness as yet among the Bishops to attempt effective measures of comprehension. In some quarters certainly such willingness was not to be looked for. But it might have been hoped that a man like the Bishop of London would have shown a warmer sympathy with a cause that roused the noblest energies of his great predecessor at Rugby, Dr. Arnold; and a juster consideration for what he termed ‘the scruples’ of the remonstrant clergy. Surely *scruples* is not the word for the calm, reasonable objections of those who show that the language now forced upon them is inconsistent with convictions which they are allowed, nay encouraged to retain by the long consent of the Church, and by the solemn decision of her Courts of Judicature: while as a proof that these objections are no accidental product of mere idiosyncrasy, they point to the present state of the Christian Church in England, and to the experience of three eventful centuries.

Since the debate in the House of Lords, the season for epis-

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\* Report of the Debate of May 8. 1860, in the ‘Guardian.’

† See Ed. Rev., No. cxxiii.

copal charges has brought to light some of the differences which really exist amongst the bishops on this subject. First of all, Archbishop Whately has declared himself favourable to some measure of revision; though the expectation which his opening sentences create is soon disappointed by the discovery that he means little beyond the alteration of a few obsolete phrases and rubrics; and a slight readjustment of the congregational services—all desirable changes, no doubt, but totally inadequate to existing requirements. None of the concessions which we have ventured to recommend are contemplated by him, with the single exception of a relaxation of the rubric concerning the Athanasian Creed. On all other points he is deaf to remonstrances. Indeed, his language concerning clergymen, who are ill at ease in the use of the prescribed offices, is an instructive specimen of the way in which the episcopal mind allows itself to regard the conscientious difficulties of the clergy. After impugning the honesty of those who seek, he says, 'for a radical *'change of doctrine, under the name of a revision of the formularies ;'*—

'Let any one (he adds) suppose the case of a priest of one of the unreformed Churches, arriving at the conviction that the sacrifice (as it is called) of the Mass, and the invocation of Departed Saints, and other tenets and practices of his Church, are fundamentally erroneous. What would be his procedure, supposing him a man of common sense and scrupulous honesty? Surely he would not call for a mere *revision of the Mass-book*, but for a *'fundamental reformation in doctrine*. He would at once suspend his ministrations in that Church, and cease to administer ordinances which he believed to be unscriptural and superstitious. He would earnestly call on his ecclesiastical superiors to *reform the doctrines and practices of their Church*: and if they steadily refused to do so, he would abandon its communion, and resign any office he might hold in it.' (*Charge*, pp. 21, 22.)

It is strange that so clear a thinker as the Archbishop should imagine the case of such a Romish priest to be parallel to that of the clergy who are seeking a revision of the Baptismal Offices. To make the cases parallel, it would be needful that the Council of Trent should have abstained from any decision upon the doctrines in question, that the repudiation of those doctrines should have been practically tolerated for centuries within the pale of the Church of Rome, and lastly that the Pope himself should have expressly pronounced those that rejected the doctrines to be good Catholics notwithstanding. In this case we think, with due deference to the Archbishop, that the only thing the priest in question would ask for, and need ask for, would be a mere *Revision of the Mass-book*.

A much more important declaration in favour of revision, is that of the Bishop of Gloucester, who has recently expressed his conviction that such a measure is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the Church, and due in justice to large numbers of orthodox Dissenters who might yet be re-united to her communion. Since the movement which followed the publication of Mr. Fisher's book, there has been no such hopeful sign of the progress of the cause as this declaration of Bishop Baring's. The revision which he recommends is not merely one of a verbal or structural character. On three of the five points which we have adduced (namely, the Ordination, the Visitation, and above all the Baptismal Services) he plainly advocates such changes as would ensure a wise and comprehensive toleration. And though for his own part he still clings to the persuasion that the language of the formularies, if fairly interpreted, admits of such a comprehensiveness already, he does not blind himself to the fact that it is impossible to impart this persuasion to the 'thoughtful and pious Dissenters,' whom he desires to win. Without touching upon other points where we differ from Bishop Baring, we will only express our surprise at his objections to a Royal Commission. It may be quite true, as he observes, that the best plan of reform is, 'to apply from time to time a separate remedy to each acknowledged defect.' (*Charge*, p. 19.) But where as yet is any agreement upon the remedies? where is even the acknowledgment of defects? We see no way of proceeding, in the present stage of affairs, so promising and so just, as the institution of a competent tribunal in which all parties in the Church shall be fairly represented. But be this as it may, the fact deserves notice, that a Bishop has appeared courageous enough both to think and to avow not only that a revision of the Liturgy is desirable, but 'that the present time is a most favourable one' for undertaking it. (P. 15.)

Not so thinks the Bishop of Llandaff, another exemplary and highly gifted prelate, who may be regarded as a good representative of the milder and more reasonable opponents of revision. Not that he denies amendments to be both possible and desirable in the abstract. He admits also the principle of conceding non-essential points. He admits that the High Church reaction of the 17th century carried things too far. He even admits that under certain circumstances 'it would be not only desirable, but a positive duty to enter upon the work' of redress. But then he waits for these circumstances; and they are such that we fear it is quite hopeless ever to expect their conjunction. A Parliament composed exclusively of church-



men, all theologians, all 'thoroughly joined together in one heart and mind'—no doctrinal or rubrical disputes within the Church—a distinct assurance given by Non-conformists with what alterations they would be satisfied—such are the conditions which Dr. Ollivant asks for; and even then all he concludes is that 'perhaps there might be some hope that the Report of the Commission, after its Revision by Convocation, could be submitted to Parliament without the risk of greater inconvenience!' (*Charge*, p. 49.) Really, if this be what the Bishops mean by the favourable opportunity they are waiting for, it is well that the Church and the country should thoroughly understand them; well too, that they should reconsider their position themselves. And we must earnestly protest, moreover, against the unreasonable jealousy of Parliament, which is shown here and in so many cases by churchmen. Parliament may be too indifferent to church matters, too unwilling to be troubled with them. This perhaps is true. But the jealousy so often felt and expressed on the part of the Church, is most unreasonable, most undeserved—and, we must add, it is suicidal also. For such objections, if fairly carried out, would forbid all legislation for the future upon subjects affecting the Church, and would condemn the Establishment to a state of paralysis which must result before long in dissolution, even if it do not first bring down upon it the blow of the destroyer. We think too, that Dr. Ollivant deals hardly with the revisionists, not only exaggerating their differences, but incorrectly imputing to them a wish to 'alter the creed of the Church,' and treating as an outrage upon the consciences of others their reasonable claim to be heard as remonstrants, pleaders, and witnesses.

If such be the reception which the advocates of revision meet with from large-minded and charitable men, desirous of the Church's peace, it is no wonder that the organs and spokesmen of the priestly party should assail them with unsparing acrimony. Taunts of 'dishonestly eating the bread of the Church'—'violation of ordination vows'—'incomprehensible indifference to honesty, sincerity, and truth'—are freely employed against them in the Church Journals and some of the few pamphlets which have appeared on the opposing side. Can these writers forget, that whatever difficulties their brethren may labour under in the use of the prescribed formularies (difficulties which are freely confessed and deplored) the holders of high sacramental and sacerdotal views labour under difficulties at least as great, arising from the language of the Articles, and

still more of the Homilies of the Church, nay, in no small measure even from the inconsistent language of the Offices themselves? Such adhesion as is demanded from English clergymen to all and everything which lies between the boards of the Prayer-book is a thing simply impossible to a consistent mind. The revisionists are but striving in this respect to lighten a yoke which evil times and evil men have imposed on all consciences alike. In seconding their efforts we are not advocating the interests of a party. Protests against unnecessary narrowness, from whichever side they come, shall have alike our hearty sympathy and concurrence.

Very different in tone from the writers we allude to is the little volume which has been sent forth by Dr. Vaughan, the late Head Master of Harrow School, whose exceptional position in the Church at present gives him a peculiar claim to respectful attention. Dr. Vaughan deprecates revision, and labours hard to persuade those who desire it to content themselves instead with the latitude of interpretation which the words of the Liturgy admit, and with the licence which the Church extends practically to the obligations of clerical subscription. We sympathise with the excellent author in his charitable endeavours to relieve the consciences of his clerical brethren; and we doubt not he will succeed with many. But those who have considered the matter long and anxiously will hardly be convinced by his reasonings, though they may welcome them as palliatives to an inevitable evil, should the evil prove finally to be inevitable. The volume consists chiefly of sermons — a form of writing little calculated to grapple with pressing difficulties. And so in the case before us the result is but inconclusive after all, in spite of great merits in Scriptural exposition, and wise practical counsels. The principal points which the revisionists complain of are in every instance evaded; while matters, which, however important, are secondary in respect of the immediate business, are dwelt upon instead. Thus in the Sermons on Absolution and on Holy Orders, the obnoxious passages in the Prayer-book are lightly glanced at with an apologetic admission; while the whole stress of the attention is directed to passages and subjects which are only partially parallel. In the Sermon on Regeneration, the preacher shows how practicable it is, and perhaps how justifiable also, to assign to the metaphorical term *regenerate* a meaning very different from that which was intended by the authors or the compilers of the Baptismal Service; but he passes over unnoticed the many other questionable expressions which are used, and the whole fiction of vicarious assertions and engagements. And in the Burial Service he assumes,—what the poor and simple-

minded can never be brought to understand, and what few officiating clergymen can feel at the moment to be a tenable position,—that the words of positive personal application which the Church utters over the grave belong, not to the individual departed, but to the Christian profession which he has never abjured.\*

In the Introduction to his Sermons, Dr. Vaughan is far more explicit, especially in dealing with the forms of subscription required of clergymen at their ordination or institution. But we fear it is impossible to accept him as the spokesman of the Bishops, into whose mouth on such occasions he would put such words as these addressed to those who are subscribing:—

‘In declaring your acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, you do not profess that there is nothing in that book which you might yourself have been glad to express somewhat differently. . . . It is enough to justify your place among the ministers of a National Church, if you can say from the heart, That of the various Christian communities known to you in this country, this is the one which most commends itself to your judgment and conscience: that it is the Church of your choice and of your affection; that you are able with confidence and comfort to worship in its words, to minister in its offices, and to teach in its spirit.’ (*Introduction*. p. xiii.)

Now we very much doubt whether a bishop ever did use words like these on such an occasion, and we fear that very few are ever likely to do so, even with all weight allowed for that saving clause ‘able with comfort to minister in its offices.’ Certainly we often hear episcopal language strikingly different. But even if such a declaration could be authoritatively confirmed, is it desirable that a subscription required on the most solemn of all subjects, and the most solemn of all occasions, should thus need to be explained away? Is this conducive to national morality, and to the estimation in which the clergy should be held? Is it desirable to preserve and enforce forms of ‘assent and consent to all and everything’ which necessitate so singular a gloss? If the Bishops really think with Dr. Vaughan, will they not rather do, what it needs but a word from them to effect,—procure the repeal of those Acts of Parliament which have imposed these shackles on conscience and on liberty of thought?

We rejoice to see that such is the course suggested by Dr. Vaughan himself: and we rejoice still more to remember that the Bishop of London, while opposing the appointment of a Royal Commission last session, held out the hope that in this measure of relief at least he would be ready to concur. Lord Ebury has given notice, we observe, of his intention to bring

forward a measure of this nature. We heartily wish it success, convinced that even of itself it would be an inestimable boon, and that nothing would be of greater use in enabling all parties among the clergy to consider calmly, whether for acceptance or rejection, the further changes that are called for.

We will briefly notice in conclusion the singular charge brought so repeatedly against the advocates of a revision of the Liturgy, that 'their real object is not the extension, but the 'narrowing, of the limits of Church Communion.' Even Dr. Vaughan, we regret to see, gives his sanction to this unfounded suspicion; and in the debate of the House of Lords it seemed to be assumed as a certainty by the speakers on the episcopal side. Let those who entertain it only read what the leading advocates of revision say for themselves; and observe too with how little zeal the cause is seconded by those who are most active in antagonism to the High Church Party.

But (it has been said more plausibly) if comprehension be sought, it is at least all on one side.

A moment's reflection will show the futility of this observation. For *whom* on the other side should the Church seek to draw into her communion? Not surely the Roman Catholics. No one dreams that this would be possible, unless the Church became Roman Catholic itself. And if not the Roman Catholics, who is it to be? Does not the Church already comprehend men who are Romanists in everything except avowed allegiance to the Pope? While on the other side there are millions of our Protestant fellow-countrymen excluded from the communion of the Church by barriers for the most part wholly unnecessary,—barriers which it is not too late, even yet, to throw down in the name of Charity and of Truth.

That it is not too late even yet to bring large and increasing numbers of Nonconformists within the pale of the National Church by such concessions as we have advocated in part,—large and increasing numbers of the more educated, the more thoughtful, and therefore the most influential among them—we conclude confidently not only from the language of Dissenters themselves, and of men like Mr. Taylor, who have peculiar opportunities of judging; but still more from the very nature of the case, from the effects which must necessarily follow a generous and liberal line of conduct, and fearless exchange of a narrow traditional policy for one of simple trust in the broad principles of Christian truth. Bishop Ollivant indeed cites sundry expressions of Mr. Binney's to prove that not even he, and the high-minded and moderate Dissenters whom he represents, would be won over to the Church, though it were thus amended.

It may be so. For us it is enough to conclude (as we do with far greater certainty) that from such a Church Mr. Binney, would never have been a Dissenter at all.

But if in many cases we find ourself disappointed,—if, after all, large numbers of Nonconformists, even those whom no doctrinal difference separates from the Church, shall be unwilling to abandon their present position, we are not of those who could venture to condemn them. We think it bad feeling, as well as bad taste, to talk, as we regret to find even liberal-minded Churchmen doing, of ‘waging a vigorous and aggressive warfare ‘in that case against Sectarianism in all its forms,’ or even of ‘dealing a deadly blow to the prosperity of Dissenters,’ by salutary measures of reform. There is great need of patience in this matter, that, even after we have done what is right, we should inherit the blessing of returning unity. Much has to be retrieved, much to be forgiven. The result must be a work of time, of more than one or two generations, carried on with gentleness and respectful forbearance.

Nor do we desire to see any negotiations entered into, between the Church and the various bodies of Dissenters, for the purpose of maturing the proposed measures of comprehension. The proper dignity and self-respect of all parties, the cause of truth independent of expediency, will be much more satisfactorily furthered by conducting all changes purely on considerations of reason and justice. And if the result shall eventually be union, and the absorption of some of the denominations into a more comprehensive National Church, it will be a result at which all will rejoice together, Dissenters no less than Churchmen. For what nobler end could a true-hearted Dissenter desire for the body to which it is his pride to belong, than that it should have witnessed through reproach and obloquy for a truth which was in danger of being cast out and lost; and, after labouring not in vain to vindicate the rightful limits of Christ’s Church, should be enabled to enter at last into joint possession of an enlarged inheritance — an inheritance confessedly enlarged by efforts remembered with gratitude by all?

**ART. II.—1.** *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty. 1860.

**2.** *First Elements of Japanese Grammar for the Use of Beginners; with an Introductory Chapter on the Construction of the Language.* By RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, Esq., C.B., Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Yeddo. London: 1861.

ABOUT eight years ago we passed rapidly in review in the pages of this journal all that was then known of the geography, the political constitution, the social condition, and the commercial relations of Japan.\* Our information was at that time almost exclusively derived from travellers and writers of no very modern date, Kämpfer, Siebold, old Will Adams the Pilot, Golownin, and some of the Dutch adventurers. But we already anticipated that an opening was about to be made in the impenetrable barriers of the Japanese Empire, which would bring these old authorities to the test, and enable us greatly to extend our own field of observation. This anticipation has already been realised and surpassed. We were enabled twelve months ago to lay before our readers the results of Lord Elgin's short but eventful visit to Yeddo, as related by Mr. Oliphant; and we are now in possession of materials, collected by those who have had access to the country since the arrival of the foreign missions and the partial opening of trade, which far exceed in interest and accuracy all that was previously known of this surprising country. Without reverting, therefore, to the earlier connexion of Europeans with the Japanese, which may be said to have terminated by the expulsion of foreigners and the extermination of the Christian proselytes in 1637, we shall at once proceed to enter upon this new matter; and we begin with that, which is of all things the most necessary and the most obscure, namely, the language of the people.

First among these fruits of a permanent residence of educated Europeans in the capital of Japan, we have to welcome an elementary grammar of the language, and we are indebted to the British Minister himself for the contribution. The work itself is very unpretending, and does not affect to be more than an attempt to give the first elements of Japanese grammar

\* Ed. Rev., Oct. 1852. vol. xcvi. p. 348.

to aid beginners, Mr. Alcock having found the want of such a work one of the greatest difficulties in the way of the student interpreters to the Legation who accompanied him to Japan, in whose philological progress, on political grounds, he evidently takes a very lively interest. In one of his earliest despatches to the Foreign Office he tells Lord Malmesbury:—

‘It will no doubt be up-hill and laborious work to make any decided progress for a long time to come; and the first and greatest difficulty to be overcome consists in our ignorance of their language. So long as this exists, there can be nothing very satisfactory, either in our intercourse or relations. It is bad enough, in discussing a wide range of subjects involving all the technicalities of trade and the provisions of Treaties, that whatever is said by each of the principals must go through the process of interpretation into another tongue; but here the last recipient of any ideas sought to be conveyed by us to a Japanese authority, offers not the slightest guarantee for fidelity in rendering even as much as he understands of such new matters, and that I believe is often very little. I am so penetrated with this conviction, that no good is to be done here until we can ourselves speak to the authorities, and in their own tongue, that I shall not hesitate to devote every spare hour to the acquisition of the language.’ (*Correspondence*, p. 2.)

To this excellent example Mr. Alcock has now added an attempt to smooth to others the difficulties he had himself to overcome; for it must be confessed that to face on landing all the horrors of Japanese syntax, is a serious aggravation of a position already sufficiently embarrassing.

In the introductory chapter on the genius and construction of the language in connexion with the history of its formation, a rapid survey is taken of many leading characteristics, indicative of habits of thought and action in the nation employing it. There is much to interest the general reader, as well as the philologist, in this view. ‘If books are the transcripts of national taste, as has been not unaptly said, much more may a language be considered a true mirror of the national character. Of especial interest are the questions involved in the use of a borrowed hieroglyphic language in Japan, and the spontaneous adoption at a later period of a phonetic system, without the latter displacing the former. The Japanese are the only nation, Mr. Alcock observes, who, so far as is known, ‘Ever frankly adopted as their own, and at one effort, the language and the literature, together with a whole system of morals and ethics, from a neighbouring people (in many respects essentially different), without any pressure from conquest, and while in possession of a civilisation of rival pretensions, a marked nationality and strongly developed spirit of independence.’

Yet such seems to have been the fact beyond a doubt ; although the relations of China with Japan from the earliest ages were hostile, and no approach to fusion has ever taken place between the two nations, yet the Japanese did adopt, at some distant period now unknown, the system of writing of the Chinese. And although the Japanese invented for themselves long subsequently a system of phonetic symbols, consisting of a syllabary, or alphabet of forty-seven letters, which, with the addition of certain accents, suffices to convey all the sounds in the language, and notwithstanding it has been in general use now some eight centuries, they have not relinquished the hieroglyphic written language adopted from the Chinese. So the two languages and systems of writing exist side by side to this day.

Indeed, they seem fond of duplicates in all things. Something of a dual principle we know enters into man's organisation and pervades all nature, but in the Japanese idiosyncrasy this seems to find a more elaborate development than elsewhere. If it be true, as a learned physician has maintained, that we all have two perfect brains enclosed in our skulls, as we have two eyes and two ears on the outside, each capable of performing all the functions of both combined, and even capable of carrying on independent trains of thought simultaneously, then, it would seem the Japanese duality of brains has been productive of all sorts of binary combinations and devices running through and duplicating, as it were, all existence, political, social, and intellectual. There is no dealing with a single agent in Japan—from the sovereign to the postman they all run in couples. You ask for your interpreter, and finding him long in coming, you demand the reason, and receive for conclusive answer, that 'He could not come without his shadow!' If the objection strikes you as singular or novel, it is explained that his shadow is an '*ometsy*,' literally, the 'eye that sees through'—in plain English, a spy, without whom it is not safe for him to enter on the performance of his functions, for the '*ometsy*' is supposed to be a witness to the loyalty of his action.

It is the less surprising, therefore, that they should have adopted two wholly different systems of writing, the one ideographic, and the other phonetic—the one borrowed, and the other original. But not content with this double complication (which it might be thought would have satisfied the most strongly-marked dual conformation), they have invented not one, but two, complete alphabets to express the same sounds. Again, the Chinese, from whom they borrowed the hieroglyphics, having among many varieties two distinctive modes of writing their interminable series of symbols—one called the square or printed character,



and the other the cursive—(being in fact a running hand analogous to our own, and which none but a Chinese who spends the first twenty years of his life in the task can ever hope to read correctly,) the Japanese, by way of carrying out thoroughly their ruling principle, have adopted *both*. And not content with this, and scorning the Chinese rule of 'never mixing them in the same document, the Japanese, with what distracting effect on the foreign student may be imagined, mingle the two whenever caprice or convenience seems to suggest the change! Chinese books and official documents are, on the contrary, invariably printed or written in the square and detached, or isolated, characters (exactly corresponding to our roman print), and the running-hand and cursive characters are reserved for private correspondence, or the decoration of walls by tablets and scrolls, and then they admit of infinite variety.

The study of a language is always suggestive of much interesting matter in connexion with the character, institutions, and habits of a people. Thus we may take as a further illustration of the peculiarities of Japanese manners, the grammatical fact that their nouns have no genders. Neither have the Japanese, properly speaking, any definite article. And if they have personal pronouns, it seems wholly opposed to their habits to use them.

A somewhat curious commentary on the first of these conditions, as to the genders of nouns, occurs in the national custom of bathing in common, to be seen daily through the open doors and windows of the bath-houses by any one passing through the streets. In these places of general resort for the middle and lower classes, hundreds of both sexes, perfectly nude, wash and bathe in a shallow trough in unconcerned proximity, '*sans peur et sans reproche*.' The same promiscuity exists in families too far removed from a town to go to a bathing-house. There is then one room set apart for this use, where an hour or two before sunset two or three generations, of all sexes, relations, and ages, with a neighbour or two if there be room, luxuriate in a state of nature in the vapour and wash-baths, of which the Japanese are inordinately fond. In passing along a country lane such an episode of rural life often meets the eye, when the more primitive style of a tub at the door is not preferred. Within a little enclosure stands the cottage, open in all its length and depth, and if a foreigner rides by, the bathers diversify their amusement by getting up in a group—men, women, and children—to look at the *Jojin* and his escort. With the Japanese, as with the ancient Romans, no small portion of the afternoon seems habitually to be given up

to the luxury of the bath ; and however promiscuously mingled together, it is plain no sense of shame or immodesty disturbs the mind of either man or woman. The absence of genders and their nouns, and of personal pronouns, to express any difference between, he, she, and it, noticeable in their grammar, seems thus to find an explanation in their customs, and to be carried into practice oddly enough in their daily life ; and speaks of instincts as well as habits, which enable them to dispense with any real or effective distinctions. Whether so strange a reversal of all our ideas of propriety is attended in Japan with any of the consequences that would unavoidably attach in Europe, we are not yet sufficiently conversant with the people, or their social life, to say with confidence. What we do know certainly does not justify our jumping to a condemnatory conclusion ; for in fairness it must be said, that if the Japanese themselves are worthy of any credit, it would appear that female chastity and fidelity to the marriage vow are held in as high respect in Japan as in any Christian land in the West, where the customs are different, and the most scrupulous regard to the outward proprieties of dress and decorum is habitual. It is difficult to form an opinion of the morality of one people by the standard of another. The Turks think it a reproach for women to be seen out of their harems, and, even among the lower classes, regard the unveiling of the face as a shameless and indecent act, associating with it corresponding ideas of immorality. Singularly enough, we seem to have some traces of this conception in our own vernacular, when we wish to express a similar reproach of shamelessness, by the term '*barefaced*.' An Arab woman wears a single vest open to the waist, but carefully shrouds her face from view. The Chinese, on the other side of Asia, expose the face without reserve, and paint it too to be admired, but are scrupulous in covering the neck as high as the throat ; while they very certainly regard the dress of European ladies, their dancing in public with their male acquaintances, and indeed our whole system of visiting, as the most shocking departure from all the rules of propriety and decency which the imagination of man or woman could invent.

As regards this aspect of Japanese life, it is certain that whatever may be the construction which should fitly be put upon this and other singular customs among this people, they are no strangers to the vice and licentiousness found among Western nations. This is indeed apparent enough on the surface. Whether they are different in kind, or worse in degree, is the question ; and whether such customs, which *may* be the result of greater depravity, are the true indications of its existence ? It

is by no means so simple a question as may appear; where from custom no sense of immodesty attaches to a costume or habit, we know very well the utmost purity of thought may be compatible with its adoption. The sense of wrongdoing and condemnation in *foro conscientiae* must, in great measure, determine the question of immodesty, or, at all events, enter far more largely into the determining character than at first sight appears. Where not only concubinage prevails as an institution of the country—and prostitution may almost be held to take similar rank, with no indelible stain attaching to those who are its instruments or victims—a large license is obviously secured within strictly legal limits. It would even seem as though the latter institution was not without honour, for we learn that in the largest temple of Yeddo, known as the *Quánones*, there is in the side vestibule a large panel painted every year for exhibition, with full-length portraits of all the most noted courtezans of the capital dressed in their best attire. Again, in the quarter of the city assigned to this class, most of the house property is said to belong to one of the princes of the Tycoon blood, who derives from them a large revenue. On the other hand, in the endeavour to arrive at a correct estimate of the morality and domestic life of a new people, the best observers are at first apt to be strangely deceived or misled. There seems very little doubt, for instance, that the old Dutch writers, Kœmpfer and Thunberg, and others have propagated a grave error in describing all the female attendants at the tea-houses as belonging to this class. The truth appears to be, that they are not essentially different from the waitingmaids and housemaids at hotels or inns in Europe—neither better nor worse probably, being exposed to similar dangers and temptations. One thing is quite certain, that both they and the master and mistress are punishable *by law* for any irregularity which may take place in their houses. Thus warned to caution, on the one side, against hasty judgment from appearances, and on the other, with a full knowledge of the practice of legalised concubinage—a traveller must feel sorely perplexed if called upon to give an off-hand opinion on the national morality of Japan. Not the less so, perhaps, if he recollects that polygamy, concubinage, and slavery equally existed with similar legal sanctions among the Patriarchs, and even much later, under the Mosaic dispensation, in the days of David and Solomon. This, too, among a people who had not only a higher standard of morality and purity than any of the surrounding nations, but with whom the sanctity of family relations lay at the foundation of the polity, by which they were moulded into a nation. The same institutions exist over all the un-Christian-

ised races of the globe to this day, as they did in the time of David. It is Christianity alone which has assigned to man a stricter rule of life, and to woman a nobler fate than that of the concubine or the slave.

Passing from the consideration of the moral characteristics of the Japanese, and reverting to their grammar, we find in respect to the personal pronouns, another interesting fact that, although not wholly wanting, they are rarely used. Nouns with various significations of honour or self-abasement almost invariably supply their place. Thus in practice, if not in theory, they hardly exist. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that there is a bewildering variety in the modes of expressing the important word *I* in Japanese, and scarcely less for all the other persons *Thou*, and *he*, and *she*, with their plurals, thus become formidable entities, requiring careful approach and long study. Mr. Alcock has given a table of six or seven forms for each, as the lowest number for the student to begin with, warning all comers, at the same time, that there are still many additional forms to be acquired, and that no more grievous solecism in manners can be committed among the Japanese, than wrongly to apply either the terms of due humility in the speaker designating himself, or of honour to the person addressed; each variation in rank, age, and sex demanding the use of some different form of speech! This is rather startling intelligence to beginners; but if such be the fact, it is better to know the whole truth at once, than to go blundering on in the dark. Thus, to take one of the examples given of the ingenuity exercised by the Japanese in the invention of terms of honour or abasement which take the place of personal pronouns — for the most part pure circumlocutions and paraphrases to avoid a personal appellative or designating pronoun — we find one of the terms for *I*, speaking humbly as to a superior, is *Témaié*, literally, ‘the person who is before your hand.’ *Wutalsooshi*, another term for *I* — means, literally, ‘something private,’ an egoism, something pertaining to the *I*. Again, *Anattu*, ‘*Thou*,’ is a word literally signifying ‘your side.’ So, in speaking of ladies or women, *onago dono* may be used correctly, to designate those of a man’s own household, but if applied to any other, the expression would be a gross affront — *dono* being the plural adjunct, implying humility and relative lowness of rank; while *onago*, the term for a lady or female, is not sufficiently honorific to be used in speaking of others: both have consequently to be changed; the affix *gata* must then be used for the plural, and *io-chou* for the noun; whereas among women and children, and speaking of each other, the terminal would be *tatsi*, or *tat-si*,

and then the phrase might run *Onago tatchi*, or, if it was meant to designate young ladies, *Musoomé tatchi*.

We see in all this, first, a strange proneness to self-abasement, a certain absence of individualism and self-assertion, which, on the other hand, is very much opposed to some of their national characteristics. A Japanese is proud of his race and nation, stands much on his personal dignity, and is very sensitive to any indignity or affront put upon him by the neglect or refusal to render all that custom and etiquette prescribe. That they should be a ceremonious and punctilious people follows as a matter of course, for just in proportion as they are conscious of sensitiveness on these points, is their scrupulousness in avoiding any provocation or ground of offence to others. Indeed, to such a pitch do they carry this, that no equestrian statue is permitted, so at least they say themselves, because it would wound the dignity of any one entitled to marks of respect to pass in the street, or to meet in a house a person riding while the other was on foot. Thus none but officers, and not all these, are allowed to ride; and if a Damio (or Prince) is met, they must dismount until he passes. Nor are these unimportant distinctions, for they have much to do with the hostility of all the ruling classes to foreigners passing along their roads and streets, especially on horseback, because, in the first place, it is an assumption of superiority over many, and in the next, place, no Damio, however high, can compel a foreigner to dismount and do him obeisance. Hence they have tried successively to close the road to foreigners between Yeddo and the Port of Kanagawa, and various unpleasant rencontres have taken place, when members of the Legations have had to pass a Japanese noble with a retinue of retainers.

It is evident, therefore, that there is a great fund of pretension at the bottom of all these periphrases of self-abasement, which seem only so punctiliously adhered to, that each may be sure in turn of having the like rendered back to him with interest, in terms of honour and exaltation when addressed by others. So, although grammarians may find difficulty in disinterring and separating from these euphuisms and circumlocutions distinctive personal pronouns, — yet we hesitate to join in the conclusion, somewhat rashly drawn, perhaps, that there is no individual liberty among the Japanese, and that their laws, and the mixed feudal and despotic nature of their government, imperatively require the utter renunciation of all individuality and rights attaching to it. Something, however — much perhaps — of this may be true, without altogether establishing the deduction. 4

This reflection of national life and character in the language, and the reciprocal influence of both in moulding each other, form an interesting field of inquiry, which Mr. Alcock seems to regret he could only glance at; and we must follow his example, passing on to other matter. The religion, literature, and political institutions of a people, coupled with an examination into their customs, manners, and social habits in all the different classes, are essential to any well-founded estimate of what a nation has been, or is yet capable of becoming. And this last is even more interesting to the European races than the first. The progress made in the arts of life, the actual degree and kind of civilisation attained, their advance in the higher departments of science, together with the development of which commerce seems susceptible, taken in connexion with the political economy in vogue, especially among the ruling classes, must all be taken into consideration before a trustworthy opinion can be formed as to the future of Japan, in relation with foreign powers and states. And any opinion which can now be offered must necessarily be subject to correction, as our knowledge shall attain greater fullness and accuracy. But all the more recent accounts which have reached this country from Englishmen now actually resident in Japan tend to the same conclusion, and prove that a new field of inquiry has opened upon us. \* And it is also clear that the result will be the modification of many, if not all the preconceived opinions of Europeans regarding Japan and the Japanese. Profiting in the interval by some of these new materials, we propose, in the remainder of this article, to give only such new points of view as may be gathered from the capital and its environs -- something of a stereoscopic view, in which some of the leading features of people and landscape may pass in rapid review, showing how the former dress and work, live and trade, fight and revel, being very much given to both the last, it seems; how their streets and houses change their character with the quarter, and Yeddo puts on a new physiognomy twenty times a day, according to the hour and the direction in which the traveller wanders. Perhaps at the end our readers may get a more lively conception of the 'civilisation, 'manners, and customs' of the Japanese, 'in its physical, 'political, and social conditions,' than from more pretentious and learned disquisitions. Some such true impressions of photographic accuracy are becoming more than ever needful in the plethora of new compilations, and the dearth of new authentic matter to fill them with. The panorama of Yeddo is waiting, and our guide is secured—the horses are ready; and if our readers will use our glasses, we promise to be their

cicerone through the capital, and faithfully to reproduce some of its more striking features.

To traverse Europe and the whole breadth of Asia, to find the living embodiment of a state of society which existed in the West many centuries ago, and since that time has passed utterly away, and to mark its reproduction in all the details and distinctive characters (with much greater knowledge of the arts of life and a more advanced material civilisation), is certainly a novel condition, well calculated to give additional piquancy to the details of life in Japan in this nineteenth century. It is therefore with deliberate forethought, and in order that our readers may more fully realise this Oriental phase of feudalism, such as our ancestors knew it in the time of the Plantagenets, that we pray them to keep the magic tube we shall present to their eye, and shut out all preconceived views or surrounding objects, which speak of a later age in a different race. We are going back to the twelfth century in Europe, for there alone we shall find the counterpart of 'Japan as it is.'

Our way lies first along the edge of the bay under the bluff which fringes it, where the suburb of Sinagawa merges into the city, much as Kensington straggles into London. On the highest of the many hills which intersect the great valley of Yeddo is a temple of great celebrity or sanctity; the grounds around it are laid out with seats and arbours, the resort of the pleasure-loving Yeddites, and the resting-places for the pilgrims who come to worship and pay their vows to the presiding deity; from this hill the finest view of the city and the bay is to be obtained. Towards the close of a chill and dreary afternoon in March last, a party of some twenty pilgrims, with the ancient palmer's scallop shell on their vests, (a strange coincidence), weary and travel-stained, to all appearance, with a long day's journey, mounted the steep flight of granite steps which lead to the summit of *A-tang-i-Yama*, so called from the God *Atango*, whose temple is there. Having told the abbot they came, in performance of a vow, to spend the whole night in prayer before the great idol, and received the welcome due to such pious pilgrims, they were supplied by the attending damsels of the arbours with successive cups of the weakest tea, and had leisure, while smoking the never-failing diminutive pipe, to fix an eager gaze over the vast city which lay at their feet. If this was the first time their eyes had rested upon the Bay of Yeddo and the city washed by its waves, it might well rivet their attention. In front, looking northwards, with a couple of miles of valley intervening, the range of hills occupied by the Tycoon's castle and the official quarter, shuts out all

beyond on that side. But in the valley, trending far back from the bay, with some undulating ground, are circles of continuous streets, interspersed with temples and their gardens, the imperial cemetery with its noble timber, and many Damios' residences *entre cour et jardin*, the Chesterfield House, or Lansdowne House of the capital of Japan. Some hundred of these princely residences are scattered over Yeddo, and grouped in clusters round the Tycoon's quarter, surrounded by trees and sometimes extensive parks. To the right and eastward the wide bay, with its distant shores on the opposite side, scarce visible in the haze, extends many miles. Westward another range of wooded hills, with temples and houses scattered down their flanks, shuts out and conceals from view a large and populous section of the city. Behind, to the south, houses and streets less compactly massed stretch on for more than a league without interruption, until they join the suburb already mentioned on the road to Kana-gawa. In that direction the flags of the three Legations may sometimes be seen, but the French alone is on a hill, and easily traced from a distance.

Fair to look on is the capital of the Tycoon thus nestled in a broad valley, girdled with green woods and crowned by undulating hills, sloping with a gradual descent to the edge of a bay, into which the Southern Ocean seeks in vain to pour its stormy waters. Nature has barred the entrance, twenty miles below, with a breakwater of volcanic islands and verdant headlands on either side; and, to make it more secure, has shouldered the whole gulf, so that five miles from the city it is difficult to find anchorage for a vessel drawing twenty feet—the best of all defences against assault from without, whether the elements or a hostile fleet be the enemy! Nor are these Eastern potentates at all ignorant of the fact; for when a proposal was made some time ago, to the King of Siam to remove the bar at the mouth of the Menawe leading to Bangkok, his Majesty frankly replied: 'If necessary, I would pay you to keep it there for the defence of my capital!' The government at Yeddo, not content with what nature has done, has raised five batteries; and since our first gun-boats arrived with Lord Elgin, they have blocked up the only passage which existed between them having water enough to float even a gun-boat. They are now busily engaged in erecting another battery, to carry the chain of fortifications still higher up the bay. They have no idea, therefore, of being found defenceless; and in truth, of all cities situated on the edge of navigable water, there are few so unattackable by a naval force as Yeddo. Either the Japanese would seem to look forward to an attack



as a contingency to which they have become unavoidably exposed since the treaties were signed with foreign Powers, whom they little trust and like still less; or they have themselves some ulterior policy which they conclude will render collision sooner or later inevitable. If we are to judge from the evident efforts so perseveringly made to prepare for effective resistance, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. Not only new batteries are erected at Yeddo and the port of Kanagawa below, but enough gunpowder is expended in musket and artillery practice, in the course of a few months, to supply an army during a whole campaign. So we learn from the best authority.

Having taken this general survey of the situation of the city, it is time to descend from the *cyrie* where our pilgrims chose to pass their night, praying for the successful accomplishment of a vow which the morrow's sun must see fulfilled; must, indeed, for these proved to be no ordinary pilgrims, but messengers of blood, and their vow was a vow of vengeance; a vow to exact retribution for wrongs suffered by their prince and feudal chief at the hands of one of the highest in the land. Little was it dreamed, as next morning they fixed their parting gaze on the far horizon where Fusi-gama lifts his head with glittering cap of snow twelve thousand feet into the sky, and then turned to the Tycoon's hill consecrated to all the dignities, where lay their victim, that they were consciously looking their last on hill and valley, earth and sky; for little hope could any of the twenty of this self-devoted band entertain that they would see the evening hour come round. Little, indeed, could the faintest heart, if any such beat within their breasts, have desired it,—for in so desperate an enterprise a sharp stroke and short shrift is the happiest issue possible. Death must equally await any who escape the first, but with a dread interlude, during which all the extremity of anguish the most fiendish ingenuity can wring out of humanity by torture would have to be endured. With these alternatives before them, none, however, seemed to have blenched or faltered, for none failed at the trysting-place, on which, after the night of vigil and devotion, their eyes were fixed, as they took their departure from the temple. We lose sight of them from that moment. When next they were heard of, it was on the scene where the tragedy was acted out at their life's peril, or rather its certain sacrifice. Thither we may follow them hereafter; meanwhile let us proceed at our leisure through the city, noting how the world jogs on, unconscious of anything impending to mark this day from any other in the calendar.

It is nine o'clock in the morning. The city is up and stirring. The shops are opened, and the streets are filling with a swarming population of rich and poor, busy and idle. The mounted officer, the street vendor with his ambulatory stock, the halting beggar, all help to swell the tide of human life. We will not take the nearest road—broad and inviting as it looks, for that leads straight into the official or Damios' quarter, but we shall first make a circuit round and through the commercial wards. Even that will take us through park and garden-bordered roads, over undulating hills, high enough occasionally to give glimpses of the open country beyond, with rice ground, black and fallow, in the lower levels—the growing wheat of brightest green carpeting the uplands, the rape seed with its golden flowers, and everywhere unmistakeable signs of skilled agricultural labour and wealth. In all seasons of the year, verdure and beauty of no common character clothe the hills, broken into a hundred winding vales for leagues on leagues around Yeddo, on all the land side; for, unlike its population, the country never lets itself be seen naked, and scarcely *en déshabille*, even when stripped, barest of its foliage. A few trees lose their leaves entirely, and stretch their naked arms to a wintry sky; but in close proximity will always be seen some full-leaved ever-greens, often noble trees, like the oak, of several varieties (some specimens of which are now in the Kew Gardens)—the cryptomeria, and a whole family of coniferæ, of pines, cedars, and cypress, the sombre foliage of which contrasts well with the lighter hue and graceful branches of the feathery bamboo, or the more stately palm. All are there to give marvellous beauty and variety to the scenery. In early spring there is a lavish display of blossoms, which supply the place of leaves yet in the bud, when leaves are none—the Magnolia with its large white or purple flowers; the Paulownia (so named by Siebold), with large branches of ball-shaped flowers like the fox-glove, which begin to be well-known in Europe; the Westeria covering the porches of tea house and cottage, with a profusion of lilac blossoms hanging like bunches of grapes. A variety of flowering shrubs not yet seen in Europe fill the hedges, and sometimes scent the air, as well as gladden the eye; while acres of orchard ground are covered by pear, and peach, and plum blossoms, the branches trelliced horizontally overhead. The orange tree with its fragrant white blossoms is not wanting to grace the spring festival. In the tea gardens, scattered plentifully round the suburbs, the peach and the plum trees are cultivated chiefly with a view to the beauty of the blossom, which attains the size and fullness of a rose, and covers the tree in

rich profusion. It is one of the great delights of the Japanese at Yeddo, during all April, to make pic-nics to these suburban gardens and temples. Groups of men, women, and children, by families, may be seen trooping along the shady roads on their way to enjoy the beauty of the opening spring—the rich in norimons, the middle and lower classes on foot. But this Arcadian scene is often marred by intemperance. Not content with drinking in the freshness of the opening flowers, the men indulge in deep libations of *sake*; nor is this practice altogether confined, as one would fain have hoped, to the rougher sex, who make the streets unsafe on their return, especially to dogs and foreigners. They may be met in bands of two or three with reeling gait and flushed faces, and, now and then, those of the lower classes are stretched across the road too drunk to go any further. In the vice of intemperance the Japanese have nothing to learn from foreigners. That at least cannot be laid to our charge. They are as much given to drunkenness as any of the northern races of Europe—are quite as quarrelsome as the worst, and far more dangerous in their cups, though Mr. Oliphant stated that during his visit not a drunken man was to be seen. These are drawbacks to the beauty of the landscape and the country lanes; but it must also be admitted in candour, that the same evils exist in Christian lands. Very fortunately our British drunkards do not carry two sharp swords in their belt, or feel it a point of honour to flesh them, if any convenient opportunity can be found. In other respects, both country roads and streets in the city of Yeddo will bear advantageous comparison with the best kept of either in the West. No squalid misery or accumulations of filth encumber the well-cared-for streets of Yeddo; a strange but pleasant contrast with every other Asiatic land, and not a few European cities. The occasional passage of a train of porters carrying open pails of liquid manure from the town to the fields, or a string of horses laden with the same precious but 'perilous stuff' (carefully covered over in the latter case, however, in conical tubs), are not only the worst assaults made either on the olfactory or the visual organs, but the sole assailants—when once the eye is accustomed to the summer costume of the lower orders, which with the men is often reduced to a full suit of Tatoo with a narrow loin cloth, and the women a petticoat, sadly curtailed in the breadth.

In the lower level of the valley of Yeddo, miles and leagues of continuous streets may be traversed, filled with a busy, but not-overworked, and seemingly a very contented and good-humoured people. Children and dogs abound everywhere.

Until the former can walk, they are generally secured to the back of the mother, while these pursue their daily occupations, their arms thus left free. Unfortunately, so it seems to the lookers-on, the poor babe's head is left equally free, the body only being supported by the sort of pocket in which the infant is deposited, and consequently with every movement of the parental trunk, it rolls from side to side, swaying to and fro, as if a dislocation of the neck must inevitably be the result. Vain fears! The mothers know better. They have been nursed for twenty generations in precisely the same way. The babies themselves, by use, may grow to like it, and certainly rarely cry or give other token of dislike—what will not use reconcile us to in this life? But the mothers are not the sole guardians of the infant progeny. It is a very common sight, in the streets and shops of Yeddo, to see a little nude cupid in the arms of a stalwart-looking father, nearly as nude, who walks about with his small burden, evidently handling it with all the gentleness and dexterity of a practised hand. It does not seem there is any need of a foundling hospital, nor has any intelligence reached us of infanticide, more or less common in China, especially of female children.

A good-humoured and contented as well as a happy race are the Japanese, whatever may be their imperfections, with the one important exception, of the military, feudal, and official caste—classes we might say, but they are not easily separable: indeed it seems doubtful whether there be a *civil* class, since all of a certain rank are armed with two formidable weapons projecting from their belt, swords, like everything else in Japan (to our worse confusion), being double! without much or obvious distinction between military and civil,—between Tycoons', Officers', and Damios' retainers. These are the classes which furnish suitable types of that extinct species of the race in Europe, still remembered as '*Swashbucklers*,' swaggering, blustering bullies, cowardly enough to strike an enemy in the back, or cut down an unarmed and inoffensive man. They are all entitled to the privilege of two swords, rank and file, and are saluted by the unprivileged (professional, mercantile, and agricultural) as '*Sama*,' or lord. With a rolling straddle in his gait, reminding one of Mr. Kinglake's graphic description of the Janissary, due to the same cause, the heavy projecting blades at his waist, and the swaddling clothes round his body, the Japanese officer moves on in a very ungainly fashion, the hilts of his two swords at least a foot in advance of his person, very handy, to all appearance, for an enemy's grasp. One is a heavy two-handed weapon, pointed and sharp as a

razor; the other, short like a Roman sword, and religiously kept in the same serviceable state. In the use of these he is no mean adept. He seldom requires a second thrust with the shorter weapon, but strikes home at a single thrust. When the British Minister's linguist was murdered at the gate of the Legation, in January last, by one of the Damios followers, the assassin was seen, by some women and children standing near, to approach stealthily from behind, and with one lunge he pierced his victim through the stomach, leaving the sword buried to the hilt in his body, and the point projecting through his right breast. Such a fellow is a man to whom all peace-loving subjects and prudent people habitually give as wide a berth as they can! Often drunk, and always insolent, he is to be met with in the quarters of the town where the tea houses most abound, returning about dusk and later from his day's debauch with a red and bloated face, not over steady on his legs, the terror of all the unarmed population and street dogs. Happy for the former when he is content with trying the edge of a new sword on the quadrupeds; and many a poor crippled animal is to be seen limping about slashed over the back, or with more permanent evidences of brutality. But at other times it is some coolie or inoffensive shopkeeper, who, coming unadvisedly between 'the wind and his nobility,' is just as mercilessly cut down at a blow. This does not quite accord with Kœmpfer's account of the perfect order and respect for the law maintained throughout Japan; nor with Mr. Oliphant's impressions of the universal respect for the canine race; but a twelve-months' residence in the capital appears to have revealed to our informants many things still more opposed to the generally-received accounts. And that we may not be supposed to overcolour this part of our picture drawn from life in the capital, we refer our readers to the following extract from the Blue Book, taken from an official letter addressed by Mr. Alcock to the Japanese Ministers of Foreign Affairs in November, 1859:—

'I was returning on horseback at a quiet pace from the American Legation about five o'clock, merely followed by a groom on foot, to take care of my horse, and a servant on horseback.'

'I met in the great "tocado" many officers, some in groups and others alone, armed with their two swords (about as dangerous and deadly weapons as men can well possess), and evidently intoxicated. They were drunk in various degrees, but all—the best of them—were in a state utterly unfit to be at large in a great thoroughfare, or trusted with weapons by which they might in an instant inflict fatal wounds or grievous injury. In such circumstances I have frequently observed before, that they are not only insolent, and as a general rule

offensive in their gestures and speech when they meet foreigners, but are very prone to put themselves directly in the path, and either dispute the passage with an air of menace, or sometimes even attempt to strike either horse or rider. Several of these disorderly persons I had passed—and as a dispute with a drunken man is always to be avoided by one in his sober senses, I took no heed of their demonstrations of ill-will, and left their passage free; but when within fifty yards of my own door, having just overtaken Mr. Heuskin, one, more intoxicated or more insolent than the rest, not content with standing in our path, pushed against both horse and rider, and was put aside by one of the grooms who came up; upon which he instantly put his hand to his sword, and fearing a defenceless servant might be cut down by this drunken bravo, I wheeled my horse round to protect him if necessary by interposing myself. But I was unarmed, with only a riding whip in my hand, and, undoubtedly, as I should not have stood quietly by and seen a servant murdered who had only done his duty in my defence, it is doubtful what might have been the issue; but my servant who was on horseback had a pistol, and hearing the officer vow immediate vengeance presented it, declaring he would shoot him if he drew his sword. But for this, both the groom and myself might very probably have been wounded, if not murdered, by this ruffian, maddened with drink, and armed to the teeth.

Do your Excellencies mean to tell me that nothing can be done in this capital of Japan to prevent men of the rank of officers going about the streets furiously drunk with two deadly weapons at their sides? Is there no law against persons who thus go about to the disgrace of their rank, and to the manifest danger of every peaceable inhabitant—no punishment or penalty that can be inflicted to deter them from such conduct? (*Parliamentary Papers*, pp. 85, 86.)

And subsequently, in writing to Lord John Russell, Mr. Alcock added in explanation of this communication, —

‘The task which devolves upon the diplomatic agents at Yeddo at the present moment is rather, therefore, to make head against immediate dangers and evils which threaten to make their position in the capital untenable, and all future trade impossible, than to reap the better fruit so sanguinely anticipated by many. Such fruit must be of slow growth in this soil, and, if ever matured, can only be gathered after much toil and care, and patience have been bestowed on its cultivation.

‘In referring to the recent attempt to assassinate, and the urgent necessity for such measures as shall prevent crimes of this kind taking place with impunity, I have taken occasion to bring before them an incident in Yeddo, which it required but the turning of a straw to have made as tragic as the event at Yokuhama, and all the more untoward that the victim in this case might have been Her Majesty’s representative. As regards the population there is little to complain of, or to fear. Any hostility they may heretofore have shown, I am satisfied, was not spontaneous, but got up by the hostile Daimios, or the Government. Here, as in China, it is all of mandarin or official

growth. If I had any hesitation in so charging them before, all doubt has passed from my mind since I have seen how surely, after it had been allowed to manifest itself with great violence for several weeks, it suddenly and entirely ceased. I rode through the city from one end to the other, a week ago — through the most crowded thoroughfares — over the "Niponbas," the centre where never a foreigner had been allowed to penetrate, but a short time before, without popular tumult and a volley of stones; and not a hand or a voice was raised, neither there nor during the whole course of my ride of some ten miles. Yet, the other day, nearly at the gate of my own residence, I was in danger of either seeing a defenceless servant cut down, or being so dealt with myself in the effort to rescue him, by parties of drunken and ill-disposed officers, against which contingencies no precautionary measures whatever appear to be taken by the Government. When I state to your Lordship, therefore, that the first care of the foreign representatives is to secure their own lives, in other words, to make a residence in Yeddo tenable for diplomatic agents, I think it will be clear that I do not overestimate the importance of better means of protection being devised by the Japanese Government than they have hitherto seemed disposed to adopt; and not only to secure foreign representatives in the capital from violence, but the persons and property of foreigners at the port. These are the first conditions of any permanent relations, and these once secured, it will be more easy to devote an undivided attention to the removal of other evils and dangers, with which both the Government and the foreign Agents must successfully grapple, before any good or satisfactory results can be derived from the treaties.' (*Parliamentary Papers*, p. 79.)

But for this class of military retainers and Tycoon officials, high and low, both of which swarm in Yeddo, it seems it might be one of the pleasantest places of residence in the far East. The climate is superior to that of any other country east of the Cape. The capital itself, though spreading over a circuit of some twenty miles, with probably a couple of millions of inhabitants, can boast what no capital in Europe can, — the most charming rides beginning even in its heart, and extending in every direction over wooded hills, through smiling valleys and shady lanes fringed with evergreens and magnificent timber. Even in the city, especially along the ramparts of the official quarter, and in many woods and avenues leading thence to the country, broad green slopes, and temple gardens, or well-timbered parks gladden the eye as it is nowhere else gladdened within the circle of a city. No sooner is a suburb gained, in any direction, than hedgerows appear, which only England can rival either for beauty or neatness; while over all an eastern sun, through the greater part of the year, throws a flood of light from an unclouded sky, making the deepest shadow of the over-arching trees doubly grateful from its

coolness, accompanied as it is by endless pictures of arabesque tracery, both above and below. Such is Yeddo and its environs in the long summer time, and far into a late autumn; even through the early winter months, until about the middle of February, when the weather breaks with rain and snow, and easterly winds swelling into gales of two and three days' duration succeed, full of danger to ships on the rock-bound coast and stormy seas still unsurveyed.

Such, no doubt, must Yeddo have been, looking its best and gayest when its temple and castle-crowned hills first greeted the eyes of Lord Elgin and his suite. And so Messrs. Osborne and Oliphant have painted it for us in its gala dress, all nature contributing to make it bright. The ministers of the dead Tycoon (for dead he was while the treaty was being negotiated), too happy to terminate a negotiation which could alone rid them of their self-invited and most unwelcome guests, who had arrived in the midst of a palace revolution, 'smiled and smirked' and 'made things pleasant' as they best could: but it may well be doubted whether any treaty with Japan, under present circumstances, could possibly be devised to establish a foreign trade and diplomatic relations that would not be utterly distasteful to the ruling class, and exposed to the dangers now attending the execution of the engagements already signed and ratified.

With such hostility on the part of the chief feudal princes and Damios forming the Great Council of the nation, under the nominal presidency of a Boy Tycoon, it has been found very difficult to account for the signature of the first treaty, entered into with Mr. Harris as the American representative. This can only be explained in fact by the supposition of divided councils — of two parties: one, for some object personal or patriotic, desiring to bring into the political arena foreign allies; and the other determined to oppose such innovation as threatening danger to the existing order of things or their own personal authority and influence; and recent events tend to throw new light upon the subject strongly confirmatory of this view.

At the head of the first would appear to have been the Prince of Meto, the head of one of the royal houses or '*Go-sankay*,' as the descendants of the three brothers to the founders of the dynasty are termed. His deposition immediately followed the signature of the American treaty, and he has been closely watched ever since as a dangerous malcontent by the dominant party, at the head of which is the hereditary *Gotiro*, or Regent. It now further appears, that with this House of



Meto there has been a long-standing grief by reason of their persistent exclusion from the succession, to which, by right of birth, they are entitled. It seems highly probable, then, that with pretensions to the succession on the death or deposition of a Tycoon, and with the knowledge that a powerful party was arrayed against him, this nobleman and the friends of his house may have conceived the design of adopting a policy of liberal intercourse with foreign nations, as the best means of subverting the existing order, and breaking the yoke of the oligarchy under which he suffered this personal wrong.

We have given a glimpse of Yeddo as it may be seen on a bright summer day; but it is not all sunshine in the capital of the Tycoon. Tempests from above, and volcanic throes from below, from time to time give it a very different aspect. From political storms and convulsions it would appear, for the last two centuries, to have been more happily exempt than any other capital in modern times; when the event we shall soon advert to, suddenly awoke the Yeddo citizens from their dream of chartered security, and for a period inspired some anxious doubts as to what might follow, of change or revolution, to the most perfect and best warranted of state machines.

There is a winter, however, in Japan; less severe in the capital than in the north and opposite coast of China; still a very unmistakeable winter with ice and snow, while at Hakodadi, in the northernmost island of the group, it is almost Siberian, with long-continued and heavy falls of snow, the thermometer standing many degrees below zero. The country at Yeddo seldom, indeed, puts on a winter garb: it is in the streets the principal change occurs, for as nature throws off her mantle her children put on theirs; and the Japanese heap wadded gown on gown, until they get the required warmth, with a notable increase of bulk. A chafing dish with a handful of charcoal let into the floor, (like the Spanish *braseiro*) being the only fire they use in their houses for purposes of warmth, they naturally resort to clothing. The men in the streets seem, above all, careful of their *nose ends*, and on a cold day two thirds of the population are to be seen with all the lower part of their faces concealed by the folds of a blue cotton muffler tied round the head, from under which nothing but a pair of eyes can be recognised. And when the wearer carries a couple of deadly weapons at his waist, and moves with a menacing gait, it is difficult to conceive a more assassin-like figure; immediately suggesting a masked bravo, whom it would be unpleasant to meet in a lone place on a dark night; and, in effect, murders and highway robberies appear to be very frequent. The fronts

of the houses and shops, too, are less open to the street than when the sun sheds light and heat into their farthest corners; and with such sinister-looking figures everywhere meeting the eye, the whole city puts on something of the aspect of a beleaguered town peopled only by soldiers or armed men, bent on desperate work. If this be the impression conveyed by the narrow street and crowded thoroughfares of the commercial quarters, it is still further suggested on emerging from these into the Damios' quarter, circling between broad moats round the Tycoon's Castle. Here are five open spaces — great causeways or glacis, not less than fifty feet in width, lined on one side with the outer buildings and great massive-looking gateways of the Damios' residences and high officers in the employment of the Government; and on the other by the land and deep moats fed by tributary rivers, in which at this season of the year thousands of wild fowl live undisturbed. It being death to molest or shoot at them, they are so secure, that it is almost impossible to get them up; but if for a moment they are startled, they rise like a dark cloud from the water, in immense numbers. In the more shallow parts the sacred ibis of Egypt solemnly picks his way and his food, enjoying, as an emblem of happiness and longevity with the Japanese, quite as much sanctity as in the land of the Pharaphs. With the agriculturist also the whole race of storks, cranes, and paddy birds, of which there are great numbers, are in much favour for their utilitarian qualities; and they may often be seen in twos and threes following the plough, with the greatest regularity and gravity, close at the heels of the peasant, picking the worms out of the fresh-turned earth, and making their morning meal equally to his advantage and their own.

These moats, like the causeways which serve as glacis, are wide, with a depth of some thirty feet or more; in many places massive walls, and in others green sloping banks, rise in steep lines from the water's edge. These are admirably laid in turf, and beautifully kept, — smooth as any gentleman's lawn in England, and always green — surmounted at the top by a rampart wall of blocks of granite, laid on each other in polygons and irregular lines without mortar, the better to meet the shocks of continual earthquakes, by allowing a certain latitude of motion without fracture or serious displacement. From many of these steep green banks fine cypresses and cedars rise up perpendicularly, nearly to the level of the parapets; an innovation on our ideas of defensive works, rather detrimental to their security, but singularly conducive to their beauty. But strong, and almost impregnable as these triple lines of bastion,

rampart, and moat appear at their first aspect, they have evidently been constructed in ignorance of some of the first principles of the engineer's art as regards military defence. The ramparts present salient angles in all directions, from which the whole might be raked, and their defenders swept away by a few discharges of artillery. But curious to say, although so evidently built at a vast expense *for defence*, not a single piece of ordnance is anywhere to be seen within the official quarter. Each moat is crossed at three or four points in the circle by solidly built timber bridges, flanked by high massive gateways and bastions, with Cyclopien blocks of granite, and copper-sheathed and clamped gates of great strength; but nothing in the shape of a drawbridge exists.

As the whole of this quarter of the city occupies the crowns of a small range of hills projecting across the valley, and dividing it in two, covering an area probably of some five miles in circumference, it offers many commanding sites and fine sweeps of landscape. First the line of broad causeway with the green banks of the moat, and the quaint architecture of the Damios' gateways, with groups of figures on horse and foot for the foreground. Then a Damio and his escort, with umbrella and standards, norimons and led horses, or some more modest officer of Tycoon or feudal prince, in his costume of ceremony, with projecting wings of gauze (not like an angel's), gravely and solemnly, as is their wont, proceeding to their destination, perched on the top of a break-neck saddle; his bridle of silken folds in both hands, and a groom at each side to catch him if he should fall, and two more to lead the impetuous animal. Further on, scattered here and there, would be similar groups on foot, and a certain proportion of *valetaille* and feudal retainers of all ranks. These give life and interest to a foreground of grand proportions and bold outline, while beyond, and on a much lower level, glimpses of the city appear stretching away to the blue waters of the bay, covered with fantastically rigged boats and junks. No capital in Europe presents so many striking features of a type altogether peculiar, nor upon the whole can any boast of so much beauty in the site and the surrounding country, and this for leagues in every direction. And probably no other capital would prove so difficult to occupy by an enemy, unless his army rivalled the invading force of Xerxes in number. We are told that the official quarter alone, with the Tycoon's castle in the centre, which is the key of the whole position, could not be occupied with safety, or be defended, by less than a hundred thousand men, so vast is the area it covers. Probably the Japanese may themselves have come to

this conclusion also ; and thus determined they might dispense with armed batteries round their inner ramparts. This capital of the Japanese metropolis, in which armed men and troops of officers have their quarters, seems indeed rather for show than any thought of defensive operations, except, perhaps, in cases of internal feuds or insurrections, such as their history seems to say have never occurred since the strong arm and determined will of Taikō Lāmā reduced the boldest to subjection. The same Tycoon who exterminated Christianity, now more than two centuries ago, broke the power of the greatest feudal houses, and shivered them into fragments, reducing all to smaller dimensions, and the power of each to less dangerous proportions, in rivalry with his own and that of his descendants.

This illusion of fancied security within the sacred precincts of the Tycoon's quarter, was destined, however, at the time we have referred to, to be rudely broken by one of the most tragic occurrences in the annals of Japan. As we have described the appearance of the official quarter and its broad roads, our readers will readily realise the scene.

Within the second moated circle facing the bay, the causeway leads over a gentle acclivity near the summit of which, lying a little backward, is an imposing gateway, flanked on either side with a range of buildings which form the outer screens of large courtyards. Over the gates in copper enamel is the crest of the noble owner—the chief of the House of *Ikomono*, in which is vested the hereditary office of regent, whenever a minor fills the Tycoon's throne. From the commanding position of this residence a view is obtained of a long sweep of the rampart, and midway the descent ends in a long level line of road. Just at this point, not 500 yards distant, is one of the three bridges across the moat which leads into the inner enclosure, where the castle of the Tycoon is situated. It was about ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th March, while a storm of alternate sleet and rain swept over the exposed road and open space—offering little inducement to mere idlers to be abroad, that a train was seen to emerge from the gateway of the Gotiro's residence. The appearance of the *cortège* was sufficient to tell those familiar with the habits and customs of Japanese, that the Regent himself was in the midst, on his way to the palace, where his daily duties called him. Although the numbers were inconsiderable, and all the attendants were enveloped in their rain-proof cloaks of oiled paper, with great circular hats of basket or lacquer tied to their heads,—yet the two standard-bearers bore aloft at the end of their spears the black tuft of feathers, distinctive of a Damio, and always

marking his presence. A small company of officers and personal attendants walk in front and round the foremost norimon, while a troop of inferior office-bearers, follow,—grooms with led horses, extra norimon-bearers, baggage porters—for no officer, much less a Damio, ever leaves his house without a train of baggage,—empty or full, they are essential to his dignity. Then there are umbrella-bearers—the servants of servants, along the line. The *cortège* slowly wound its way down the hill, for the roads were wet and muddy even on this high ground, while the bearers were blinded with the drifting sleet, carefully excluded only from the norimons by closed screens. Thus suspended in a sort of cage just large enough to permit a man to sit cross-legged, the principal personage proceeded on his way to the palace. Little, it would seem, did either he or his men dream of possible danger. How should they, indeed, on such a spot, and for so exalted a personage? No augur or soothsayer gave warning to beware of the ‘Ides of March.’ And Iko-mono-no-kami, had he no secret misgiving, no presentiment of impending danger, such as men devoted to destruction are said to have had on so many occasions? He left his own gateway, having scarce 500 yards to traverse—the foremost man in the realm—surrounded by his own people,—nothing doubting, nothing fearing, yet ere his bearers set foot on that bridge, the vengeful steel will be at his throat. Death stands there across the path, a fatal mandate in his grasp; but still the procession moves on in careless ease. The edge of the moat is gained. A still larger *cortège* of the Prince of Kiusia, one of the royal brothers, was already on the bridge and passing through the gate on the opposite side, while coming up from the causeway at a few paces distant, was the retinue of a second of these brothers, the Prince of Owari. The Gotiro was thus between them at the foot of the bridge, in the open space formed by the making of a broad street, which debouches on the bridge. A few straggling groups, enveloped in their oil-paper cloaks alone were near, when suddenly one of these seeming idlers flung himself across the line of march immediately in front of the Regent’s norimon. The officers of his household, whose place is on each side of him, rushed forward at this unprecedented interruption—a fatal move, which had evidently been anticipated, for their place was instantly filled with armed men in coats of mail, who seemed to have sprung from the earth—a compact band of some eighteen or twenty men. With flashing swords and frightful yells, blows were struck at all around, the lightest of which severed men’s hands from the poles of the norimon, and cut down those who did not fly.

Deadly and brief was the struggle. The unhappy officers and attendants, thus taken by surprise, were hampered with their rain gear, and many fell before they could draw a sword to defend either themselves or their lord. A few seconds must have done the work,—so more than one looker-on declared; and before any thought of rescue seemed to have come to the attendants and escorts of the two other princes, both very near, (if indeed they were total strangers to what was passing) one of the band was seen to dash along the causeway with a gory trophy in his hand. Many had fallen in the *melee*, on both sides. Two of the assailants who were badly wounded, finding escape impossible, it is said, stopped in their flight, and deliberately performed the Harikari, to the edification of their pursuers—for it seems to be the law (so sacred is the rite or right, whichever may be the proper reading), that no one may be interrupted even for the ends of justice. These are held to be sufficiently secured by the self-immolation of the criminal, however heinous the offence, and it is a privilege to be denied to no one entitled to wear two swords. Other accounts say that their companions, as a last act of friendship, despatched them, to prevent their falling into the hands of the torturer. Eight of the assailants were unaccounted for when all was over; and the remnant of the Regent's people, released from their deadly struggle, hurried to the morion to see how it had fared with their master in the brief interval, to find only a headless trunk. The bleeding trophy carried off had been the head of the Gotiro himself, hacked off on the spot. But strangest of all these startling incidents, it is further related that *two* heads were found missing, and that which was seen in the fugitive's hand was only a lure to the pursuing party,—while the true trophy had been secreted on the person of another, and was thus successfully carried off. The decoy paid the penalty of his life. After leading the chase through a first gateway down the road, and dashing past the useless guard, he was finally overtaken; the end for which he had devoted himself having, however, as we have seen, been accomplished. Whether this be merely a popular version or the simple truth, it serves to prove what is believed to be a likely course of action; and how ready desperate men are to sacrifice their lives in Japan for an object. The officer in command of the guard who had allowed his post to be forced, was ordered the next day to perform the Harikari on the spot. The rest of the story is soon told. All Yeddo was thrown into commotion. The wardgates were all closed: the whole machinery of the Government in spies, police, and soldiers was put in motion, and in a few days it was generally believed the whole of the eight missing

were arrested, and in the hands of the torturer. What revelations were wrung from them, or whether they were enabled to resist the utmost strain that could be put on quivering flesh and nerve, remains shrouded in mystery. The officers of the government intimated at the Legation that they had revealed all, confessing they were in the service of the Prince of Meto—but the popular version, as shown in an ingenious rebus, was more heroic. The Chinese characters representing the *Gorogio* (Council of Ministers) was circulated, omitting certain portions—which taken separately signify a mouth,—and the whole was made to signify that the answers and heroism of the tortured men had closed the mouths of the Council.

Thus in open day, within sight of his own house, and close to the Tycoon's residence, the next highest personage in the realm by office was slain by a small band of determined men, retainers of a member of the reigning House, who had thus devoted themselves with a kind of chivalry, and certainly with no ordinary courage, to avenge the wrongs of their chief. The Prince himself subsequently, with such followers as he could get together, was reported to have escaped from surveillance, and, raising the standard of revolt within his own territories, which had been transferred to his son, to have seized a castle in a commanding position. This was held by one of the Tycoon's high officers, whom the Prince slew without scruple, and then bid defiance to all enemies and the ruling power. Whether this was the commencement of a civil war, or merely the outbreak of a faction feud between the chiefs of two rival houses, which would end in the destruction of one or both, seemed for some time doubtful; but the danger of any general conflict, whatever it may have been, appeared to have passed away when the latest accounts from Japan were despatched.

It is difficult to determine whether the boldness of the attack, its ruthlessness, or its prompt and sure success, under such circumstances, are most remarkable. They can hardly be regarded as common assassins, for it was an act of self-devotion on their part. They had nothing to gain, and no personal quarrel to avenge. Death on the spot, or a more tardy end, after going through the extremity of torture, was sure, and escape all but an impossibility for any. It carries the mind back to the feudal times of Europe, when the streets and thoroughfares of every capital were scenes of daily bloodshed and murder; when Guelfs and Ghibelines slew each other whenever they met, or an ambuscade could rid them of an enemy.

Certainly this picture is very unlike any we have heretofore been presented with, either by painstaking Kœmpfer or Thun-

berg in past generations, or hasty visitors since. Those writers who, on the strength of a very superficial observation or a flying visit to Nagasaki, have led the credulous public in Europe and America to believe that the triumph of European civilisation in Japan is already secure, and that the Japanese Government is promoting it, are strangely deluded. As to progress and advance in the path of civilisation, the papers lately laid before Parliament, in which the British Minister passes in review the progress made in the previous six months, the first after the opening of the ports under treaties in July last, give a very different impression. It is plain the Foreign Ministers in the capital find so little disposition on the part of the ruling Powers to give a liberal interpretation to the treaties, that ever since their arrival at Yeddo, they have been chiefly occupied in resisting and protesting against continual and systematic violations of all the more essential treaty provisions. As to the eagerness of the Japanese to learn, before schools could benefit them, there must be permission for them to attend. At present every European lives in a sort of moral quarantine — at the capital more especially — and no Japanese above the rank of a servant or a coolie, who is not officially employed about them by the Government, may hold any communication with them. The American Minister was even told so, when expressing a desire to see some officer of rank, whom he had known when the latter had been in office before. At Kanagawa, it is related, some American missionaries having arrived with their families, and desiring to engage one or two female servants, were told without any circumlocution by the officials, that they must send to a huge brothel, erected at the neighbouring settlement of Gokuhama (expressly for foreigners), and pay an exorbitant rate, one half of which goes to the Government, it being the law of Japan that none but this class of females shall serve foreigners! This is not liberal—or very agreeable—neither is it according to treaty. As to the railways and steam communication (which have been said to be contemplated), one fact is worth a page of suppositions; a very few months after the ports were opened under treaty, a liberal offer was made by the agent of a fine steamer to keep up a monthly communication between Yeddo, Nagasaki, and Shanghai, carrying freight, treasure, and despatches, if required for the Government, for the mere supply of 300 tons of Japanese coal each voyage, and it was refused, without apparently a second thought as to the advantages of such regular and rapid communication, either between their own ports or with those of China.



Our materials are far from being exhausted; but we must, however reluctantly, leave them, in order to make a few concluding observations on the general bearing of the facts and incidents already placed before our readers. It has been truly said that, as regards Japan, a great experiment is in progress, and with what result time alone perhaps can determine with any certainty; and the problem for solution is this—how far it may be possible for two different races, each at the head of their respective types of civilisation, to maintain amicable relations. In some respects the conditions under which the experiment is taking place are different from any hitherto seen in the history of the world. The two phases of civilisation—the one Oriental and the other European—now suddenly brought in contact, are different, both in kind and degree, from those seen in any previous case. In all preceding instances, when the Western and Eastern races have met, the contrasts and disparities have been greater. Japan, as has been shown, is at the present day very like what Europe was in the middle ages, when the feudal tenure and framework of society still existed; when the barons were powerful and the sovereigns often mere ciphers; when the noble and the military caste represented a nation, and comprised all which had either voice or privileges in the state. That history should present no example of harmonious fusion between two civilisations and races so diverse is not, therefore, quite conclusive, since nowhere has the Oriental or inferior civilisation been so far advanced. The levels are different, and locks are needed to facilitate traffic; but the great waterway exists, by which a free communication may be established to the advantage of both races.

Free from the conceited scorn of all things foreign, and stupid inaptitude for receiving new ideas, which mark the Chinese of every grade, the Japanese is quick to seize tangible evidence of superiority, and marvellous in his ready power of appropriating it to his own use. Many anecdotes and traits illustrating this are before us. No sooner did they anticipate being driven into relations with foreigners, than they sent to Holland for instructors and engineers, and have already so far profited that they navigate their own steamers and work the engines. Latterly they even took a bolder flight, and sent one of their little fleet of three or four steamers across to San Francisco, in company with the 'Poupatan,' the American frigate which conveyed the diplomatic mission from the Tycoon; and although an American officer was put on board to assist them in going, they ventured back entirely by themselves, and accomplished the passage without accident, and in an unusually short period, thirty days,

counting a stoppage at Honolulu. When a party of the sailors first landed, on their return, at Kanagawa, we are told it was amusing to see the travelled air of superiority unconsciously assumed by the heroes of such a voyage, their nether limbs enclosed in great Californian boots, and with tarpaulin caps of the same origin on their heads; while all their countrymen gathered round them, eager to hear the marvels they had to relate of such a voyage of discovery, just as men must have gathered round Vasco de Gama or Columbus on their first return from voyages which had no precedent. And when disposed to despair of changes sufficiently radical in the laws and habits of the Japanese, or these being made with sufficient speed to instruct a generation born in an age of steam, railroads, and electric telegraphs, let us for a moment pause to consider what this single effort of theirs involves. In less than five years an isolated race of Orientals—more isolated, indeed, than any other—have familiarized themselves with steam and our system of navigation, bought European vessels, and actually crossed the Pacific in one of them, escorting a Japanese envoy, on their way to Washington! But this is not all. Nearly 250 years have passed since it was made a fundamental law of the empire that no Japanese should leave the coast, and if even cast away, should never return and *live*. The law has never been rescinded, yet the Tycoon's envoys are now in America, and a whole ship's crew have returned in the Tycoon's pay. Let us despair of *nothing*, then, in Japan.

We see in this one fact, isolated from everything else, the strongest grounds of hope—better grounds than China has furnished in all the intervening 250 years, since it adopted a very similar policy of exclusion to foreigners under the Tartar dynasty—better far than our last twenty years of intercourse under the treaty of Nankin has supplied. And we hope, chiefly, because we think we see in this the most undoubted evidence of superiority in the Japanese—a superiority of race and culture both over the Chinese, and greater aptitude for the reception of new elements of civilisation, on which all fusion with the West must mainly depend. And this is shown not in one direction only; for whether in the arts of war or peace, they hear of some advance in knowledge, they are eager to appropriate it. The French chargé d'affaires, when he arrived in the autumn of 1859, a few months after the ports under treaty were opened, announced as among the presents sent from France, a piece of ordnance, and he was eagerly asked if it was *rifled*? Again, the foreign representatives, immediately after their arrival, set about procuring riding horses, and had them

shod as in Europe, instead of riding them with feet muffled up in straw slippers, ill-suited to the usual pace of a foreign rider. In a few months all their attendant escorts had their horses shod; and a saddler employed to repair some English saddles, soon afterwards declined any more work, alleging that his hands were full with orders from damios and officers for saddles *made like the English*. Soldiers are continually to be met in Yeddo with European percussion lock muskets and bayonets. Their astonishing aptitude for imitating everything they see, appears to be a constant source of interest and amusement to the members of the Legations; and some of the most impossible things to do appear to have been given to some of the more ingenious workmen in order to try them, rather than with any hope of success, but a failure is very rare. Spurs with screws to fix in the heel, curb-chains for horses, bracelets, studs, crests, stereoscope cases, and at last a *Chubb's lock* was given to a clever lacquer ware man merely to fix on a box which had been ordered. The box was duly produced, the lock admirably fitted, but something drew attention to the key, when upon minute inspection it was found both lock and key were *imitations*! Friend Sabie, the name of the ingenious individual, had been so struck with the beauty and perfection of the lock, that in an incredibly short time he had succeeded in finding a workman to produce so exact a counterfeit, that it was by the merest accident the trick was discovered. The *original* he had kept for a future model, as he finally confessed, after some rather hard lying; his truthfulness appearing to be in an inverse proportion to his cleverness. Another time a corkscrew, broken short off, was given as a pattern, and in a few days a facsimile, 'absolutely unrecognisable as a copy, was handed in, at a charge less than the original cost in London. Melon-shaped ground glass shades and chimneys for Carcel lamps, in a few months were attainable. And there seems no limit to what their patience and ingenuity can and will effect, if adequate inducement be held out. Lately they have produced in the shape of their usual pocket inkstand and pen, *a pocket pistol with caps*. These are all very encouraging signs. China, at the end of two centuries of constant intercourse, is far behind Japan in this respect, though a few of the Canton workmen are both clever and intelligent, and in ivory or silver, and in furniture, sometimes produce excellent work after European models.

It would be doing great injustice, moreover, to the Japanese if we overlooked the wonderful progress they have made by their *own discoveries in the arts*. Many of *our* more recent discoveries,

we now find, were known in Japan ages ago. Take lithochrome printing, for instance, by which (only within the last twenty years) a perfect imitation of the effects of water-colours may be obtained from a series of stones, printing in different colours. The same thing is everywhere to be seen in Japan. • The process is the same, only wooden blocks are used instead of stone. The effect is not so fine certainly, but the principle is there, and reduced to practice. They are not artists in the sense in which we should use the term; yet many of their smaller ivory carvings of groups of figures, generally grotesque, are marvels of expression and skill in the handling of the chisel, full of character and of humour. So much for the aptitude and capacity of the Japanese workmen. There seems little doubt, that if anything like a free competition for a large trade arose, they would hold their own against the best workmen of Europe, and might prove formidable rivals to Manchester and Birmingham. Their sword-blades have the reputation of being superior to any now produced in Europe.

One of the greatest obstacles, perhaps, to a cordial and rapid intercourse of the European and Japanese races, is to be traced to that instinct which warns nations, as we sometimes see with individuals, of a covert danger. From Constantinople to Yeddo no Eastern people or potentate has ever *voluntarily* accepted the proffered fellowship of Western alliances. These have always been forced upon them, even to this day, and accepted only as the lesser of two evils, one or other of which seemed inevitable, or at all events the lesser for the moment. And Japan forms no exception. What the future relations between us are likely to be must be considered by this light. The Japanese, notwithstanding their advanced state and unquestionable superiority in many respects over every other Oriental nation, still remain true to the original type, to the traditions and the instincts of their race. They verify in a remarkable degree the truth of an assertion recently put forward, that 'beyond the limits of Western Europe the results which we understand by progress and civilisation are neither desired nor understood.' Unable to resist, they resort to the weapons of the weak in all countries, duplicity and craft, and make their treaties under a silent protest and a mental reservation to render them null and ineffective in the execution. 'Les traités,' writes the Marquis d'Hervey Saint Denys, in an article on China, in which he appears as apologist for the Chinese, 'les traités, on en signera toujours, et on ne les exécutera jamais; peut-être est-ce un peu barbare, mais ce sont les mœurs de l'Asie. C'est aussi la ressource du plus faible contre les argumens du plus fort.' True, but such being the fact, the

knowledge of it must unavoidably influence European diplomacy and action *in the way which may be deemed best calculated to meet false dealing and systematic bad faith*; and whatever may be the desire of Western Powers having large commercial interests at stake, and the prestige of a name to preserve, on which empire and security in other Eastern regions may greatly depend — and such is the position of Great Britain,—it must be very difficult to shape such a policy without holding in reserve an appeal to force. A resort to the only arguments which, as their defenders even admit, *they will respect*, becomes something very like a necessity. At the same time it is clear no such policy can tend to diminish hostility or antagonisms of race. What rational policy can be founded, then, on these opposing conditions? We say rational, for all policy, to be rational, must have a well-defined end or object, and contemplate the adoption of such means as shall be adapted to secure its attainment. It follows as a necessary corollary, that both the end and the means must be assumed as practicable as well as justifiable. Here we have a far distant family of the Oriental race to deal with, which, until recently, voluntarily and wholly isolated themselves from the rest of the world, after a short trial of intercourse ending in hatred and mutual complaints. A self-sustaining and self-sufficing country, with a population conscious of no wants, and desiring nothing we have to offer in the whole range of modern civilisation, from Christianity to cutlery. The want and the taste have alike to be cultivated, or, in other words, created, for the highest as well as the lowest. Nay, more than this—while we have sedulously to avoid, on the one hand, rousing latent fears, or giving occasion for distrust by anything like religious or political propagandism, on the other, we are required, as the condition of any progress in a commercial sense, to conquer deep-rooted prejudices; resting upon a false political economy, by which they are led to look upon all foreign trade as an unmitigated evil, and a cause, not of national wealth and prosperity, but of penury and political trouble.

These, it must be confessed, are untoward conditions to meet on the threshold, and it would be well if there were no other obstacles of our own creating. But with rulers to propitiate, national prejudices to soften, and political distrust to change into confidence, a few acts of misconduct on the part of individual foreigners may be sufficient to neutralise the best diplomatic efforts of Western nations. Unfortunately, the commerce of the civilised world is almost sure, in a new country like Japan, to be represented by adventurous pioneers, men for the most part young and inexperienced, with everything to gain,

and nothing but their lives to lose, of which some are reckless enough. Impatient of control, and eager to be rich in a hurry, they are probably the last coadjutors a foreign representative would desire. They are in truth terrible instruments of evil in the opening of such a country as Japan, and the establishment of relations for the first time with a people ignorant of the rest of the world, distrustful of strangers, and with a proud and susceptible nature. The picture drawn by the British minister at Yeddo, in his despatch to his consul at Kanagawa, and the covering letter to Lord John Russell, is in truth a very sad one. With many nationalities in the field, each independent of the other, with mercantile agents themselves engaged in trade and the very practices it should be their duty as consuls to denounce and prevent, instead of salaried officers, the evils are neither easily grappled with nor susceptible of any satisfactory management. Great Britain alone has gone to the expense of keeping in the Eastern seas high-salaried officials in the consular office, prohibited from trading, and with ample powers to enforce the observance of treaties. But were these the ablest men that could be selected — and that is too much to expect in all cases — and their own countrymen over whom they had to exercise jurisdiction all that could be desired, which is, unfortunately, very far from being the fact, it is disheartening to think how little either the one or the other could avail to prevent the luxuriant growth of the rankest weeds of violence and hostility by the conduct of those over whom a British authority has no jurisdiction.

These are the two plague spots of Western diplomacy in the East, ever breaking out into festering sores, and menacing with serious danger the continuance of trade, as well as any friendly intercourse with people or rulers. To such causes are often due that rancorous hostility among native races, which ends ultimately in violence and war; and even when stamped out with the iron heel, still keeps alive a smouldering fire for future mischief. The bad faith of rulers, who see in such conditions a justification for their own bad faith and double-dealing in refusing to give execution to solemn treaties, make all diplomacy in the East a never-ending struggle with such imperfect Christianity and civilisation as Western nations import to the East; these are evils, moreover, which may well be regarded as inevitable, and likely to last as long as the causes in which they originate. And while all good men and politic governments, each in their sphere, will see the necessity of dealing wisely and earnestly with these persistent elements of disorder and evil — ever tending to widen the breach between different races, and

render an ultimate appeal to the sword and the evils of conquest more inevitable, there can be little hope of material change or improvement until all the maritime Powers of the West can see their interest, or, moved by a higher motive, shall seek to regulate their intercourse with Eastern nations on some common basis.

These are the first, the most obvious, and perhaps the most important of any steps in the power of foreign governments to take, to promote the development of commerce, and secure the maintenance of friendly relations with Japan. For the rest, temper, tact, and judgment in the ministers and diplomatic agents in Yeddo, with time and patience, must be chiefly relied on not only to overcome obstacles, but for future progress. Though strongly opposed to a resort to force for the fulfilment of conditions of treaties, yet it does seem to us essential, with all these Eastern States, to let them clearly understand that force will not be wanting if *all other means fail* to obtain respect for treaties, in letter and spirit. A menace of war should not be lightly resorted to as an argument, never, indeed, except in the last extremity, and in the utter hopelessness of obtaining attention to the most reasonable demands by anything short of such an alternative. It is only to be resorted to as the means of averting the worst extremity. So much in these countries must depend absolutely upon the judgment, the discretion, and the knowledge of the diplomatic agents employed on such missions, that we may well tremble to think what extent of mischief may at any time result from a deficiency in these qualities in a single agent of any Treaty Power. It is even hard to say whether pusillanimity and weakness or blustering and violence are more fatal to a good issue in all dealings with Orientals; but it is very certain that success will attend no foreign representative whose course is marked by any of these characters. Discretion and judgment are more needed than great talents. A time may come, in spite of every effort to prevent it, when there is no alternative but to submit to the stoppage of all intercourse and commercial relations, by the acts of an Asiatic government, or a resort to strong measures to enforce the observance of treaty stipulations vital to our interests; but in all such cases we think the onus lies upon the foreign Powers to establish clearly that every means which knowledge of the people and diplomatic tact could devise had been previously exhausted in vain, and only abandoned when all hope of any possible good result was lost. May this period never arrive with Japan; for in no country in the East would the calamity fall more heavily, or upon a more unoffending and interesting people, for the faults of their rulers; and no where in the East, we believe,

would the struggle be more protracted, the destruction of life greater, or the final issue more uncertain. But the attainment of all we most desire, and the avoidance of the direst of these evils, we are firmly persuaded must depend upon the conduct of foreigners themselves; upon the conduct of merchants, and those who seek in Japan a field for profitable enterprise, and upon the conduct and policy of those who are charged by the several Treaty Powers with the responsible duty of protecting those interests, of vindicating the character of European civilisation, no less than their several nationalities, and, finally, of asserting in the only way in which the assertion can avail, the practical superiority of Christianity over paganism.

What is true of our position in China equally applies to Japan. The reverses sustained by our squadron in 1859 before the Taku forts were immediately followed by an increase of arrogance and stiffness on the part of the Japanese nobles; and we doubt not that the signal, speedy, and triumphant manner in which those reverses have now been avenged, by the arrival of two powerful European armies on the coast, the march to Peking, and the conclusion of another Treaty of Peace, are events which will produce a due effect on the sagacious rulers of Japan.

As to what has been actually achieved in the way of commerce during the first year after the opening of the ports, we can only speak very briefly of our prospects. These last must evidently depend upon a state of peace and friendly intercourse; and, therefore, in no small degree upon the political relations maintained, not alone by Great Britain, but by Western Powers generally. Assuming the possibility, however, of this, with such continued efforts as have hitherto been made by the Foreign Representatives at Yeddo, the future is full of promise. It has been clearly established, that Japan can furnish both tea and silk, of such quality and price as will bring both into the foreign market advantageously, even in competition with the products of China. More than 18,000 chests of a superior tea were exported in the first few months, and 2000 bales of silk. The former only requires to be better fired to come into full operation, and many of the houses are bringing over Chinese, to teach and superintend the process. The silk is finer in quality, and better reeled, than that of China, but it must be better sorted. Some, when thus sorted, has produced four shillings a pound in the English market more than the best Chinese. There is still some uncertainty about the quantity of both these articles readily attainable; but considering that they are of as universal consumption amidst the 35,000,000 of Japanese as



in China, the probability is, that with a steady demand sufficient will be procurable to form the staples of a large and profitable trade. There are, besides these and metals (lead and copper), many articles available for the foreign market, such as vegetable oils (sold at a large profit in California), vegetable wax, camphor, sulphur, &c. This is without reference to a very large and fully established trade with China and the Straits, chiefly in foreign ships, consisting of an infinite variety of dried edibles, medicines and flour, shipped in large quantities to Hong Kong. More than a million sterling has thus been turned, in the first year, most profitably, by foreigners. Large foreign settlements are springing up at Kanagawa (the port of Yeddo) and Nagasaki. As to the imports, if little actually has been effected yet, there are not wanting indications that ere long our goods may find a market. Camlets, shirtings, drills, printed cottons, ginghams, flannels, canvass and window glass, especially the last two, are reported to be in demand at Hakodadi; and the British Minister very lately, availing himself of the opportunity of a Portuguese treaty, has succeeded in obtaining the admission of linen at 5 per cent. duty, the same as cotton. It had been omitted in Lord Elgin's treaty, as in the American, and was therefore, as an unenumerated article, under a prohibitive duty of 20 per cent. Notwithstanding the obstacles and drawbacks encountered in such full measure during the whole of the first year after the opening of the ports—difficulties with the currency—with monopolies and Japanese official interference—difficulties of foreign location for places of business and residence—difficulties from indiscretions of foreigners themselves, and considerable insecurity both to life and property—a very formidable list, which it must have required courage and constancy of purpose, both in merchants and ministers, to struggle successfully with—notwithstanding, we say, all these and more, the foundations of a great and profitable trade have already been laid; and nothing seems wanting to complete the good work so well begun but a continuance of sound discretion and firmness in all our intercourse. If the foreign representatives, diplomatic and consular, can be counted upon for the steady exercise of these qualities, backed by such reasonable conduct and intelligent co-operation from the merchants as their own interest must dictate, we need despair of nothing. Hitherto both have had everything to struggle against that an adverse current of circumstances could create. The impulse at the Peiho, news of which reached Japan a few days before the exchange of the ratifications of the British Treaty, was an evil influence. For a whole year subsequent preparations for coming operations too entirely engaged the British admiral

to allow more than the passing visit of a vessel of war to the ports of Japan. The other Treaty Powers still more seldom gave any tangible sign of interest. The diplomatic agents must have seemed abandoned by their own governments, and left, in the most distant and isolated region of the far East, to maintain an arduous conflict, if not a losing cause. They seem to have held their ground manfully, however, and to have reaped a fair reward for so much constancy in the face of the most discouraging circumstances; and long ere this we may trust the returning wave of success and victory from the Chinese coast will have brought new forces to their aid. If we can only by extreme reserve and prudence allay the fears of the Japanese as to the subversive tendencies in regard to their own institutions, political and religious, to all foreign intercourse, and convince them that no Treaty Power contemplates, or will permit, in those subject to them a propagandism in either direction dangerous to the ruling classes, and menacing revolution and change, half the battle will be won; and if we could succeed in convincing them that the development of trade, which is our chief aim, must in the end be mutually advantageous, and enrich not the foreigners alone but the whole Japanese nation, instead of impoverishing the country by raising the prices, which they fear at present, there can be no doubt the greatest obstacles to a good understanding and the rapid development of a most valuable trade would be removed, and far more effectually than by any display of force, or the conviction even of our ability to exact by such means those treaty rights they now dispute more or less openly, from both selfish and patriotic motives. In these two directions alone can we achieve any permanent success. All our efforts, therefore, and the efforts of every other Treaty Power, should be concentrated upon these lines of advance, as the only course by which victory can be secured in this conflict of different races and civilisations.

**ART. III.**—*Construction of the Victoria Bridge at Montreal in Canada, elaborately Illustrated by Views, Plans, Elevations, and Details of the Bridge, together with Designs of the Machinery and Contrivances used in the Construction, with a Descriptive Text.* Dedicated to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and presented to His Royal Highness on the Opening of the Bridge, August 25th, 1860. By JAMES HODGES, Engineer to the Contractors. Imp. folio, London: 1860.

MANY auspicious circumstances and events concurred to give the highest degree of splendour and of success to the visit paid, in the course of last autumn, by the Heir Apparent of the Crown, to the great continent of North America. The Prince of Wales himself, entering upon his public career, surrounded by the representatives of his magnificent inheritance, and by all the gifts of fortune, laid the foundation of that essential portion of his future greatness and welfare which depends on his own judgment, character, and patriotism. He was received with enthusiasm as the son of the Queen of England and the first Prince of the Blood Royal, but before he left the shores of America, that enthusiasm was heightened by the attachment and respect he had himself inspired. In Canada he found a colony rising by its own power, industry, energy, and population, to the dignity of a State; in the United States he learned that the representative of the British Monarchy is the head not only of a nation but of a race. The ties of kindred, of tradition, and of a common freedom between England and America, were incorporate in his person; and no man who witnessed those scents of ardent excitement, could doubt that there are sympathies between the two countries more powerful than the ocean which divides them, and the revolutions which have dis severed their political connexion. No other man would have been so received by the people of the United States; the Prince of Wales would not be so received in any other country. The autumn of 1860 will remain memorable for this visit, not only in the life of the young Prince, who was the hero of it, but in the annals of the great race which has established an irresistible and enduring sway over the northern half of the Western Hemisphere.

These gratifying and important results originated, to a certain extent, in a circumstance which is recalled to our minds by the magnificent volume now before us. As the prodigious work of

the Bridge over the St. Lawrence at Montreal approached its completion in 1859, the Canadian people expressed an earnest desire that the opening of this structure should be solemnized by the presence of a direct representative of the Sovereign whose name it bears. The time coincided with the regal majority of the Prince of Wales, and one of the express objects for which this voyage was undertaken was to inaugurate an edifice of altogether unparalleled magnitude and grandeur. The present volume was prepared by Mr. Hodges, the engineer to the contractors, who was in fact the true *Pontifex Maximus* of this stupendous tube, for the purpose of being presented to his Royal Highness on the occasion. The work has been printed and illustrated with almost unexampled magnificence. It bears the same relation to ordinary books that the Victoria Bridge itself bears to ordinary bridges; and as the unusual size and cost of the work must necessarily render it of somewhat difficult access to the majority of readers, we think that we shall be doing a service to them, and no more than justice to the authors of this publication, by reproducing in some detail, the narrative of the marvellous undertaking they have accomplished.

The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada traverses British North America from the shores of the Atlantic to the prairies of the Far West, by one unbroken line of 1200 miles in extent, opening the fertile lands of Upper Canada and the valley of the great lakes, down to the sea coast, throughout the year, and connecting the British territories with the vast expanse of the American Union. In summer Canada possesses the finest river in the world perfected by an admirable chain of artificial navigation. But for the other six months in the year the broad stream of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries is interrupted or barred up by frost, and until the construction of the Grand Trunk Line was resolved upon and executed, mainly by the energy of the Colonial Government, no permanent highway could be said to exist, open at all seasons, to the produce and the intercourse of the British North American Provinces. But this great work would still have remained incomplete, if it had been confined to the north shore of the St. Lawrence. To connect it with New Brunswick and the harbours of Nova Scotia, and to command a direct communication with the United States, it became necessary to span the river by a bridge capable of bearing railway traffic across one of the broadest and swiftest currents in the world. For some years, the subject had been attentively considered by the Canadian engineers, but we believe the conception of the colossal structure, which has just

been completed, was chiefly due to Mr. A. M. Ross, C.E., a native of Dornoch. It was approved by Mr. Stephenson, who visited Canada for the purpose in 1853, and the work was begun and ended under the immediate direction of Mr. Hodges, to whom we are indebted for the very full, elaborate, but unassuming account of it, which is now before us.

The problem to be solved was indeed one of matchless difficulty, for the obstacles to be surmounted were of the most opposite and variable nature. From the month of January to that of April the St. Lawrence presents the appearance of a huge plain of rugged ice, tossed into the wildest forms, and forced by the pressure of the stream to an elevation of sixteen feet above the summer level of the current. The temperature descends to more than 20° below zero Fahrenheit—a degree of cold at which iron burns the naked hand, and it is scarcely conceivable that manual operations can be carried on. In summer, on the contrary, an intolerable excess of heat succeeds to an equal intensity of cold; between the months of April and June the temperature passes from 9° to 90°; the gallant workmen, who met without flinching these terrific variations of climate, were alternately exposed to frost-bite and to sun-stroke, both sometimes alike fatal. The tremendous current of the St. Lawrence scoured away at the foundations of the piers and the cofferdams at the rate of eight miles an hour, with an overwhelming force of mighty waters which threatened incessantly to crush the engines and annihilate the audacity of man. Twice in each year, by the formation of ice in the autumn and by the breaking up of the ice in the spring, the scene changed, and the whole course of operations had to change likewise; so that the works were carried on in brief periods of from three to four months, after each of which the unfinished structure and the preparations for completing it were necessarily exposed to what may without exaggeration be termed a convulsion of nature. Mr. Hodges shall describe it in his own words:—

‘Undoubtedly the most serious difficulty to be guarded against, both in the design and in the execution of the Victoria Bridge, was that operation of nature which occurs twice in the year, and which is known in North America as the “Shoving” of the Ice.

‘Ice begins to form in the St. Lawrence about the beginning of December. Then, along the shores and in the shallow, quiet places where the current is least strong, a thin ice begins to make its appearance, gradually showing signs of increasing strength and thickness. Soon after pieces of ice begin to come down from the lakes above; and then, as winter advances, anchor, or ground ice, comes down in vast quantities, thickening the otherwise comparatively clear water of the river.

'A word as to the "Anchor Ice." It appears to grow in rapid currents, and attaches itself to the rocks forming the bed of the river, in the shape of a spongy substance, not unlike the spawn of frogs. Immense quantities form in an inconceivably short space of time, accumulating until the mass is several feet in depth. A very slight thaw, even that produced by a bright sunshine at noon, disengages it, when, rising to the surface, it passes down the river with the current. This description of ice appears to grow only in the vicinity of rapids, or where the water has become aerated by the rapidity of the current. It may be that the particles or globules of cold air are whirled by the eddies, till they come in contact with the rocky bed of the river, to which they attach themselves; and, being of a temperature sufficient to produce ice, become surrounded with the semi-fluid substance of which anchor ice is formed. Anchor ice sometimes accumulates at the foot of rapids in such quantities, as to form a bar across the lake (similar to bars of sand at mouths of rivers) of some miles in extent, lifting the water in its locality several feet above its ordinary level. This frequently happens at the foot of the Cedar Rapids at the head of Lake St. Louis, where a branch of the Ottawa empties itself into the St. Lawrence. Upon such occasions the water at this point is dammed up to such a height as to change its course, and run into the Ottawa at the rate of some four or five miles per hour. From thence it eventually finds its way back into the St. Lawrence by the rapids of St. Anne's (celebrated by Moore in the "Canadian Boat-Song"), after performing a circuit of some ten or twelve miles. The accumulation of ice continues, probably, for several weeks, till the river is quite full, and so thickened as to make the current sluggish, and cause a general swelling of the waters. The pieces, too, become frozen together, and form large masses; which by grounding and diminishing the sectional area of the river, cause the waters to rise still more (there being always the same quantity of water coming over the rapids). Then the large masses float and move further down the river, where, uniting with accumulations previously grounded, they offer such an obstruction to the semi-fluid waters, that the channels become quite choked, and what is called a "jamb" takes place.

'The surface ice, arrested in its progress, packs into all sorts of imaginable shapes; and if the cold is very intense, a crust is soon formed, and the river becomes frozen over till many square miles' extent of surface-packed ice is formed. As the water rises, the jamb against which this field rests, if not of sufficient strength to hold it in place, gives way; when the whole river, after it is thus frozen into one immense sheet, moves *en masse* down stream, causing the "shovings," so much dreaded by the people of Montreal. The edges of the huge field moving irresistibly onwards, plough into the banks of the river, in some instances to a depth of several feet, carrying away everything within reach. In places the ice packs to a height of twenty or thirty feet, and goes grinding and crushing onwards till another jamb takes place, which, aided by the grounded masses of packed ice upon the shoals and shores, offers sufficient

resistance to arrest in its progress the partially broken-up field. As the winter advances and the cold increases, the field of packed ice becomes stronger; and as the lakes above become frozen over, the ice from thence, which had hitherto tended so much to choke the channel, ceases to come down, and the water in the river gradually subsides, till it assumes its ordinary winter level, some twelve feet above its height in summer. The "Ice Bridge" *i. e.*, the complete and solid condition of the ice in the river, now becomes permanently formed for the winter, and this generally takes place about the first or second week in January. The thickest Virgin Ice seldom exceeds three feet. Upon the clear blue waters of the St. Lawrence it is perfectly transparent.

By the middle of March the sun becomes very powerful at mid-day, which with the warm, heavy rains so affects the ice as to make it rotten, or as it is usually called, "honey-combed;" and when it is in this state, a smart blow from any sharp-pointed instrument will cause a block, even though three feet thick, to fall into thousands of pieces, as if it was composed of millions of crystallised reeds placed vertically.

The ice, when it becomes thus weakened, is easily broken up by the winds, particularly in places where, from the great depth of water in the lakes, they do not entirely freeze over. This ice, coming down over the rapids, thickens the water, and causes a rise of the river, as in early winter. The weakened fields of ice then begin to break up, and in a few days the river becomes free, excepting upon the wharves and some particular parts of the shore, where shovings may have taken place. In these places ice may be seen for many weeks. When the lake ice comes down before that in the river and its lower basins becomes rotten, great "shovings" take place, resulting in jams, and the consequent rise of the water-level.

In order to avoid the dangers and difficulties consequent on these operations of nature, it was determined to build the Victoria Bridge with stone piers, placed at wide intervals, each pier being of the most substantial character, and having a large wedge-shaped cut-water of stone-work inclined against the current, and presenting an angle to the ice sufficient to separate and fracture it as it rose against the piers. The piers of the bridge were, in fact, designed to answer the double purpose of piers to carry the tubes, and of ice-breakers to encounter the pressure of the ice. In each of these respects they have fully answered the important objects sought to be attained. (P. 6.)

The site selected for the erection of the bridge is at the lower end of a small lake called the Prairie Basin, at the west end of Montreal harbour, and somewhat below the town. The river St. Lawrence is at this point 8660 feet, or a mile and three-quarters, wide. Higher up, above the town of Montreal, the channel of the river is considerably narrower; and eight miles from Montreal it forms what are termed the Lachine Rapids, having a total fall of about forty-two feet in a course of

two miles, but the depth of the water and the violence of the current rendered it impossible to erect piers or to face the stream in the narrower portion of its course. Opposite Montreal the river is divided into two principal channels by a large bank called the 'Middle Shoals,' and although this bank is covered with boulders, which render it extremely dangerous to navigation, it afforded a useful *point d'appui* in the construction of a bridge designed to span the whole breadth of the river, the water being shallow at this spot except in the principal channels. Its depth at the site of the bridge varies from five to fifteen feet at summer's water level, and the bed of the stream is of limestone rock with large boulders upon its surface.

Between the quarries of Caughnawaga, whence the stone selected for the work was extracted, and the site of the bridge, the rapids of Lachine intervene, down which barges capable of carrying blocks of 100 tons weight, were driven with inconceivable force and velocity by the current. Mr. Hodges thus describes the passage of these rapids:—

'The river, just above the rapids, is half a mile in width and very deep. It suddenly widens out to several miles of shallow water, tumbling over an uneven rocky bed, the whole river, as far as the eye can reach, being quite white with broken water, amidst which, in numerous places, bare rocks are visible. Through these breakers the steamboat seemed to be rushing on to destruction; an idea which was strengthened when, after getting fairly into the rapids, the steam was shut off, and the ship was left to all appearance to her fate.

'It soon, however, became evident that the vessel was passing along a deep hollow in the water, into which a torrent from either side was rushing with great velocity, without any apparent cause.

'After passing along this trough for some distance the bed of the river became quite visible on both sides, within a few feet of the surface. It was now apparent that the navigable channel down which the ship was rushing was a fissure in the rock, into which the waters were pouring. At one point this chasm, only a few hundred feet in width, turned almost at right angles, and the bows of the ship approached within a very few feet of its rocky edge. The rush of waters over the sides of the channel dashed against her bows with extraordinary force; but, at the very moment her destruction seemed inevitable, she was carried round and hurried along in safety, with a wall of waters on either side of her, till the quiet lake was seen, and to our infinite relief we felt that we were safe. There is, indeed, more real danger in navigating the troubled shallow waters, filled with huge boulders, into which the river afterwards passes, than in going through the gap that looks so fearful to the inexperienced.

'It is very commonly supposed that because the steamboats pass through the most crooked part of the channel (a distance of some half mile) with the steam shut off, that all steerage way is lost. Such, however, is not the case. Care is taken that sufficient way is



always left upon the ship to admit of her answering her helm. It appears pretty certain, however, that once fairly in the hollow trough formed by the chasm, a craft would pass through in safety, even though floating without way, like a log or raft, the rush of the water pouring into the chasm over its sides being sufficient to keep her in mid-channel.' (P. 10.)

By an ingenious adaptation of the forces of nature which periodically sway this great river, the vicissitudes of the seasons were made to assist the operations of the engineers; and the natural obstacles to the completion of the work were not only surmounted, but literally turned into the means of bridling the St. Lawrence. In summer when the navigation was open, the torrent of its waters bore down the ponderous masses which were to be framed into the masonry of the piers. In winter when the navigation was closed, and the river itself locked in thick-ribbed ice, as firm as the rock beneath it, tracks were cut and scaffolding raised as if on dry land. But twice in each year the changes consequent on the setting in or the breaking up of the frost, necessitated a total change in the temporary works, and more than once they were exposed to destruction by the rapid alternations of the temperature.

The time chosen for the commencement of the operations was immediately after the formation of the ice bridge in January, 1854. The position of the piers and the line of the bridge was marked out on the ice, a road being hewn through the rough and thickly packed blocks, in the exact direction of the bridge itself. The sites of the piers were then marked out upon this level track by means of wooden stakes. Holes were cut in the ice round each pier, through which soundings were taken, and an iron rod was drilled into the rocky bottom to mark the centre of each of these enormous masses of masonry. During the winter crib-work moorings were also framed upon the ice, filled with stone and sunk in position above the piers. These cribs were formed of such a height that when sunk they should be about a foot above summer water level, the elevation of the ice in winter being, as we have already said, about sixteen feet higher. On this basis, soon after the spring had set in and the river was opened, the caissons for the dams were sunk, and when the dam thus formed had been pumped out, men were seen with barrows sweeping the level rock at the bottom of the river, clean of the deposit formed by a temporary leakage.

'It was a curious sight, to stand on the deck of the dam and see the waters of the St. Lawrence rush frantically past, while inside the dam the bare rock was visible with the piles resting upon it. In the

first instance not a little alarm was felt, lest something should come down the stream and displace the whole. So strong was this sensation that when a steam boat or barge came against the dam more heavily than usual, every one would be looking anxiously around, with the apprehension that some leakage might be produced by the concussion, and that those upon the dam might be compelled to seek safety in a precipitate retreat. The dam, however, stood well. By the 22nd July, the first stone was laid: and on the 14th August, the masonry (of the first pier) was above water level.' (P. 23.)

We do not propose to follow Mr. Hodges into the technical details he has given us of the construction of these extraordinary works. Those who are interested in these mechanical contrivances will find them very fully described and illustrated in this volume. But the following passage is of interest, because it relates the application of a very simple Canadian mode of building in deep water, which was found to be of the greatest utility:—

'It may not be out of place to say something here concerning "Cribwork," which, although quite unknown in England, is so universally used both in Canada and the United States. The whole of the Canadian habitans use the axe with far greater facility and skill than an ordinary carpenter does in England; and, as the timber of which such work is usually constructed, flatted pine, hewn on two sides only, is very plentiful, it is constructed at little cost, and with great rapidity. Piling is comparatively little used in America, the wharves, and even the foundations for bridges in deep water being almost entirely of this "cribwork." It is formed simply by laying timber along the whole of the outer edge of the work, and at intervals of from five to ten feet, parallel therewith throughout the whole of the breadth, connected by means of transverse timbers, firmly trenailed and notched into them. The transverse timbers for rough work are not notched down flush with the longitudinals, but are left some four or five inches up. As soon as one course of work is thus formed, another is laid upon the top of it, and the two are firmly trenailed together. An axe and an auger are the only tools used. The flatted pine (which is usually floated in a raft to the site of the work), and a piece of freely splitting hard wood for trenails, are, with the stone required for sinking, the only materials employed. After some two or three courses are formed, it is usual to place the transverse timbers close enough together to form a flooring, upon which stone is placed to sink the crib as the work progresses. By this means the timber has never to be lifted any height till the work is above water. As soon as the underside of the crib touches the bottom it is filled with loose stone to the water level; and as in all probability the ground upon which it rests is not perfectly level, the upper course of timber work is made to correspond with the surface of the water. Above this all the courses are made perfectly fair, and to fit closely upon each other, and they are neatly chopped on

the outside so as to present a smooth face, the ends of the transverse timbers being neatly dovetailed and showing upon the front of the work. Another flooring is frequently put on at the water-level, upon which the backing, if for a wharf, or the stone filling, if for a pier, rests. The timber work below the water line, not being subject to worms, never decays; and as in the Canadian lakes and rivers the rise of the water is not great, the major part of such work is imperishable, and a stranger cannot fail to be astonished at the rapidity with which work of this description is executed, and with its stability when finished.' (P. 21.)

It has often been remarked, and never more than in the present instance, that necessity is the parent of mechanical skill, and that many an emigrant artisan who would go on at home plodding amidst all the appliances of civilisation and abundant labour, becomes a superior man when he is thrown on his own resources, and compelled to work with the scanty materials or the primitive tools of colonial life. Thus a 'steam traveller' was constructed by Mr. Chaffey, one of the sub-contractors of the bridge, of the rudest materials, and in the roughest form, but of so efficient a kind, that it moved 70,000 tons of stone twice over, performed various other duties, and remained to the end a good working engine; whilst an ingenious piece of mechanism sent out from England at a cost of several thousand pounds, for the same purpose, was thrown aside as useless.

The physical obstacles to so vast and novel an undertaking were not, however, the only difficulties with which the builders had to contend. The demand for labour in Canada and the United States was so great, that incessant strikes for wages occurred among the men; indeed these strikes were repeated twice every year on the arrival of the spring fleet and at harvest time, to the utter disorganisation of the gangs of practical workmen. Added to this, the cholera broke out with frightful intensity. In one gang of two hundred men, no less than sixty were attacked at once, of whom many died. The heat of August was insufferable. Hundreds of square miles of forest took fire, and the atmosphere was loaded with clouds of lurid smoke and ashes. Moreover the works already commenced had yet to sustain the shock of the impending winter, and it was no uncommon prediction in Montreal that the first shocks of the ice would sweep away the slow and imperfect results of the year. The builders themselves lost confidence, and at that moment the work seemed almost beyond the power of man. The winter commenced in November, and early in January the hour of trial came:—

'The river continued to rise, and the ice to pack and shove, until

the 4th of January. On that day, the water having risen sufficiently to float the packed ice on the shoals, and the jamb below having given way, a general movement took place. Nos. 1 and 2 dams were carried away in the same manner as the abutment scows. This movement of the ice took place at noon on the 4th of January, and presented a sight never to be forgotten. The whole of the river and La Prairie Basin was one mass of packed ice, which, being held up by the jamb below, had been accumulating and rising for four days. At last some slight symptoms of motion were visible. The universal stillness which prevailed was interrupted by an occasional creaking, and every one breathlessly awaited the result, straining every nerve to ascertain if the movement was general. The uncertainty lasted but a short period; for in a few minutes the uproar arising from the rushing waters, the cracking, grinding, and shoving of the fields of ice, burst on our ears. The sight of twenty square miles (over 124,000,000 tons) of packed ice (which but a few minutes before seemed as a lake of solid rock) all in motion, presented a scene grand beyond description.

'The traveller-frames and No. 2 dam glided for a distance of some hundred yards without having a joint of their framework broken. But as the movement of the ice became more rapid, and the fearful noises increased, these tall frameworks appeared to become animate; and, after performing some three or four evolutions like huge giants in a waltz, they were swallowed up, and reduced to a shapeless mass of crushed fragments.

'After gazing at this marvellous scene in silence, till it was evident that the heaviest of the shoving was over, all those in the transit tower from which it had been witnessed began to inquire how the solitary pier No. 1, which had been battling alone amid this chaos, had escaped. Although some affected to entertain no fear, the author confesses for his own part to have felt infinitely relieved when, upon looking through the transit instrument, he discovered that the pier had not been disturbed.' (P. 29.)

It would be tedious to attempt to trace the gradual, but steady progress of the work. Slow it necessarily was, for it was not till the month of August that the dams could be replaced, and the actual laying of stone commenced — before the end of November in each year the work of the season was brought to a close. The whole working season for pier masonry was therefore limited to about sixteen weeks; yet such was the astonishing energy with which the work was carried on, that in September 1856, eight thousand cubic yards, or 216,000 cubic feet, of masonry were set, being at the rate of thirteen cubic feet *per working minute* during the whole of the month. In 1854, one solitary pier close to the north shore began to rear its crest above the water; in 1855, two were completed, and two more begun; in 1856, seven rose above the river on the one shore, and two on the other; in 1857, thirteen piers were almost

completed, and the abutments of the bridge on either side finished; in 1858, all the piers had advanced far enough to allow the grand operation of laying the central tube to commence as soon as the ice bridge formed in the following winter:—

‘The whole of the iron work for the tubes was prepared at the Canada Works, Birkenhead, where a plan or map of each tube was made, upon which was shown every plate, T bar, angle iron, keelson, and cover plate in the tube, the position of each being stamped and marked upon it by a distinctive figure, letter, or character. As the work progressed at Birkenhead, every piece of iron, as it was punched and finished for shipment, was stamped with the identical mark corresponding with that on the plan; so that when being erected in Canada, although each tube was composed of 4926 pieces, or 9852 for a pair, the workmen, being provided with a plan of the work, were enabled to lay down piece by piece with unerring certainty till the tube was complete. To an uninitiated spectator this proceeding would appear as complicated and hopeless a task as the putting together of a Chinese puzzle; but to such perfection did they arrive at Birkenhead in making the plans, in preparing and punching the iron, and in shipping it, that when it arrived in Canada (where the iron for each tube was, as it arrived, sorted and stacked separately for use), the workman being provided with the plan would proceed with his work throughout, and never put a piece in the wrong place, nor have to alter a single plate. It was not uninteresting to watch the gradual diminution in the pile of iron on the platform as the work progressed, and eventually to see the last piece taken to fill up some out-of-the-way hole or corner, and then to hear for certain that the tube was completed.’ (P. 55.)

As the short interval of a Canadian summer was the time to which the construction of pier masonry was limited, so the months of January, February, and March, during which the surface of the St. Lawrence is absolutely congealed, formed the fixed period within which the scaffolding for the erection of the ponderous tubes could alone be reared in safety. The question was, when it came to the grand central tube, whether the work could be accomplished in the time. The 10th, 11th, and 12th January, 1859, were the coldest days which had been experienced in Canada for many years. The thermometers at the bridge fell to 36° below zero Fahrenheit. In this cold the work commenced. The staging of the works and steam hoist were soon completed, and on the 31st January the bottom of the great tube was begun. By the 9th February it was considerably advanced, forty gangs of rimmers working night and day preparing the holes for the riveters. Large fires in braziers shed an unearthly light over this strange contest of man with the ice-bound river. If there were any wind at all at this low tempera-

ture, the men were driven from their work, covered though they were with heavy coats, thick gloves, and fur caps. At times they were frosted over with icicles, from the mist of the St. Lawrence; scores of them were frostbitten, yet by timely attention and judicious treatment, not a finger or a limb was lost by cold. Thus the work went on, every man working with an enthusiasm which neither the rigour of the season, nor the labour of the undertaking could check; for the general opinion was, that unless the centre tube could be completed before the break up of the ice, it would fall into the river and be destroyed. Hence the last weeks of this great enterprise acquired the interest of a crisis — everything depended on the prosecution of the work and its termination before the thaw let loose the ice floor of the river, and swept away the frames on which the work still rested, by the huge drift of the subsiding waters. On the 28th February, the bottom was completed and riveted, 180 feet of the sides were in place, and 100 feet of the top plated. A fortnight later, on the 15th March, a fearful storm swept away a portion of the scaffolding, and gave signs of a break up of the ice. The thermometer had risen to 50°. On the 21st March, the whole of the plating was finished, and only 18,000 rivets were needed to perfect the work; in three days 12,000 of them were made fast: 5,600 still remained to be done, when on Friday, the 25th March, the first movement of the ice was felt — dark ridges became visible above the bridge — and it became apparent that the whole field of ice of the Prairie Basin was slowly driving on the Middle Shoal. A panic seized all hands, but as the tube was a mile from the shore escape was impossible, and fortunately in a few minutes the movement of the ice ceased for that day. A return of frost on the following night made the ice safe again for a few hours, and enabled the men to place the last rivets. Measures were then taken to cut away the wedges and remove the artificial stages; as they were cut away, the tube remained firm and unsupported across the centre of the river, with a slight deflection of three inches in the bottom. On the following day the ice came down with tremendous force, crushing and driving before it the temporary piers and staging.

Although this operation completed the most arduous part of the undertaking, many months were required for the removal of the prodigious temporary dams, crib-work, and other materials which had been laid down to protect the masonry. The 17th December, 1859, was the day appointed for the first passage of trains through the bridge. About an hour before the first train was to pass a tremendous crash was heard. Alarm was felt. But on running to discover the cause of the uproar, it was found

that the newly-formed ice in drifting down the river had swept away the last portion of the scaffolding, and left the bridge free, and the river clear of all further obstruction.

It is to be lamented that Mr. Robert Stephenson did not live to witness the completion of this great undertaking — perhaps the most extraordinary of all the great works of engineering genius which have been constructed in this age. But whilst we do homage to the boldness of conception and accuracy of calculation by which such works are rendered possible, we must reserve, at least, an equal degree of admiration for those resolute, ingenious, and long-suffering men by whom such conceptions are realised. To have worked on the Victoria Bridge from its commencement to its completion, is to have fought six campaigns of as much toil and trial as the contests of war. Night and day, summer and winter, in cold the most rigorous and heat the most intolerable, the work proceeded; and the army of gallant artisans, commanded by men, who, under the humble name of contractors, are in reality officers of inexhaustible skill and resource, triumphed over obstacles and antagonists more formidable than any human resistance. We are indebted to Mr. Hodges for his clear and unpretending narration of this wonderful performance, and in conclusion we shall borrow from his summary the following particulars of the dimensions of the work. The total length of the Victoria Bridge is 9,144 feet, the length of the tubes alone being 6,592 feet. The bottom of the tube rests at a level of 60 feet above the surface of the St. Lawrence. The weight of the iron in the tubes is 9,044 tons, riveted by 1,540,000 rivets; and the surface of the iron work, which has been painted with four coats of paint, is no less than 32 acres, so that 128 acres of paint have been applied to it. The bridge has 24 piers and 25 spans, 24 of these spans being from 242 to 247 feet, and one extending to 330 feet. The masonry in the piers and abutments amounts to 2,713,095 cubic feet, and the quantity of timber used in the temporary works was 2,280,000 cubic feet. By these appliances a railway bridge was laid over one of the greatest and most rapid rivers in the world in the space of five years and five months. Three thousand men, six steamers, seventy-five barges, and four steam engines were constantly employed on this work. Such are the details with which Mr. Hodges concludes his narrative. They are complete, except in one material respect. We are left to surmise what may have been the cost of this prodigious work. On that point no information is vouchsafed to us; and as Louis XIV. burnt the bills of the architects of Versailles, we presume the great Companies of our time would fain forget the outlay of the gigantic monuments of *their* splendour and ambition.

ART. IV. — 1. *Political Ballads of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, annotated.* By W. WALKER WILKINS. 2 vols. London: 1860.

2. *The Jacobite Songs and Ballads of Scotland, from 1688 to 1746: with an Appendix of Modern Jacobite Songs.* Edited by CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D. London: 1861.

‘IF I were permitted to make the ballads of a nation, I should ‘not care who made its laws.’ This phrase has passed into an adage, attributed to one of the most terse of political writers and pregnant of political thinkers, Fletcher of Saltoun. But his it is not. Like most good sayings, it belongs to that comprehensive ‘all the world,’ which is proverbially said to have more wit than any one in it. Fletcher does not claim it. ‘I said,’ are his words, ‘I knew a very wise man so much of Sir Christopher’s sentiment’ (an imaginary interlocutor in his Account of a Conversation concerning a Right Regulation of Government) ‘that he believed, if a man were permitted to ‘make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the ‘laws of a nation.’ But the adage, with all its smartness, is a very deceitful one. A curious essay might be written to show how, in politics, wit is generally on the losing side. The successful ballad is very rarely the accompaniment of a successful cause. The exile, the defeated, the persecuted — these are commonly the favourites of the popular muse.

‘It is remarkable, though quite natural’ (says Dr. Mackay) ‘that the losing cause in politics should always be associated with lovelier music and poetry than have ever been inspired by success. The defeat of Flodden was a nobler theme for the poets of the fifteenth century than the victory of Waterloo was for those of the nineteenth. Béranger could not sing songs about Napoleon robed in his purple and conquering the world; but when the great Emperor was stripped of his crown, his power, and his liberty, and sent to die broken-hearted on the lonely rock of St. Helena, the heart of the poet was touched, and his harpstrings quivered to the tenderest and most ennobling music of the time.’

What is true of the elegiac ballad is still more true of the satirical. A Government pursued by the choicest and most effective satire, is apt to be a very long-lived one. ‘Qu’ils ‘cantent, pourvou qu’ils payent,’ said Mazarin, who survived a thousand Mazarinades to die in his bed an all-powerful Prime Minister. But ministers and empires perish, while wit is



immortal, and after ages forget altogether its earthly defeat in its spiritual triumph. Aristophanes seems to live and triumph, after 2000 years, in his irresistible exposure of the arts of demagogues; but those demagogues triumphed in their day, and swayed the fates of his Republic. Pasquin and Marforio have pelted the Vatican for many a century, without knocking down a single abuse. All the exquisite poetry, and humour, and invective, of the Jacobite muse were shot in vain point-blank into the massive earthworks of prosaic solidity which walled about the Whig monarchy. In the fierce encounter of wits which heralded the French Revolution, the royalist punsters and rhymesters had incomparably the best of it: but their heads fell one by one under the guillotine, with the smartest epigrams still trembling on their lips. It is a mistake to suppose, as is sometimes supposed, that Church and State have had a decided preponderance of sarcasm on their side in the English political satires. The notion is in reality only based on the fact that Church and State (in the old sense of the words) have been on the whole more frequently in opposition than in power, since the great Rebellion. It was otherwise during the intervals of Tory triumph; when Andrew Marvell showed up the Court of the Restoration—when Lillibullero raised a host of Orangemen—and again in the later campaigns of the authors of the ‘*Rolliad*,’ and of Tom Moore. The much more general statement is the true one—that the satirical muse thrives only in opposition, to whatever party she may attach herself. Power, with its responsibilities, restraints, and decencies, speedily reduces her to dulness. The usual exceptions to this rule arise on those rare occasions when Opposition, deserting her station of vantage, descends into the field on equal terms, and exposes a weak side to attack—some favourite delusion, or pet prophet. Then the Government wit may well exclaim, that the Lord hath delivered his enemy into his hands: and may compensate himself for his prudential reserve by such stinging discharges as assailed the contrivers of the Popish Plot, or the Anglo-Jacobin sympathisers, or the forlorn knights-errant of Queen Caroline of Brunswick.

Of all the subsidiary sources of information, therefore, to which a historical inquirer must occasionally resort, satires and caricatures are perhaps the most misleading. They represent the ephemeral feeling, not of the public, as is commonly said, but of a section of the public; generally of a minority. And even this they do, subject to all that exaggeration and distortion which is in truth their very essence. For what would be the

value of a lampoon which stuck to the truth? Voltaire, himself so great a proficient in all the arts of the political and literary partisan, was well aware of this. 'Il y a encore,' he says, 'une grande source d'erreurs publiques parmi nous, et qui est particulière à notre nation.' (It was so when he wrote; for the French 'noëls' and similar ballads had a literary vogue long preceding that attained by English political songs, and far surpassing it.) 'C'est le goût des vaudevilles. On en fait chaque jour sur les personnes les plus respectables; et on entend tous les jours calomnier les vivans et les morts sur ces beaux fondemens. Ce fait (dit-on) est vrai, c'est une chanson qui l'atteste.' We cannot but set this true judgment of their value, by the man of all others best qualified to pronounce one, against such undiscriminating admiration as that of Mr. Wilkins, in his preface:

'The real value and importance' (says he) 'of such ephemeral productions may be best discerned in the volumes of the late Lord Macaulay, the only native historian who has thought them worthy of his particular study and use. It is no disparagement to the literary fame of that distinguished writer to affirm that they have imparted to his pages a vitality which the profoundest knowledge of the principles of human action, combined with the greatest erudition and the highest descriptive powers, could never have effected without them.'

'To these despised and inexhaustible sources of information he was principally indebted for his life-like delineations of character; for his descriptions of popular commotions; and, not unfrequently, for his knowledge of the motives by which public men were actuated, in particular conjunctures, in their conduct.'

The incautious reader, who might suppose from this passage, that Lord Macaulay had composed a kind of ballad-history of Great Britain, would be surprised to find how few such pieces he really quotes, and on how far fewer he 'relics' for any purpose at all, except the amusement of his readers and himself—stored with them as was his extraordinary memory. But carefully as his judgment kept his fondness for the broadside and the flying sheet in its proper place, still we can scarcely deny that this fondness contributed to, or arose from, his principal fault,—a tendency to substitute what Mr. Wilkins calls 'vitality,' what the French term 'colour,' and we 'effect,' for literal prosaic truth. But that which was a mere defect in him, is unhappily the engrossing sin of the popular and 'effective' historians whose names are now most frequently in the mouth of the public. The pleasant temptation to wander in quest of adventures, rather than of solid conquests, in the bye-roads of history, is one of those which that rare personage, a real lover of truth, must keep in very careful control. To quote Voltaire again, 'Il faut

‘s’accoûtümer à chercher le vrai dans les plus petites choses ;  
‘sans cela on est bien trompé dans les grandes.’

Of the direct historical value of such records as ballads and metrical lampoons, we therefore entertain a very moderate opinion. Indirectly they have their uses ; but chiefly for those who are most familiar with the more authentic sources of knowledge, to which this may serve as a corrective. The origin of some received article of popular belief, or some report affecting the character of an individual, may often be curiously traced back from the history or the memoir through a series of squibs, each improving on its predecessor. The relative amount of popularity or unpopularity, notoriety or obscurity, of particular personages, is singularly illustrated by their prominence in the political ballads of the day. A ballad-history of the Great Rebellion would but slightly touch on Strafford, and would omit nearly all notice of Selden, Falkland, Hyde, Fairfax, Ireton. Its heroes would be Laud, Pym, St. John, Pride, Lambert, and the like ; characters which exposed, more or less, a weak side to raillery. So of events. It is not the great and decisive, but the picturesque, the grotesque, the fabulous, which suit the purpose of the street rhymers. Monarchies may fall or rise, and provoke far less of his commentary than the Popish Plot, or the South Sea Bubble, the Warming-pan, or Jenkins’s ears. The ballad muse, therefore, duly studied, presents us with two important truths, or rather two faces of the same truth ; the one, that really great events by no means produce, in their own day, and among the multitude, an effect at all proportioned to the space they occupy in after history ; the other that events, really small in themselves, derive a secondary importance from the space which they occupy in cotemporary imagination.

But whatever may be the real amount of the value of these ballads to the historical inquirer, it is plain enough that they can serve little purpose, if laid before him without verification ; without citing the authorities from whence the compiler has derived them. The originality of pieces of this description is often so very questionable—there has been so much of interpolation and falsification in their copying and editing—that readers will inevitably and rightly entertain a doubt respecting all that comes before them without such evidence. Many of them appear also in several versions, and it is often of some little importance to know which we have under our eyes. Nor must we forget the wants of that class of readers to whom the references constitute really the most valuable part of such a collection, and whose pleasure or occupation consists in tracing

them out. This is so obvious, that we cannot conceal our surprise, as well as regret, at finding that Mr. Wilkins has deliberately taken the course of omitting these references altogether. He publishes his ballads, arranged to the best of his ability in order of time, but without any indication of origin whatever, except the occasional name of the reputed author.

‘They have been gleaned,’ he tells us, ‘from exceedingly rare (not a few, I believe, unique) single sheets and broadsides, old manuscripts, and contemporary journals, in the national and other libraries. A few have been extracted from very scarce volumes, which were published at the close of the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century; and fewer still have been derived from modern works, in order to give a greater completeness to the series.’

Now the fact is, that a considerable proportion have been printed before, and in very common books, too; though whether Mr. Wilkins is aware of this, or has gone back to originals without being aware that other collectors had anticipated him, we cannot tell. We are far from quarrelling with him for including many well-known pieces in his selection. The value of a ballad does not consist in its obscurity; on the contrary, the best are probably the best known. But we do complain that he has thrown an air of very unnecessary mystery about his proceedings, and are satisfied that he has considerably impaired the value of his book by doing so.

The existing repertoires of political ballads for the period which he has chosen, 1640–1760, are pretty well known. He under-values the four volumes entitled ‘*State Poems*,’ when he says that they ‘contain few political ballads, properly so-called; but consist almost entirely of long and insipid poems, chiefly from the pen of Buckingham, Rochester, and other exalted personages.’ Their contents abound, on the contrary, with ballads and lampoons of the common order; including many of the best of their day; we have ourselves noticed five of the ballads of Mr. Wilkins’s first volume in the ‘*State Poems*,’ and there may be more—that collection being without index or alphabetical tables. They are indeed a ‘rude and undigested heap;’ and the same remark applies to those four or five great volumes of MS. political ballads in the Harleian and Lansdown Collections—well thumbed by the book-makers of many generations—of which a portion still remains unprinted. It seems plain that some of these volumes are connected with the printed ‘*State Poems*,’ from the great number of pieces they contain in common, and the general identity of text and notes. But they are without arrangement or useful index. And, to mention, once for all, the general

damning vice of their contents, and of the great mass of MS. political satires, from Charles II. to George I., inclusive, their coarseness and indecency are so inexpressibly vile that far greater merit than they possess would not authorise their publication, and so pervading as to render the task of making extracts one of extreme difficulty; and the coarsest, unhappily, are by far the wittiest. The utter depravation of the English stage and street literature, for nearly a century, forms one of the most degrading facts in our national history. Even France—corrupt as we are accustomed to call her—is comparatively guiltless; her obscenity lurked in the dark, ours walked abroad, for some generations, with an effrontery certainly without parallel in the literature of Christendom. If we add to the above authorities Tom Durfey's '*Pills to Purge Melancholy*,' and the Whig collection called '*Political Merriment*,' we have before us the principal repositories of this kind of matter, at least down to the period of the Hanover Succession; but there are of course abundant subsidiary stores.

It need scarcely be said that Mr. Wilkins's volumes, extending over more than 100 years of history, contain only a very small portion of the riches accumulated in these reservoirs. Nor do we at all perceive on what principle his selection has been made. Very few of his ballads have any particular celebrity attached to them. The remainder are neither better nor worse than the ordinary average of their kind. His proceedings have no doubt been very seriously hampered by the utter impossibility of reprinting for modern readers a vast proportion of them. In one respect, at all events, his choice appears to us judicious. Considering the small space which he had at his disposal, he has succeeded very well in giving some specimens of the minstrelsy of almost every successive party and period. The satires against Laud, against the Long Parliament, against the Court of Charles II., the Popish Plot, the Dutch William and German George, the Pretender, and the Hanover Succession, the South Sea swindlers, and Sir Robert Walpole, all find their representatives in these impartial volumes: and it is chiefly in this way (as a kind of epitome of a very long story) that we think them likely to prove attractive to a good many readers. We have, however, derived from their perusal only a confirmation of the opinion we had previously entertained, of the extreme inferiority, taken as a whole, of this class of English literature. It will not stand a moment's comparison with the French for wit, with the Scotch for poetry or for vernacular vigour. Great insipidity—now that the allusions have lost their temporary pungency—is its too general characteristic. Of poetical fire there is not

a touch. Wit, certainly, is not wanting; but unluckily what there is of pure wit is generally of the lowest and coarsest kind. Of humour—according to the usual notion of that rather impalpable quality—we discover remarkably little. And, to speak last of what, is, perhaps, the most singular failure of all, they are wonderfully defective for the most part in metre and in rhythm. A smart ballad—to whatever other qualities it may make pretence—ought at all events, according to our notions, to run glibly over the tongue and scan with facility. Our ancestors seem to have thought otherwise. Unequal lines and halting metre seem not to have shocked their ears in the least. It might be said of a song, with more truth than of any other poem, that ‘if it rhymes and rattles, all is well;’ but at least half of those here contained rhyme very imperfectly, and their rattle is as that of a cart over a street in process of repair. They evince, too, the want of musical appreciation with which our nation is charged, in the poverty and scantiness of the tunes to which they are set; ‘Which nobody can deny.’ ‘Antony, now, now now;’ ‘Packington’s Pound,’ ‘Hey boys, up go we!’ ‘Mortimer’s Hole;’ and two or three more such venerable favourites, seem to have furnished the narrow repertory of the ballad-monger almost exclusively, and his hearers would perhaps have endured nothing else. It must however be added that a marked but gradual progress in the appreciation of metrical evenness as a requisite in versification can be traced in these slight productions, plainly as in more substantial English poetry. Pope macadamised our English heroic verse, and it has ever since retained that somewhat monotonous cadence of which he approved: and it was precisely in his time, the reigns of the two first Georges, that the old string-halt of the common musical ballad gave place to a smoother and easier jog-trot.

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was, however, the first writer of political songs in our language who may be said to have attained distinction through the merit of his compositions, and not merely from their public interest, or their scurrility. And Mr. Wilkins’s collection only just includes the Whig baronet. Should he furnish us with a continuation, he will have a far better field to select from. For if the general tone of political ballad poetry was feeble before 1760, it attained in no long time afterwards to a very high point of perfection. The reign of George III. saw the dulness of former times dissipated by the wit of that brilliant generation which produced the ‘*Rolliad*’ and the ‘*Anti-Jacobin*.’ And it may be said, we think, without fear of refutation, that these volumes, though pretty adequately representing the period which they embrace, contain absolutely

nothing which will stand comparison with the wit of Moore, the pungency of Theodore Hook, or the fun and spirit of Tom Taylor.

Among the satires of the Rebellion period, with which Mr. Wilkins's collection commences, we select as a specimen some stanzas from one new to ourselves, and of which we do not know the authorship or the history, Mr. Wilkins being, as usual, silent on that score. It has the ordinary stamp of those times, but with better workmanship in the execution than is common among them: —

' THE ANARCHIE, OR THE BLESSED REFORMATION SINCE 1640.

(Vol. i. p. 32.)

' Now that, thanks to the powers below,  
We have e'en done our do;  
The mitre is down,  
And so is the crown,  
And with them the coronet too:  
Come clowns and come boys,  
Come hober-de-hoys,  
Stretch your throats, bring in your votes,  
And make good the Anarchie.  
And thus it shall go, says Alice,  
Nay, thus it shall go, says Amy;  
Nay, thus it shall go, says Taffy, I trow.  
Nay, thus it shall go, says Jamy.  
Well, let the truth be where it will,  
We're sure all else is ours;  
Yet these divisions in our religions  
May chance abate our powers;  
Then let's agree on some one way,  
It skills not much how true:  
Take Prynne and his clubs, or Say and his tubs,  
Or any sect, old or new:  
The devil's in the pack, if choice you can lack,  
We're fourscore religions strong —  
Take your choice, and the major voice  
Shall carry it, right or wrong.  
Then we'll be of this, says Megg,  
Nay, we'll be of that, says Tibb,  
Nay, we'll be of all, says pitiful Paul,  
Nay, we'll be of none, says Gibb.

' Oh! we shall have (if we go on  
In plunder, excise, and blood)  
But few folks and poor to dominion o'er.  
And that will not be so good;  
Then let's resolve on some new way,

Some new and happy course ;  
 The country's grown sad, the city gone mad,  
 And both the Houses are worse.  
 The Synod hath writ, the General hath,  
 And both to like purpose too ;  
 Religion, laws, the truth, the cause,  
 Are talkt of, but nothing we do.  
 Come, come, shall's have peace? says Nell ;  
 No, no, but we won't, says Madge ;  
 But I say we will, says fiery-faced Phil ;  
 We will and we won't, says Hadge.'

On the Royalist side the popular political balladmonger of those days was the soldier-poet, John Cleveland; but the great vogue which his compositions in this line attained, is not very comprehensible to modern understandings. For Cleveland, though not without poetical stuff in his composition, was bitten by the prevailing metaphysical mania which produced and spoiled so many verse-makers, from Donne to Cowley. Whatever the merits of that style might be, anything less suited than its laboured, sententious laconicism, and far-fetched imagery, to the purposes of the ephemeral satirist, can hardly be imagined. Accordingly, while Cleveland's other compositions have their merit, his would-be witty rhyming attacks on his Roundhead adversaries thoroughly deserve the contempt with which the Roundheads themselves treated them. For the story goes that when he was at last taken by them at Newark (where he had served as judge-advocate with Charles's last army), he presented himself to his captors with all the conscious dignity of a prisoner of importance; and the contemptuous indifference with which they suffered him to go his ways—the collapse at once of his loved cause and his fancied celebrity—broke the poor poet's heart. The only specimen culled from his poems by Mr. Wilkins, entitled 'The Parliament' (vol. i. p. 28.), is a very pointless affair. In justice to the shade of one who did not lack loftiness nor warmth of sentiment, though very deficient in ability to express them, and who may pass as the earliest known of English political poets, we subjoin a little specimen of his powers in a style better suited to them—his 'Epitaph on Lord Strafford.'

' Here rests wise and valiant dust,  
 Huddled up twixt fitt and just,  
 Strafford, who was banded hence  
 'Tween treason and convenience ;  
 Who lived and died in a mist,  
 A Papist and a Calvinist ;



His Prince's nearest joy and griefe,  
Who had, yet wanted, all reliefe ;  
The prop and ruin of the State ;  
The people's violent love and hate ;  
One in extremes lov'd and abhorr'd—  
Riddles lye here ; or in a word,  
Here lies Blood, and let it lye  
Speechless still, and never cry.'

These verses may be noted as an example, though but an inferior one, of a class of composition very characteristic of that truly and rarely heroic age, the period of the great Rebellion ; the 'political ode,' which then had its birth, and continued in vogue until the beginning of the following century. Under the influence of exciting and engrossing speculation on matters of the deepest interest to man, temporal and spiritual, the world had grown very rapidly and almost preternaturally old. When we compare the tone of thought and writing prevalent in 1620 with that of 1650, we seem to have advanced in one generation from the childhood to the maturity of a people. But this very intensity of thought 'o'er informed its tenement of clay.' The language itself had not grown sufficiently to meet the development of political ideas. How, we may ask, could an author produce an intelligible essay on social science, without the use of such words as 'interesting,' 'individual,' 'impression,' 'moral' 'and social phenomena,' 'historical inquirer,' 'improvement,' 'civilisation,' 'intelligence,' 'culture?' all of which we cull from the first two pages of an essay of Mill, opened at hazard, and not one of which was used at all, or in its present learned sense, in the reign of Charles I. The poets were by no means exempt from similar difficulties. Not was their language only inadequate to express their ideas ; the ideas themselves were prematurely forced ; men saw, darkly and through a haze, conclusions pressing on them for which nothing in the training of antecedent generations had prepared them. There was something incomplete, fragmentary, almost chaotic in their mode of delivering themselves of the burden thus laid upon them. Their political poets (the best of them), while full of vigour, seem constantly struggling with an incapacity to say all they mean ; combined with those literary tendencies of the 'Metaphysical' school to which we have already adverted. The result was an ambitious, antithetical terseness, which often renders them harsh, and sometimes obscure. Butler ridiculed these peculiarities : yet had a tendency himself to fall into them. The style of Cowley carries them to the extreme. But he, too, in his political odes, exhibits no small share of that masculine appreciation of great events, and great qualities, which belonged to his time. His

encounter, in the prologue to his 'Essay on the Government of 'England,' with the great vision of the Lord Protector's armed angel, 'the figure of a man taller than a giant, or indeed than 'the shadow of any giant in the evening,' on the top of 'that 'famous hill in the island Mona, which has the prospect of three 'great, and not long since, most happy kingdoms,' is indeed but the product of a tortured fancy, not of spontaneous imagination. Nevertheless there are noble lyric fragments interspersed in it; such as that, by quoting which, Sir Robert Peel once revived the memory of a long-forgotten poem:

'Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be,  
Come sink us rather in the sea;  
Come rather pestilence and reap us down,  
Come God's sword rather than our own.  
Nath' the Roman come again,  
The Saxon, Norman, and the Dane;  
In 'the chains we ever wore  
Yet 'we sigh'd, we wept: we never blushed before.'

The feeling of the same elevation of thought, struggling with the want of power of language, and an artificial conciseness, is seen in the first, though youthful, epitaph, by the second Duke of Buckingham, on his father-in-law, which began—

'Under this tomb doth lye  
One born for victory,—  
Fairfax the Valiant, and the only he  
Who e'er, for it alone, a conqueror would be.'

But a far nobler specimen exists in that magnificent ode of Andrew Marvell's, if his it be, of which the evidence seems strong on the Protector: stanzas, in which the poet so daringly contributes to the conqueror and the victim, and, all the while, he was, paid a homage to what there was of greatness in the martyred King far more choice, and more dignified than ever was tendered by Royalist versifier. They have been quoted often enough; but no one will grudge reading them again, and they seem both in their beauties and defects to illustrate our meaning.

'And, if we will speak true,  
Much to the man is due,  
'Who from his private garden, where  
He lived reserved and austere,  
As 'twere his choicest plot  
To plant the bergamot,  
'Could by industrious valour climb  
To ruin the great work of Time,

And cast the kingdoms old  
 Into another mould.  
 'What field in all our civil wars  
 Where his were not the chiefest scars?  
 And Hampton shews what part  
 He had of wiser art,  
 'When twining subtle fears with hope  
 He wove a net of such a scope  
 That Charles himself might chace  
 To Carisbrook's narrow case:  
 'That thence the royal actor Lorne.  
 The tragic scaffold might adorn:  
 While round the armed bands  
 Did clap their bloody hands:  
 'He nothing common did, nor mean,  
 Upon that memorable scene:  
 But with his keener eye  
 The axe's edge did try:  
 'Nor called the gods, in vulgar spite,  
 To vindicate his helpless right;  
 But bowed his comely head  
 Down as upon a bed.'

This style of political poetry, manly and forcible in a high degree, but often hard, and deficient in natural flow as well as in polish, with a strong tendency to the epigrammatic, continued in fashion while men were much in earnest; but it lost its power when political life became itself commonplace; political verse then became stilted whenever it endeavoured the heroic. The latest master of it that we remember was the first Lord Nugent; a master in many styles, and who had the rare defect of writing far too little. But in his two or three fine odes (that 'To Mankind' is the best), although the words burn, the thoughts scarcely breathe; they are cold and pedantic. Such stanzas as

'Superior virtue, wisdom, might  
 Create and mark the ruler's right,  
 So Nature's laws conclude:  
 'Then thine it is, to whom belong  
 The wise, the virtuous, and the strong,  
 Thrice sacred Multitude!'

have still power to stir the blood, but the sentiment is in truth commonplace, and the logic nonsensical.

'That strain I heard was of a higher mood.' It costs something to descend from the rugged elevation of the political ode of the seventeenth century, to rake the kennels for its political ballads, or lampoons, generally pointless when not gross,

almost always poor in language and limping in metre. There are, however, exceptions, and to one of them some noble verses we have lately quoted naturally introduce us. There are few men of similar date whose memory lives so fresh, and whose name, when mentioned among us, still calls up so much of almost affectionate feeling, as Andrew Marvell. And no doubt deservedly. He had much of the qualities which Englishmen prize most, and fancy distinctive of their nation; bravery, honesty, independence, love of country, plain and practical sense; and he combined them with no ordinary poetical powers. Nevertheless it must be confessed, that we habitually shut our eyes to the unattractive side of his character. This same Andrew Marvell was one of the most unsparing, reckless, nay, malignant of libellers. It is impossible to exaggerate the grossness, as well as virulence, of the ordinary run of his lampoons in verse; at least if a tithe of those ascribed to him in the 'State Poems,' and similar collections, were really by his hand. We know very well that the Court he attacked was bad and corrupt in the highest degree; but the baseness of an enemy does not justify the use of poisoned weapons. And granted that his motive was the best, overboiling indignation defeats its own object. Many an evil consequence would be avoided, if men would resist the temptation to 'deliver their souls;' if the honest satirist would ask himself, not, Am I not justified in what I say? but, What good shall I do by saying it? The good, in Marvell's instance, was problematical. Libellers have sometimes poisoned the mind of a nation against Courts which were comparatively exemplary; as in the melancholy instance of Louis XVI. Against utterly profligate courts they have little power. Brazen vice defies them. Nay, they often diminish the indignation of the righteous against it, by provoking a reaction of feeling. Charles II. and his brother were without public virtue, and of debauched private life; but the common spirit of justice, as well as that of loyalty, was aroused, when they were daily bespattered with charges, not only of their real offences, but of the worst imaginary crimes into the bargain. Their court ladies were a worthless bevy; but they were women, and the ordinary respect of man for the sex was aroused, when their names were dragged into notice in rhymes such as could not now be printed or circulated. Our own belief is, that the existence of Stuart government in this country was prolonged, amongst other causes, by public disgust at the license of its assailants; and, moreover, that something of that odd popularity which still clings to the memory of Charles—

to the scandal of political precisians — is owing to the same circumstance. Mr. Wilkins's collection contains two of Marvell's numerous pieces. Both were already printed, in the *State Poems*, and also in Thomson's execrable edition of his works. 'Clarendon's House-warming' is the longer and better. But the printed copy is most likely a defective one; for both metre and sense limp occasionally, in a way which Marvell would scarcely have sanctioned. We may conjecture that the gross imperfection of many of the most stinging of the '*State Poems*' in these particulars is owing to the circumstance, that they appear to have been first entrusted, in manuscript, to men who drove the trade of circulating libels — one Julian, under Charles II., was celebrated in this creditable line, — and some may have been preserved only in copies taken by memory. It is, however, full of obscure allusions to the circumstances of the day, and these Mr. Wilkins has not attempted to explain. He tells us, that 'Hyde' was the patronymic of Lord Clarendon; guesses that the two Allons were 'probably members of the Vintners' Company;' and relates the old story of the Duke of Buckingham's buffooneries at Clarendon's expense, merely because the Duke's name occurs in the ballad. But the curious hits at 'African' 'Poultney,' the 'Cheddar Club,' Worstenholm, Prat, &c., are left unnoticed. There is much of this 'dry-footed' kind of editing, as Coleridge would have called it, in Mr. Wilkins's work; and we notice it once for all, because it is clear enough from other portions of his work, that he is quite capable of doing what readers may fairly require in this respect, if he would consent to take the pains. We must add (not to resort to this kind of criticism again), that, in comparing Mr. Wilkins's text with that in the *State Poems*, we find variations for the worse — one clear mistake, 'Turrus' for Tarras (terrace) — some which spoil the metre — some (apparently) substitutions of decenter phrases for Marvell's coarse English; but whether these are wilful on Mr. Wilkins's part, or owing to his having used some other original, we cannot pretend to say.

After Marvell's time, the art of libelling in rhyme fell from bad to worse. As men's tempers grew hotter, and their feuds darker and darker, the expression of their mutual hatred became even coarser and more reckless than before. Words cannot describe the abyss of united grossness and ferocity in which the muse of political satire disported herself, from the death of Charles II. to the reign of Anne; while her wit grew no sharper, and her versification was as unpolished as ever. Mr. Wilkins cannot, of course, do justice to these characteristics in his selection: for what was then deemed forcible, will not,

happily, now bear reproduction. The few here given of the period in question are for the most part rather laboured and insipid effusions; except old 'Lillibullero,' with its rude words, broad popular wit, and stirring tune, the Marseillaise of our middle-class revolution.

Of our 'persons of quality' of that age, Rochester, Buckingham, and Denham had disgraced themselves by lampoons of a class only to be named and forgotten. The accomplished Halifax only condescended, so far as we know, to one squib in verse. It is entitled 'The Clubmen of the House of Commons,' and is ascribed to him among the ballads of the year 1694 in the MS. collections at the British Museum. We have not ourselves seen it in print. It begins:

' Let noble Sir Positive lead the van,  
The only all-doing, unerrable man;  
What a pity it is that life's but a span,  
Which nobody can deny.'

But though some of the allusions which it contains are curious, it is too indifferent of its kind to be worth quotation.

Among the plebeian rhymesters of the day, some had the true ballad-talent; but turned it, as we have said, to such purposes as must condemn them to oblivion. Tom Durfey, the best remembered among them,

' For sonnets famed as far as Epsom Wells,'

was more successful as a retailer of other men's wit than a vendor of his own. We quote a couple of stanzas from his ballad, 'The Trimmer,' (vol. ii. p. 16.) chiefly because the first verse betrays the real origin of a joke which the author of a far wittier composition, the Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers, condescended in later days to borrow, when he calls on

' Ye Cibbers, Scotts, Shebbeares,  
Hark to my call, for *some of you have ears.*'

' THE TRIMMER. By Durfey.

' Pray lend me your ears, *if you've any to spare,*  
You that hate Commonwealth as you hate common prayer,  
Which can in a breath pray, dissemble, and swear,  
Which nobody can deny.

' I'm first on the wrong side, and then on the right,  
To-day I'm a *jack*, and to-morrow a *mite*,  
I for either king pray, but for neither dare fight,  
Which nobody can deny.'

Ned Ward, the Tory and Cockney poetaster of William's days, the author of 'England's Reformation,' and much other

forgotten satire, with but little power of wit or sarcasm, seems to us to have possessed one quality rare among his cotemporary bards,—a musical ear. His verses canter smoothly, instead of limping, stumbling, or prancing like those of most of his brethren. And the following ‘Ballad on the Taxes,’ vol. ii. p. 57., occasioned by those reforms in the currency so ably recounted by Macaulay, is rather a favourable specimen of his powers:—

‘ Good people, what will you of all be bereft?  
Will you never learn wit while a penny is left:  
You are all like the dog in the fable betray’d,  
You let go the substance and snatch at the shade:  
With specious pretences and foreign expences,  
We war for Religion, and waste all our chink:  
’Tis nipt, and ’tis clipt, and ’tis lent, and ’tis spent,  
Till ’tis gone, and ’tis gone to the devil I think.  
We pay for our new-born, we pay for our dead,  
We pay if we’re single, we pay if we’re wed;  
To show that our merciful Senate don’t fail,  
They begin at the head and tax down to the tail.  
We pay through the nose by subjecting our foes,  
Yet for all our expences get nothing but blows;  
At home we are cheated, abroad we’re defeated,  
But the end on’t, the end on’t, the Lord above knows!  
We parted with all our old money to shew  
We foolishly hope for a plenty of new;  
But might have considered, when we came to the push,  
That a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush:  
We now like poor wretches are kept under hatches,  
At rack and at manger like beasts in the Ark:  
Since burgesses and knights make us pay for our lights,  
Why should we, why should we, be kept in the dark!’ &c.  
(Vol. ii. p. 57.)

Bishop Burnet, though the gods had made him neither poetical nor facetious, was at all events the cause of much facetious rhyme. No man of his period had so many ballads made on him, or so good. There was something about him singularly provocative of this kind of assault. His honest and thorough one-sidedness, his courage, his readiness to attack and defend, his credulity and vanity, were qualities which John Bull likes none the less because they afford plenty of scope for satire. In fact, a public personage, out of whom a good deal of fun can be made, is pretty sure to be a popular one. He was one of those not uncommon characters, who to a good many qualities of the lighter sort, vivacity, love of gossip, readiness of sympathy, and abundant curiosity, add an utter inability either to perpetrate or perceive a joke. Unconsciously, there-

fore, he was for ever offering himself up to make sport for the Philistines. If his own son, Sir Thomas, was the author, as reported, of 'Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell' (vol. ii. p. 170.), the production certainly 'confirms his early character for gracelessness and ingenuity,'—as Mr. Wilkins observes:—

'The devils were brawling at Burnet's descending,  
But at his arrival they left off contending;  
Old Lucifer ran his dear Bishop to meet,  
And thus the arch-vill the apostate did greet.'

Now we have found the amusement in a squib published in the *Poems*, on the occasion of some alteration being made in the pew at St. James's chapel, in 1698, to prevent (as was alleged) the Court ladies from making too dangerous use of their chairs during service. It is entitled 'The Brawny Bishop's Complaint;' and, strange to say, will bear to be reprinted without omission, although we have only room for some stanzas. It is on the everlasting tune of 'Packington's Pound':—

'When Burnet perceived that the beautiful dames  
Who flock to the chapel of holy St. James,  
On their lovers above their kind looks did bestow,  
And smiled not on him when he bellow'd below,  
To the Princess he went,  
With a pious intent,

'This dangerous ill in the Church to prevent:  
Oh, madam! said he, our religion is lost,  
If the ladies thus ogle the knights of the toast.

'Your Highness observes how I labour and sweat  
Their affections to raise and new flames to beget;  
And sure when I preach, all the world will agree  
That their ears and their eyes should be pointed on me;

But now I can't find

One beauty so kind

As my parts to regard, or my presence to mind;  
Nay, I scarce have a sight of any one face,  
But those of Oxford, and ugly Arglass.

'Those sorrowful matrons, with hearts full of ruth,  
Repent for the manifold sins of their youth;  
The rest with their tattle my harmony spoil;  
And Burlington, Anglesey, Kingston, and Boyle  
Their minds entertain

With thoughts so profane

'Tis a mercy to find that at church they contain:  
E'en Henningham's shapes their weak fancies entice,  
And sooner than me they will ogle the Vice-(Chamberlain).'

The reign of Anne witnessed the beginning of a considerable improvement in the taste of our political ballads, and also (as



has been already said) in their metre. But it must be added that they lost a good deal in force and pungency. They ceased to be popular with the multitude: they ceased to express, in their coarse virulence, the passions of angry millions. They became little more than the playthings of political parties among the 'upper ten thousand.' In truth, the great democracy, wearied with wrestling and shouting, went asleep after the days of Sacheverell, and did not awake again, except for an uneasy start or two—until those of John Wilkes and general warrants. The inoffensive and housewifely personage of Queen Anne was habitually spared by the rhymesters of the time: whether because neither party despaired of securing her support, or from increased polish of manners and respect for a female sovereign, we cannot say: but George II.'s Queen Caroline, notwithstanding the detestation in which her husband was held by the Jacobites, was also usually treated with much lenity. On the other hand, the accession of the thoroughly unpopular George I. gave occasion for an outburst of something of the old malignant spirit which had inspired the libellers of the Stuarts and of William. While the coarsest humour was lavished on his bad English, his electoral poverty, and German mistresses, there is a savage ferocity, almost like that of Dubois-Cranéc's cotemporary 'Philippics' on the French Regent, in those ballads, many of them as yet unprinted, which expatiate on the tragedy of his wife and Königsmark, and her unrelenting imprisonment:—

' Could ages an example give  
Of enmity that soared so high,  
That scarce permitted her to live,  
And yet prohibits her to die !'

This spirit, however, soon wore itself out in England, though it survived North of the Tweed: and political poetry fell again into the hands of 'the Insipids.' Horace Walpole, with all his ready perception of the ridiculous, had no critical judgment whatever for verse of this class. He frequently quotes the ballads of the day, and scarcely seems to perceive any difference in merit between the lamest and dullest productions, provided only they were directed against the Court or the Tories, and the choicest satires of his friend Hanbury Williams. He transcribes one against George II., called the 'Balancing Captain,' 1741, 'not "for the goodness, but for the excessive abuse of it." It is reprinted in vol. ii. p. 265. of Mr. Wilkins's collection. The abuse, such as it is, seems to us as milk and waterish, as the versification is trashy.

The choicest of Court wits, Lord Hervey, appears also only in

the character of a very third-rate performer. 'Here is one,' says Walpole, 'that has made a vast noise, and by Lord Hervey's taking pains to disperse it, has been thought his own; if it is, he has taken due care to disguise the niceness of his style.' Elsewhere he says: 'It was certainly written by Lord Hervey.' The composition in question, 'A new Court Ballad' (1742), is assuredly one of the weakest in this or any collection. The first verse may pass for the most stinging, or nearly so.

' O England, attend, while thy fate I deplore,  
Rehearsing the schemes and the contests of power :  
And since only of those who have power I sing,  
I am sure none can think that I hint at the King !'

(Vol. ii. p. 270.)

Poor George II. is more smartly attacked in a few epigrammatic lines of the year 1728, the beginning of his reign; which we have only seen in MS.

' Since England was England, sure never was seen  
So strutting a King and so prattling a Queen ;  
But I could o'erlook George's green coloured coat,  
And his feather, though yellow, and dangling sword-knot,  
Nay, I could forgive him his masking with Polly,  
His tawdry reviews and the rest of his folly,  
But his armies, his fleets, and his senators vile  
So disgrace and oppress this our once happy isle,  
He's so fond of his knight, and his knight of our coin,  
And to strip us so bare all his courtiers combine.  
We can't keep both our pence and the Protestant line !'

The following parody on Cowley, from the same MS. collection, on the occasion of Lord Macclesfield's impeachment, is neat enough.

' The greedy corporations drain  
Our coin, and gape for coin again.  
The courtiers drain the land, and are  
By constant taxing fresh and fair.  
The House itself—which one would think  
Should uncorrupted be by chink—  
Tips Civil List so greedily,  
Has oft been tilted, twice run dry.  
There's nothing in the island sound,  
But an eternal tip goes round.  
For crimes and misdemeanors high  
Should every mortal 'scape but I,  
Ye managers, pray tell me why ?'

Such was the condition of English political poetry when Sir Charles Hanbury Williams took the lead in it; the originator, as we think, of that excellent vein of mock-heroic wit in which

the men of the Rolliad and Anti-Jacobin afterwards excelled. When a few of his 'Odes' were reprinted some years ago, an outcry was raised against their coarseness; but compared with his predecessors he was almost a moral reformer. With his era Mr. Wilkins's collection closes. 'We must add that his last volume includes at least five or six ballads already published by Mr. Wright in his 'England under the House of Hanover.' One of these — and it is the last we have to mention — is Glover's famous song, 'Hosier's Ghost,' attributed at one time, says Mr. Wright, to Pulteney; who could as easily have written the Iliad.\* We are disposed to esteem it unique in the history of literature, combining merits found nowhere else in conjunction: at once a noble poem, appealing to the loftiest emotions, a street ballad, adapted to the plainest audience, and a party satire, of consummate fierceness and vigour. It has now become so classical,—so much a part of our permanent literature — that we forget its excellence as a temporary 'hit.' We forget the scorching effect, on Walpole and his partisans, of such fiery provocation of the most cherished passions of Britons as is conveyed in the appeal of the unavenged shade.

' I, by twenty sail attended,  
Did the Spanish town affright;  
Nothing then its wealth defended,  
But *my orders—not to fight!*  
Oh! that in yon rolling ocean  
I had cast them with disdain,  
And obeyed my heart's warm motion  
To have quelled the pride of Spain!'

And the last couplet, insignificant to the reader now, then lent an energetic point to the whole.

' After this proud foe subduing,  
When your patriot friends you see,  
Think on vengeance for my ruin,  
And on England shamed in me!'

Alas, that poetry, which would have lent dignity to the noblest cause, should have been squandered in support of one of the paltriest delusions ever practised on a nation for party purposes! It is a singular circumstance, and one which proves the innate love of the sea and nautical affairs which enters into the

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\* He could, however, indite a tolerable ballad for the times. One of his became celebrated for its daring statement of a legal principle:

' For twelve honest men have decided the cause,  
Who are judges alike of the facts and the laws.'

Lines often quoted in the controversy which ended in Fox's Libel Bill.

British composition, that the three finest sea-songs of our or any language are the composition of landsmen—two of them thorough Cockneys. ‘Hosier’s Ghost,’ by Alderman Glover; ‘The loss of the Royal George,’ by Cowper; ‘Ye mariners of England,’ by Campbell.\*

An Englishman, however imbued with a sense of the literary merits of his own country, must confess to the sense of relief with which he turns from a collection of English ‘state poems’ to the Scottish relics of the Jacobite muse. Their infinite superiority has been so often acknowledged, or rather is so irresistibly felt, that it is quite unnecessary to do more than bow the head in acknowledgment of it.

‘The abdication of James II., in the same manner as the execution of Charles I. and the banishment of Charles II.,’ says Dr. Mackay, ‘excited passions and animosities in which the poets and ballad-makers participated, and which found their natural vent in song, in England as well as in Scotland; but in the latter country with a warmth of hate, and a tenderness of love, of which the muse of the less demonstrative South affords no examples.’

He might, with full justice, have added, with a depth of romantic feeling, and a poetical power, of which the English, nationally speaking, are incapable. With all their noble qualities, that divine gift is denied them. The great English poets are a class apart; men of high refinement and cultivated imagination. ‘For one poet sprung from the ranks of the English peasantry Scotland can boast of ten, if not of an hundred.’ We believe it would be strictly accurate to say that the peasantry of England never produced any true poet save one—John Bunyan—and he was a Gipsy.† We are accustomed to vilipend the poetry of France; but England has no really popular poet, such

\* We say this, meaning no disparagement of Dibdin’s songs, the first in their class; but that class is nautical rather than national, and their destined popularity does not extend very far inland. They live, like sea fowl, on the salt water. And, after all, a severe professional critic has lately pointed out that Dibdin was a landsman, and his songs full of nautical mistakes.

† It is singular that Macaulay,—usually so quick and happy in detecting the meaning of a covert allusion,—should have altogether mistaken the passage in ‘Grace Abounding,’ which seems to us to put this almost beyond doubt. ‘At one time,’ he says, ‘Bunyan took it into his head that all persons of Israelite blood would be saved, and tried to make out that he partook of that blood; but his hopes were speedily destroyed by his father, who seems to have had no ambition to pass for a Jew.’ What Bunyan ‘tried to make out’ was that his people descended from the Ten Tribes; an old conjecture once very prevalent in Europe respecting the Gipsies.

as France possesses in Beranger. Scotland has had numbers of them. For the peculiar chord of slight, and yet thrilling pathos—that string so lightly touched, so sweet in its low and tender cadence—which exquisitely characterises Beranger, was more or less commanded by many an unknown Scottish votary of the Jacobite muse. No English political ballad, to our recollection, gives out the faintest echo of it. But were not these men poets, in the truest sense of the word? Are we never to dissociate the idea of poetry from those of elaborate imagery, and culled, affected diction, and gorgeous ornament, and far-fetched ideas, and the still more far-fetched use of common words in artificial senses? Are we to repeat, generation after generation, the old mistake—that error which the innate critical faculty so constantly corrects, and refutes, but ever in vain—and abandon the true and the simple for the fantastic, until we create anew what has been so often created before—some wholly false class or school of poetry, of which the fashionable critics, and the young and sentimental, and ‘persons of quality,’ will continue to exalt the merits long after the general public have ceased to care about or understand it, and which must collapse at last into oblivion? Sure we are, that after many a fashionable poetical reputation of this day is extinct, men will turn to the best of the old Scottish ballads; aye, and to the productions of their oldest imitators, true poets all, Burns, and Scott, and Hogg, and Cunningham; with as much zest as their most loyal lovers do now. Sappho has been made immortal by four lyric stanzas; the singer of ‘Helen of Kirk Connell,’ by scarcely half a dozen. Goëthe has left a very perfect miniature poem, consisting of twenty-four words only. And has not ‘Captain Ogilvie, of the ‘House of Inverquharity, who was with King James at the ‘battle of the Boyne, and afterwards fell in an engagement on ‘the Rhine,’ a rightful claim to a seat in the ranks of the inspired, if he was the real author of the following song, adapted, as our readers may remember, but not improved, by Scott in his ‘Rokeby.’

‘It was a’ for our rightful king  
 We left fair Scotland’s strand;  
 It was a’ for our rightful king  
 We e’er saw Irish land, my dear,  
 We e’er saw Irish land.

‘Now all is done that men could do,  
 And all is done in vain,  
 My love, my native land, adieu,  
 For I maun cross the main, my dear,  
 For I maun cross the main.

- ‘ He turn’d him right and round again,  
 Upon the Irish shore,  
 He gave his bridle-reins a shake,  
 Said, Adieu for evermore, my dear,  
 Adieu, for evermore.
- ‘ The soldier frae the wars returns,  
 The sailor frae the main,  
 But I have parted from my love,  
 Never to meet again, my dear,  
 Never to meet again.
- ‘ When day is gone, and night is come,  
 And a’ folk bound to sleep,  
 I think on him that’s far away  
 The lee-lang night and weep, my dear,  
 The lee-lang night and weep.’

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this vein of tender and melancholy enthusiasm — however characteristic of the native Scottish music in general — is common in the majority of the genuine Jacobite songs; and it must be owned that several of the very happiest efforts in this line, including some of those well known to us by the beautiful music to which they have been married, are modern inventions, concerning which we shall have a word to say presently.

Many more of these songs are sarcastic, bitter, or sportful, than pathetic, as Dr. Mackay very justly points out: although we are not sure that we fully comprehend him when he denies them wit as a general characteristic, and allows them humour. Certainly in the occasional mixture of fun and ferocity, whether the former be more properly termed wit or humour, the Jacobite ballads are quite unrivalled. We have all of us, in our time, melted under the influence of the pathos and sensibility which the female voice can throw into many a sweet lyric, bewailing the mishaps of Charlie; but to hear an old Scottish lawyer, after his second bottle of port, pour forth the whole savageness of his soul in ‘Cumberland’s descent to Hell,’ of which Hogg says in his odd way, ‘of all songs in the world this is the first: it is at once so horrible and so irresistibly ludicrous;’ this is, or was, for are there any such men left? — something still more characteristic, national, and exciting.

Unfortunately — at least for those who cannot enjoy their wine without being satisfied of its origin as well as its flavour — the question of the genuineness of many of our most favourite Jacobite songs is either unsolved, or solved, to all appearance, in an adverse sense. They differ from the English political ballads, such as those collected by Mr. Wilkins, in this: that

while the latter were all written down soon after composition, and most of them (except the very scandalous) written for the press, the Scottish were, in general, committed to memory, and long preserved by memory only. They owe their existence to tradition, in the strict sense of the word. Now Walter Scott has remarked, with very great truth, that

‘ Tradition, generally speaking, is a sort of perverted alchemy which converts gold into lead. All that is abstractedly poetical, all that is above the comprehension of the merest peasant, is apt to escape in frequent recitation; and the lacuna: thus created are filled up either by lines from other ditties, or from the mother wit of the reciter or singer. The injury, in either case, is obvious and irreparable.’

The first stage of a popular ballad, preserved by memory, is therefore one of degeneracy. The second stage, which almost inevitably follows if the piece is worth preserving at all, is one of patching up, or ‘*rifacimento*,’ when the clever restorer endeavours to reproduce what he may fancy its original beauties. And between the two processes, but little of the genuine is ultimately left. Mr. Robert Chambers, in one of his popular publications, lately endeavoured, with much ingenuity, to fix the authorship of several of the most classical among the reputed ancient ballads of Scotland—Sir Patrick Spens and Gil Morrice included—on Elizabeth, Lady Wardlaw of Pitcairn, who lived in the last century. ‘We are not persuaded by the reasoning on which he grounds this particular conclusion: and still believe those poems to be substantially of very remote antiquity; but no cautious man will venture to affirm how far they may have been gradually tampered with, before they assumed their present shape. The Jacobite ballads, being much more modern, are not open to the same extent to this remark; but little real reliance can be placed on the absolute authenticity of each verse and expression. The text of such of these compositions as for want of a better phrase we must term authentic, must be taken, we suppose, to be that included in a fragmentary way in Johnson’s ‘*Museum*,’ at the end of the last century. Add to these a few which appeared in earlier collections, and a very few subsequently edited and guaranteed by respectable authority, such as that of Walter Scott, and we have the whole *corpus* of these *poetæ minores* which can be relied on. The residue,—and unfortunately it comprises many of the prime favourites,—is not only of unproved, but really very doubtful, authenticity. For the compilers to whose exertions we owe them, have been guilty in some instances not only of carelessness, but dishonesty.

The foremost of these offenders was the Ettrick Shepherd,

whose two volumes of 'Jacobite Relics' are to this day too commonly received for what they very falsely purport to be. They are, in truth, a jumble of ancient and modern, genuine and interpolated, or spurious, Whig and Tory, Scotch and English, put together not quite at random, but with an evident wilful pleasure in hoaxing the innocent reader. To a thorough appreciation of the qualities of the old ballads, Hogg joined a remarkable power of imitation, and real poetical genius of his own. And thus 'all was grist,' as Dr. Mackay observes, 'that came to the Shepherd's mill.' Sometimes he exulted (we are told) in his bold fabrications; as in the instance of 'Donald Macgillivray.' Dr. Mackay entitles this song 'by the Ettrick Shepherd: but dishonestly described by him as "a capital old song and very popular." . . . Hogg afterwards avowed 'the fraud, and gloried in it.' Now, with this case as a test before us—and there are other cases which internal evidence shows to be quite equally gross—it is impossible not to suspect a vast deal of fraud, or at least of unauthorised piecing and restoration, which has remained undetected simply because no critic of the German type has hitherto dared to touch these hallowed relics too roughly.

An instance or two will express our meaning. The only Jacobite ballad inserted by Mr. Wilkins in his volumes (as a specimen of the class) is that spirited rant entitled 'Queen Aime, or the Auld Gray Mare:' and most readers will agree that in point of raciness and humour, as well as metrical flow, it beats almost every English piece in the collection. But we know not (in the absence of all cited authority) from whence Mr. Wilkins has taken it. If from 'Hogg's Relics,' the authority is naught. Hogg simply styles it 'a song of the period,' without a syllable of farther authentication. Now we know such a certificate from him to be simply and absolutely worthless. And, capital as it is, it contains lines marked by that modern and Hoggish air which it is impossible for us to describe—we must ask our readers to judge for themselves. From internal evidence alone, our verdict would be against it. We suspect the Shepherd very grievously.

To take an example of a different kind. Some of Hogg's relics are headed 'Translations from the Gaelic,'—a title suggestive in itself of mystification. 'Where these have not been marred by the ill taste of the translator,' says Dr. Mackay, 'in rendering them into the broken and imperfect jargon of a Highlander's first attempts to speak English, they are creditable to the passion of the Celtic muse.' We suspect the 'credit' is somewhat imaginary. We have no doubt that the



particular instance the Doctor had in his mind, in this passage, was that exquisite piece of 'riddling rhyme,' of which the very words are music—'Prince Charles and Flora Macdonald's Wel-come to Skye':—

'Come along, come along, with your boatie and your song,  
My twa pretty maidens, my three pretty maidens,  
For the night it is dark and the redcoat is gone,  
And ye are bravely welcome to Skye again.'

This the Shepherd in his Relics heads with 'said to be from 'the Gaelic.' And he then proceeds to print it in that conventional broken English which Highlanders are facetiously supposed to speak: a proceeding about as consequent as if some one were to translate, for the benefit of the French public, 'Rule Britannia' into that dialect of French which is put into the mouths of dramatic Englishmen on the minor Paris theatres. This is suspicious enough in itself. But, in addition, is it credible that a poem so entirely free from the stiffness of a translation, with such perfect simplicity of language, such a close similarity to the character of lowland song, is really a translation, or even an adaptation, from the rude and figurative Gaelic at all? And if not, can any one but Hogg have been the probable author? We are sorry for this result—it is an illusion the less—but we suspect the paternity to be pretty clearly deducible.

We do not for a moment impute to Dr. Mackay any attempt or connivance at falsification. He is in general only over-crupulous in his attempts to divaricate the true from the spurious. But in this and some other instances he has committed an oversight, or he has some reason, which we cannot perceive, for believing in the originality of these interesting compositions. We lay down Dr. Mackay's volume with the feeling of gratitude which is due to the author of a very pleasant as well as useful little compilation, bringing many of our old favourites before us in a more compact and manageable form, with less of unnecessary addition or omission than any former collection. But at the same time he has only strengthened our conviction that (if the subject be worth the trouble), the Jacobite poetry requires a good deal more of critical sifting before the genuine *residuum* is fairly obtained.

**ART. V.—1.** *Correspondence respecting the establishment of Telegraphic Communication in the Mediterranean and with India.* Presented to the House of Commons by Command: 1858, 1859, 1860.

**2.** *Report of Committee on Packet and Telegraphic Contracts:* 1860.

IT may be asserted without exaggeration that the mechanical genius of this country has, within the last eighty years, brought about a series of discoveries and inventions, which have changed the whole face of society, altered the conditions of life, and powerfully affected the destiny of mankind. Other nations, our rivals in science, ingenuity and enterprise—profound as the Germans, skilful as the French, daring as the Americans—have in some degree shared in these discoveries, and have not been slow to adopt their results. But in almost every instance the first successful application may fairly be said to have been made in these islands. Let us briefly enumerate the familiar, but surprising, series of them.

To begin with Watt, it was his vigorous Scottish intellect which perfected the steam-engine, and gave a new motive force to man. That power once discovered, and placed under regular control, its applications became innumerable. Every branch of textile manufactures felt the impulse—the power loom and the spinning jenny began to clothe the world; colossal engines pumped out the deepest mines; even rural economy in Britain has since allied itself to steam; and a new era of locomotion commenced. The invention of the steam-boat is American, but one of its first successful applications was on the Clyde, and we may claim a large share in the most useful improvement yet made in marine engines by the introduction of the screw-propeller. Locomotion by land owes yet more to England. Macadam taught us, and through us all other civilised countries, the art of making a road, which simple as it now appears, is in truth a very modern invention: but before long the most perfect roads which had ever been constructed were superseded by iron tracks, along which the genius and perseverance of George Stephenson drove the first locomotive engine. Artificial light of the utmost brilliancy was conveyed in tubes through our cities and our dwellings, and there is now scarcely a capital in Europe which is not lit by the gasworks of an English company. To descend from these great works to minor contrivances, which, however, have enormously increased the aggregate

of social convenience and human happiness, within a few years Macintosh has clothed our bodies in impermeable garments; Sir Rowland Hill has shown that an adhesive stamp and a uniform rate of postage incalculably augments the intercourse of mankind by letters; Dr. Simpson has accomplished the most blessed work, of all, by the discovery and introduction of those anæsthetic agents which have the marvellous property of rendering man unconscious of pain; Mr. Fox Talbot must divide with M. Daguerre that pleasing art which perpetuates on paper the most delicate impressions of light; and Mr. Wheatstone has explained by an elegant application of the same device, the mystery of binocular vision. All these things are novelties of the most extraordinary kind. There is hardly an incident of our daily lives which would not have seemed altogether impossible or miraculous half a century back. Several of these discoveries may be ranked in importance with the three great inventions of the Middle Ages—the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and the printing press, which had hitherto stood almost alone in their momentous consequences to modern society. They have all suddenly sprung up to perfection amongst us—they are all in daily and familiar use. We could no longer exist without them.

But the greatest and most incredible of these achievements we have designedly left to the last. It need hardly be added that we mean the Electric Telegraph, and more especially that portion of the science of telegraphy which is now employed to place in instantaneous transmarine communication the distant islands and continents of the globe. The history of this marvellous invention has more than once been published with great minuteness in other places, and we do not here propose to revert to it. But the truth is that although this instrument is the most extraordinary production of scientific ingenuity, it is by no means the most perfect. Much experiment is still required to ascertain the true physical conditions to which a coil of wire is subjected, when it is used to put a girdle round this planet; much contrivance is still required to provide against the strange and unknown phenomena which have been, or will be, discovered in these vast operations. The grand principle of communication by electricity is established; and as the discoverers, and first masters of that principle, the names of Wheatstone and of Morse will be transmitted to posterity among the names of the greatest benefactors of the human race. But beyond a certain point, which was speedily attained by the original inventors, the progress of the electric telegraph has been less rapid and satisfactory than is commonly supposed. Undertakings on a vast scale, in which large amounts of public

and of private capital are sunk, have been begun and have failed. The art of submarine telegraphic communication is by no means so far advanced as we had hoped, some little time ago — indeed, owing to the destruction of several of the longest and most useful electric cables, it has, at this moment rather retrograded. The questions we are about to submit to our readers involve therefore not only facts of extreme interest, but certain problems which have yet to be fully solved. The evidence taken by the scientific Committee recently appointed to investigate the whole subject, is the first precise and authoritative account of it; and with these new and ample materials before us, we propose to trace the history of the more important cables which have been laid; to consider the causes of their failure; and then to discuss the position which the Government has assumed with reference to this species of commercial enterprise.

The general principles upon which electric telegraphs, whether by land or sea are constructed, are too well known to need repetition here. If a wire insulated from the earth be connected with the earth at one end, and with a battery communicating with the earth at the other, a current may be transmitted along the wire — the strength of the current diminishing in an inverse ratio to the length of the wire. Or if both ends of a long wire be connected with the earth, currents will pass through the line apparently in consequence of variations in the electrical condition of the earth in different places — these are termed *earth currents*. Mr. Varley, the able electrician of the Electric and International Telegraph Company, observes that these currents are continually flowing about the earth, either in one direction or the other, throughout the day, and reach their maximum about 2.40 P.M. When magnetic storms or the aurora borealis occur, currents sufficiently powerful to interrupt the working of the lines flow sometimes in one direction, sometimes in the other, and often change from one direction to the other in the course of a few seconds. He has observed that there is no general line across England for these currents, but that the lines from London to King's Lynn and London to Southampton are frequently neutral, and the lines from London to Ipswich, London to Bristol, Hull to Manchester are powerfully affected. Professor Thomson gives in his evidence before the Government Telegraph Committee, the following account of a thunderstorm in Newfoundland being registered in Valentia, viz. : —

‘On one occasion, whilst waiting for signals from Newfoundland, the mirror was found to be violently deflected at Valentia, so much so, that it had the appearance of being broken from its suspending thread; it turned out to be simply that the mirror was pressed for-

cibly against the stop at the extreme end of its range. While I was looking into the mirror to ascertain whether there was any such accident, it suddenly turned round and went to the other side, there being no battery applied at all at the Valentia end. When communication was re-established, I asked what was wrong, and was told that a violent thunderstorm had been experienced at Newfoundland. "Great deflections and end put to earth for half an hour." This precaution having been very properly taken by the director of the station there to prevent the possibility of damage to the cable from lightning.

In land lines the wires are generally insulated from the earth by being attached to supports made of some good insulating material, such as china or glass, which are fixed to the top of poles, twelve to fourteen feet high, placed from forty to sixty yards apart; the atmosphere being itself an admirable insulator especially when dry. But in crossing the sea it is necessary to cover the whole length of wire with an insulating material, and this insulating covering must itself be encased in a protecting sheath. Hence it will be seen that whilst for electric communication by land, only two elements, viz., the conducting wire and the insulators, are needed, the submarine telegraphic line must consist of three parts, viz.:—1st, the conducting wire; 2nd, the insulating covering; and 3rd, the protecting sheath.

Before describing these several component parts of a submarine cable, it is necessary, in order to elucidate the subject, to state the laws which govern the flow of electricity through insulated circuits of great length.

The conducting power of a conductor, as shown by Ohm, is in simple proportion to the area of its section and inversely to its length, when the quality of metal of the conductor is constant. The capacity of the insulated conductor for charge, or the electrostatic capacity, which influences most seriously the rate of signalling through it, depends on the ratio of the diameter of the insulator to the diameter of the conductor, and is independent of the absolute diameter of either; the facility for charging and discharging the cable is moreover proportioned to the square of the length, other things being the same. Professor Wheatstone gives as a practical rule, that the induction varies directly with the length, and inversely with the square root of the diameter of the conductor and thickness of the insulating covering. Professor Thomson observes in his evidence given before the Committee on Submarine Telegraphs:—

'The rate of signalling depends ultimately on the rapidity with which charge and discharge can be effected. I say *ultimately*; but before we reach this limit, there are many other considerations as regards

the sluggishness of the instruments, the system of more or less convenience for manipulation, and the susceptibility of the system for accuracy, all of which are to some extent uncertain. When these various circumstances are met in the most advantageous possible way, we come to a rate of speed in a line of 200 or 300 miles, which far exceeds the ordinary working rate. A machine could be got which could be worked through 200 or 300 miles at a very much greater rate than has yet been attained by any instrument in practical use. In estimating the speed of working through a long line we must consider the mere mechanical difficulties of very rapid action to be so completely overcome, as to give an extremely high speed in short lines; and from that basis proceed to estimate the rate of signalling through any length. If we could get three words a minute through 2000 miles, through 200 miles there would be 300 words a minute possible.'

The mechanical difficulties of manipulation, however, prevent this high speed being attained on the short lines, but on long lines when the retardation from induction is very great, the mechanical difficulties disappear, and the inductive difficulties limit the speed.

Another cause, which, curiously enough, limits the rate of speed is, that working a telegraph appears to cause nervous irritation in the clerks, and renders them prone to quarrel: if, for instance, one of the clerks carelessly sends a message indistinctly, the receiving clerk frequently gets out of temper, and serious delay results.

The conducting wire is of copper, and is usually made in a strand to diminish the chances of fracture to which a single wire is exposed. Copper is selected on account of the very superior conducting capacity of that metal, viz., seven times greater than that of iron. Copper wire is, however, deficient in strength, and it becomes permanently elongated when extended to a comparatively small amount. It has, therefore, been the practice to depend mainly for the strength of the cable on the protecting sheath. The insulating covering and the protecting sheath of a submarine cable, as generally made, possess more elasticity than copper wire. Consequently it has frequently happened that these after having been extended have returned to the original length, whilst the copper wire inside, which was equally extended, has remained permanently elongated, and has forced its way through its insulating covering of gutta percha. In order to prevent the undue extension of the copper wire, when a strain is brought on a cable, Mr. Allan, who has taken out several patents on the subject, proposes to place the strength of the cable close to the copper wire; for which purpose he covers it with fine steel wires, and covers these

again with the insulating material. The conducting power of steel is very low as compared with copper; hence the compound wire would have but little conducting capacity above that of the internal copper wire; but the induction, which varies with the area of the conductor, would be largely increased in a coated wire of this construction, as compared with a copper wire of the same conducting capacity, and this would necessitate a corresponding increase in the thickness of the insulating covering. It has been also suggested as possible, that in a considerable length of this compound wire an electric current might become divided, and that a portion would pass rapidly along the copper conductor, whilst the remainder would lag behind in the steel conductor, and that thus two currents would be exhibited at the opposite end. This objection could only be tested on a length of from 500 to 1000 miles of a cable so formed.

The conducting power of copper has been shown by Professor Thomson to vary with the purity of the metal, and it also changes with the temperature. The ordinary coppers of commerce are found to vary from pure copper as much as forty per cent. Indeed, in the case of copper wire a much greater variation has been found to exist, as is shown by experiments recently made by Mr. Mathiessen. If, for instance, the conducting power of pure copper be considered equal to 100, the conducting power of copper from Lake Superior, which contains traces of iron, silver and sub-oxide of copper, will be 92.5; that of copper from the Burra Burra mines in Australia, which contains traces of iron and sub-oxide of copper, will be 88; whilst that of Russian (Demidoff) copper, which contains arsenic, iron, nickel, and sub-oxide of copper, will be 59; and that of Spanish (Rio Tinto) copper, which contains two per cent. of arsenic, traces of lead, iron, nickel, and sub-oxide of copper, will be only 14, and is thus of lower conducting power than iron. The presence of suboxide of copper is especially injurious to the conducting power of copper, and the presence of the metalloids is as a rule more injurious than that of foreign metals. Mr. Mathiessen's valuable report on this subject, concludes by showing that no substance added to copper increases its conducting power, and that the purest obtainable copper should therefore be used in the manufacture of submarine cables. To secure this, the contract for the cable should specify a given resistance per knot, in which case every failure in quality would have to be compensated, at the manufacturer's expense, by extra thickness. Copper is not, however, a good metal to employ as a standard, because it oxydises easily, and the conducting power varies much with the temperature.

The material which has hitherto been almost exclusively used for the insulating covering is gutta percha. This substance is a good non-conductor of electricity, and from its viscous character when warmed it adheres easily to a wire. In order to coat the wires, the gutta percha is forced out of a circular die, through the centre of which the wire is passed, and draws away with it the gutta percha covering thus forced on to it. A compound made of Stockholm tar, resin, and gutta percha, is placed on the wire before the gutta percha covering is placed on it, and also between each coating of gutta percha. In placing the gutta percha on the wire, the causes of injury to be guarded against are: 1st, air bubbles; 2nd, the eccentricity of the wire, in which a thinner layer of gutta percha exists between the wire and the surface, than at other parts; 3rd, porosity of the gutta percha; 4th; the presence of foreign bodies which connect the copper wire inside the gutta percha with the water outside; 5th, bad joints at the places where different lengths of wire are joined together; 6th, small punctures. Any of these permit the electric current flowing through a wire to pass through the gutta percha at the place where the injury occurs more easily than at other places, and the passage of the electricity generated by strong battery power, produces a chemical action which gradually destroys the gutta percha and exposes the copper wire, until in turn it also becomes eaten away. Mr. Jenkin in one of his papers observes:—

‘ Accident put me in possession of a fault caused by an air bubble, which, I think, throws light on many recent failures of cables which tested well when first laid down. I traced it, until I ascertained its position in the gutta percha to within one inch. There were signs that the gutta percha had been heated during manufacture. Nevertheless I was unable to find any visible flaw in the gutta percha. A little white speck looked suspicious, but on wiping it away I could see no hole. During the tests (in fresh water) the fault got a little worse, but not much except perhaps for an instant on the first admission of a negative current. The current was continually reversed during the tests, I put the fault into a wine-glass of salt water and tested it once more (with a negative current). I at once saw a little row of bubbles rise from the spot where the white mark had been. I took the fault out of the water almost immediately, and a little hole could now be distinctly seen. I replaced the fault in the wineglass, putting the bulb of a thermometer close to the little hole. Bubbles escaped rapidly from the fault, the mercury in the thermometer rose 5°, and in three minutes the fault had lost almost all resistance. A positive current as well as a negative current was used. The hole was now  $\frac{1}{4}$ th in. long, and  $\frac{1}{16}$ th broad. A hollow extending to some distance on each side, indicated the presence of an air bubble. A second hole had begun



to form a quarter of an inch off from the same cavity. The copper was visible, well placed in the centre of the gutta percha. The sudden and complete opening burnt in the gutta percha in this case was obviously due to the body of water held in the bubble; after the slight fault in the outer skin had increased to a certain point, the water was so heated by the passage of the current from the internal wire to the water outside, as to melt the surrounding gutta percha. The transition from fresh to salt water probably made the action more sudden, but would not, I think, change the sequence of facts. With such a fault as this, eighty cells are, therefore, sufficient to destroy a cable. Nevertheless, the deterioration, had the cable been laid, would not have been immediate. Probably in the two days during which I tested to find the exact position of the fault, it was subjected to as severe a trial as would be caused by a month's signalling, where reverse currents were not used. Nevertheless, in a few months the cable would have been rendered useless.'

Gutta percha varies very materially in its quality, and although termed a good non-conductor, is very far from being perfect as an insulator, inasmuch as the leakage of electricity through the material is always very large. Moreover temperature has a most important influence upon the insulating properties of gutta percha: at  $32^{\circ}$  the insulation is comparatively perfect, that is to say, the leakage is very small, at  $52^{\circ}$  the leakage is three times as great as at  $32^{\circ}$ , at  $72^{\circ}$  it is nearly six times as great, at  $92^{\circ}$  it is ten times as great. Mr. Gisborne says in his evidence before the Submarine Telegraph Committee that in laying the Red Sea cable the temperature on board ship was  $92^{\circ}$  in the hold, and the insulation was so bad, that they could not speak through the cable; but when it reached the bottom, where at 300 fathoms the temperature was  $73^{\circ}$ , the insulation materially improved.

The leakage of electricity through gutta percha renders it extremely difficult to detect faults in a great length of gutta percha covered wire (unless the fault be a very serious one), as it is in many cases almost impossible to discern whether the observed loss of electricity is due to the material or to some accidental injury. India rubber and compounds, such as Wray's, which have been proposed as substitutes for gutta percha, are comparatively unaffected by heat, until the temperature is raised to considerably over  $100^{\circ}$ , and their insulation, as compared with that of gutta percha, is almost absolutely perfect. We should, however, be cautious in discarding gutta percha for these new and untried materials. We know the faults of gutta percha from long experience. We know that india rubber does not possess these faults, but we do not know yet whether it may not possess others equally serious.

Light and air seriously affect the durability of gutta percha; chemical science shows that the deterioration which has been observed in land lines coated with gutta percha or india rubber, is due to the oxidation of the material, and that when the air is carefully excluded, as is the case in the submarine wires, no decay from natural causes need be apprehended. Indeed the gutta percha in pieces of the Dover and Calais cable laid in 1852, which were taken up during repairs in 1860, was quite as good as when laid down, and in the same manner pieces of india rubber covered wire, immersed in water for ten years by Jacobi at St. Petersburg showed no deterioration when brought up. Mr. Hooper, who has patents for manufacturing telegraph cables of india rubber, possesses specimens of pure bottle india rubber cut into fine threads, which have lain in his office for from fifteen to twenty years, the material of which is apparently uninjured.

Gutta percha has not generally suffered from the ravages of marine animals when laid in an exposed position at the bottom of the sea. Mr. Newall mentions that in the case of a hemp-covered cable which he had laid in the Mediterranean, the hempen covering was completely eaten away by the xylophaga, a species of teredo; but the gutta percha, though marked by the animal, had evidently not been found palatable, and its inroads had not been proceeded with. In the case of another cable, however, a teredo penetrated the gutta percha. But on the other hand, this curious substance is very subject to injury from friction or from pressure. The greatest care must therefore be exercised in protecting a cable from chances of injury before it is laid, and also during the process of paying out, as well as from abrasion or other mechanical injury after it has been laid down. It is moreover necessary that a cable, when laid in moderate depths, should have sufficient strength to enable it to be raised for the repairs of such faults as may have developed themselves after it has been working for a short time.

Besides the covering of gutta percha for the purpose of insulation, a telegraphic wire must be enclosed in a protecting sheath made either of iron or steel wires, or of hemp. Its form depends upon the position in which the cable is to be laid. In shallow water, where it is liable to injury from anchors or to abrasion from rocks, in consequence of storms or currents, it is necessary to make the outer covering very strong; in deep water, a lighter outer covering has been adopted. A heavy cable weighs from three or four tons to eight tons per mile, and even more. Light cables weigh under one-and-half or two tons per mile. The covering of a heavy cable consists of a

serving of hemp steeped in tar laid over the gutta percha, the hemp covering acting as a bed for large iron wires laid spirally round the core. Cables of this class have great strength, and have been successfully laid in great depths, as for instance between Spezzia and Corsica, where the depths are at least 800 fathoms. Between Cagliari and Algeria, Mr. Brett laid a cable weighing nearly four tons per mile, over a depth of 1,600 fathoms, but on reaching a depth of 400 fathoms, it became necessary, in consequence of the cable having run short from some error in the reckoning, to cease paying out, and to hold on by the cable until means to buoy the end of it could be procured from Algiers. The ship held on for five days, but a storm having then arisen, the cable broke. Had it not been for this misfortune, this heavy cable would have been laid successfully, and a light cable would have broken much sooner under similar circumstances. But whatever may be the advantage in point of strength and security in laying of heavy cables over light ones, it is obvious that when a great length of submarine cable has to be laid in deep water, its weight would be so great as to act practically as a bar to their use with ordinary ships. Moreover, in great depths, such as from 1000 to 2000 fathoms, all the evidence which has been collected goes to show that the cable, when laid, will remain undisturbed by anchors, and that probably it will not be materially affected by currents.\* Whatever the strength of the cable, it would be hopeless to raise it for purposes of repair from such depths as we are now considering; there are, therefore, no reasons of this nature to call for the large extra expenditure which the heavy cable entails

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\* In Dr. Wallich's 'Notes on Animal Life in the Deep Sea,' that naturalist observes: 'It has been repeatedly laid down as a law, that, along the entire bed of the sea, wherever the depth is great, the disturbing influence of currents cannot take place. The evidence derived from some of our recent soundings proves, however, that this law, although correct in a general sense, admits of exceptions. I would more particularly mention two instances which indicate that currents do occur. In a sounding taken in lat.  $59^{\circ} 45' N.$  and long.  $46^{\circ} 30' W.$ , at a depth of 1204 fathoms, basaltic gravel was brought up, the pieces of which were so rounded and smooth that it is difficult to assign any other agency by which they could have assumed this aspect.' In another sounding, taken in lat.  $61^{\circ} 35' N.$  and long.  $24^{\circ} 9' W.$ , at 871 fathoms, it was found that lava dust must have been drifted to this position, probably from the 'Blinde Skier' rocks, which were about midway between it and the mainland of Iceland, by the current thus shown to be in operation.

for deep water lines. Hence public attention has been turned to the construction of lighter cables.

The best form of a light flexible cable does not appear to have been yet arrived at. When once the solid outer covering is abandoned, new elements of danger to the tender internal core are introduced. The great rigidity of the heavy cable checks any unnecessary handling of the cable previous to laying, and all handling and coiling of the cable tends to disturb the copper wire in its soft covering. When a strain is put on a cable covered with solid wires, the wires rest against each other like an arch, and prevent any compression of the internal core: this is not the case in light wire or hemp-covered cables. The solid wire covering, moreover, protects the core from pressure or blows, which the lighter covering cannot do. When laid, the lighter covering if of hemp, decays, if of iron, corrodes; so that it becomes useless for protection, or for lifting the cable, if lifting were attempted. In a light cable, therefore, the iron or steel covering by which strength is given should itself be protected from corrosion.

Much has been said of the objection to covering cables with wires laid on spirally, and many people consider that the wires by which strength is to be given should be laid on longitudinally; but cables so constructed are most difficult to manage, and if a cable is coiled, these longitudinal wires necessarily assume a spiral direction; and it will be found that this direction or 'lay' when once assumed cannot easily be taken out again. It is, therefore, as well to apply the wires spirally in the first instance, but to give them as slight a curve as possible, so as to prevent undue extension of the cable when weight comes on it.

A cable of light specific gravity undoubtedly possesses great facilities for manipulation and for transport, but except in very great depths the difficulties of paying out depend more on the power of the ship than on the weight of the cable. It may be assumed that if a vessel be running in a straight course at an uniform speed, and if the cable is being paid out over the stern at the same velocity, then, when the strain upon the cable as it leaves the stern is equal to the weight in water of a portion of the same cable whose length is the depth of the sea, the cable will be at any instant in the same position as to tension and pressure, as if it were simply lying straight on an inclined plane surface immersed in water; there will be no strain whatever on the part of the cable which happens at any instant to be the bottom particle of the cable, and the cable will therefore sink down in a vertical plane with uniform velocity, and be laid

(not stretched) straight along the bottom of the sea without any waste.\*

We owe our readers some apology for the dry technical nature of some of the foregoing propositions, but they have not previously been fully stated, and they contain the principles on which one of the most ingenious problems of modern science is to be solved. We now proceed to a lighter part of the subject, namely, the history and progress of the invention.

Professor Wheatstone appears to have been the first to suggest the construction of a submarine telegraph between England and France, and to enter into correspondence with the French Government on the subject. But it was Messrs. Brett who laid the first submarine line between England and France. The following is the account Mr. Brett has given of the laying of this line:—

‘The first attempt to connect England and France by a submarine telegraph was made in 1850, with a copper wire enclosed in gutta serena. About twenty-seven miles of this wire were conveyed on board the “Goliath” steam tug, and wound round a large iron cylinder or drum, to facilitate the paying out; the vessel started from Dover, exciting no curiosity at the time. The end of the wire attached to land was carried into a horse-box at the South Eastern Railway Terminus, and we commenced paying out the wire, pieces of lead being fastened to it at intervals to facilitate the sinking. Electric communication was kept up hourly during its progress; the only drawback was a fear lest this frail experimental thread should snap and involve the undertaking in ridicule. The trial was, however, successful, and the “Times” of the day justly remarked, “the jest of yesterday has become the fact of to-day.”’

‘The place chosen on the French coast for landing the wire was Cape Grisnez, under a cliff among the rocks, this spot being purposely selected because it afforded no anchorage for vessels, and was difficult to approach. But to return to the English shore. It was a glorious day to cheer our hopes as onward sped the vessel, disappearing in the distance, first the hull, then the funnel, till the smoke only could be seen against the white cliffs of Grisnez. The Pilot Tower, at the Dover Railway, afforded an elevated position from whence, by the aid of a glass, I was able to distinguish the lighthouse and cliff at Cape Grisnez. After the vessel had come to an anchor, we gave them half-an-hour to convey the end of the wire to shore, and attach the printing instrument, and then I sent the first electric message across the Channel: this was reserved for Louis Napoleon. I was afterwards informed that some French soldiers who saw the slip of printed paper running from the little telegraph instrument, bearing a message from England, inquired how it could possibly

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\* This question is treated in the ‘Philosophical Magazine,’ 1858, by W. Gravatt, Esq., F.R.S.

have crossed the Channel, and when it was explained that it was the electricity which passed along the wire and performed the printing operation, they were still incredulous. After several other communications, the words "All well" and "Good night" were printed (in Roman type) and closed the evening.

'In attempting to resume communication next morning no response could be obtained; it was evident that the insulation was destroyed.'

It was found that the wire had been snapped asunder, constructed as it was without any power of resistance to the action of the waves. The experiment, however, proved that it was possible to connect England and France by means of a submarine telegraph, and that was all an experiment of this nature was capable of demonstrating.

In the following year a more substantial cable was laid successfully. This cable contained four copper wires, each covered with gutta percha, so as to afford four separate conductors. These were twisted into a four strand rope, served round with tarred hemp, and covered with strong galvanized iron wire. This line is rather more than twenty-five miles in length. It has continued to work down to the present time, but has sustained occasional injuries from anchors of ships and boats. In the course of repairs executed upon it during the year just closed it appeared that the outer wires were in places corroded, especially where the cable lay on rocks, and was subject to attrition and exposed to the action of the water. The extent of corrosion in different parts varied very much; for instance, the cable came up for a short length very good where it had lain in sand or mud, and also where it had got covered with shells, which in some cases made a coating of a couple of inches thick upon it — in places, on the other hand, where it was exposed to the water, it was almost entirely eaten away. Where the iron wires were loose and untwisted, so that the water could wash through them to the hemp, the yarn was rotten. In other parts, where the hempen case was closely surrounded by the wire, and fully saturated with the tar, it was still in good order. The gutta percha covering the copper wires was in perfect condition.

Lines between England and Ireland, and England and Belgium, were laid between 1851 and 1853. In 1853 the Electric and International Telegraph Company laid a submarine telegraph, 155 miles in length, from Orfordness to Schevening, in Holland. They laid four separate cables, each containing one conductor, so that the injury to any one should not interfere with the others. In the same year an indian rubber covered

wire was laid across the Solent from Hurst Castle to Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight which still works satisfactorily. Failures have however occurred in it at a place where the cable was exposed to be alternately wet and dry from the tide.

These lines were all comparatively short and in shallow water, but in 1855 the requirements of the war in the Crimea led to the construction of a line between Balaklava and Varna, from which may be considered to date a new era in Ocean Telegraphy. This line, laid by Messrs. Newall, was 310 miles long, and has served to some extent, as a basis for ascertaining the law which governs the retardation of the electric current in long lines of submarine telegraph. Three hundred miles of this cable consisted of a copper wire covered with gutta percha, entirely unprotected, and ten miles for shore ends, had a protecting covering of iron wire. The paying out was effected with great ease, and it remained in working order for some months till the end of the war, when it was broken.

But a far greater undertaking was already in contemplation, and the temporary success of the Black Sea Telegraph had led to the hasty conclusion, that nothing was needed but capital and large appliances to stretch a telegraphic cable across the Atlantic Ocean. The evidence taken by the Submarine Telegraph Committee supplies us with all the leading facts of this most remarkable and unsuccessful enterprise. In 1851, Mr. Tibbet of New York, and Mr. Frederick N. Gisborne, an English engineer, devised the plan of shortening the communication between America and Europe, by making St. John's, Newfoundland, a port of call for Atlantic steamers, and constructing a telegraph from thence to join the American lines. These gentlemen obtained in 1851 an Act of the Legislature of Newfoundland for this purpose, which Act also conferred certain exclusive privileges; but having got into difficulties without fulfilling the terms of the Act, they induced some American gentlemen to form a new company called the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company. The Act of Incorporation of this Company was passed in 1854, and gave them, amongst other privileges, the exclusive right for fifty years of landing cables on the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador, without any conditions as to the time within which this right was to be exercised.\* This exclusive right of landing cables on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador was transferred in 1856 to the projectors of the Atlantic Telegraph

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\* It may be observed that this Act received the approval of the British Government, who therefore sanctioned this monopoly.

Company; viz. Messrs. Cyrus Field, Brett, Whitehouse, and Sir C. Bright, upon the condition that it should be exercised before 1862. The Atlantic Telegraph Company obtained from the British Government in 1856, as well as from the American Government, a grant of 14,000*l.* a year, conditional upon success, and they raised the first capital of 350,000*l.*, in shares of 1000*l.* each, pledging themselves that the first attempt to lay the cable should be made in 1857. This pledge lies at the root of the disasters of the company. Everybody connected with the project now admits that carefully devised experiments should have been made before the construction of the cable was commenced; but the form of the cable was hastily decided on, in order that it might be manufactured and laid in 1857. The manufacture was, however, not fairly commenced till February, 1857, and 2500 miles were completed in June, 1857. Half was made at Messrs. Newall's works at Birkenhead, and half at Messrs. Glass and Elliot's works at Greenwich. The manufacture was very much hurried. The portion made by Messrs. Glass, Elliot and Co., not being under cover, suffered from exposure to heat. The testing of each coat of gutta percha in water was recommended by Mr. Whitehouse, but this could not be performed on account of the speed at which the cable was required to be made. In the manufacture of the last 400 miles a system of testing the copper wire for its conducting power was introduced, by which an improvement of from twenty to twenty-five per cent. in the conductivity of the cable was obtained. Messrs. Newall's half of the cable was put on board the United States steam ship 'Niagara,' and Messrs. Glass and Elliot's half was put on board the 'Agamemnon,' but so backward were the preparations that the machinery for laying the cable was being put together as the ships went round to Valentia. The break machinery was novel and cumbrous. Meanwhile soundings had been taken between the coasts of Ireland and Newfoundland; these soundings were taken at very distant intervals apart, but it was surmised that a rapid slope from either side led to a plateau, apparently nearly level, rather more than 2000 fathoms in depth, covered with dust like shells and fragments of shells, amongst which could be traced species of Foraminifera, such as chalk is composed of. Professor Forbes's explorations in the Egean Sea led to the conclusion that animal life was not present in great depths; but the investigations by Dr. Wallich, the naturalist to the recent expedition under Sir Leopold McClintock, to survey the route of the proposed North Atlantic Telegraph, show that this was only a local law. He found specimens of *Globigerina*, such



as inhabit brackish waters on the coasts of England, at a depth of 2000 fathoms. From a depth of 1200 fathoms he brought up a coarse gritty matter consisting of 95 per cent. of *Globigerina* shells, and adhering to the last 50 fathoms of the sounding line a quantity of live starfish, and in the alimentary canal of one of these he found numerous *Globigerinae*. A fact which, as he justly observes, is a fresh starting-point in the natural history of the sea; since at a depth of two miles below the surface, where the pressure must amount to at least a ton and a half on the square inch — where it is difficult to believe that the most attenuated ray of light can penetrate — we find a highly organised species of radiate animal living, and evidently flourishing, — its red and light-pink-coloured tints as clear and brilliant as seen in its congeners inhabiting the shallow waters where the sun's rays penetrate freely.

The temperature of the water when  $54^{\circ}$  at the top, was found to be  $40.8^{\circ}$  at 1000 fathoms,  $38.6^{\circ}$  at 1700 fathoms, and  $39.2^{\circ}$  at 2320 fathoms. Deep-sea sounding is a tedious process; it requires nearly an hour to take one sounding in 2000 fathoms. The plan adopted by Lieutenant Brooke, U. S. Navy, is to run out the sounding line with weight attached, noting the intervals of time at which equal portions run out; the moment when the weight strikes the bottom is estimated by the slackening of the speed of running out. The weight is detached on striking the bottom, and left there, but a cup, which becomes filled with the mud of the bottom, is brought up.

In the first expedition, both ships started together from Valentia on the evening of the 7th of August, 1857, with the intention of laying the cable across to Newfoundland, in accordance with Mr. Whitehouse's views. This plan necessitated the junction of the two sections of the cable in mid-ocean as soon as one vessel had paid out its cargo, whatever the weather might be, and was strongly objected to by Sir Charles Bright. After paying out about 335 miles, the cable broke on the 11th August, in 2600 fathoms of water, when the strain on the breaks was thirty-five cwt.; the cable being calculated to bear a strain of three tons. For a considerable time before the fracture occurred, it had been necessary, in consequence of the cable slipping out of the sheaves connected with the breaks, to bring up the ship, holding the cable by stoppers, until it was again properly disposed round the pulleys, thus showing that it was possible to lay to without continuing to pay out cable. The fracture occurred at three o'clock in the morning, and was attributed to the breaks being badly manipulated by the mechanic who was in charge at the time. Sir Charles

Bright in his evidence to the Committee on Submarine Telegraphs, says:—

‘I had been watching the machine and causing it to be eased when the strain was excessive from the pitching of the ship. I left the machine myself for a moment, and heard it slow and called to the man to ease the wheel, it immediately stopped, and the cable broke; the break wheel was found set tight upon examination.’

The expedition returned to Plymouth. The cable was then taken out of the ships, and coiled into tanks at Keyham. At Keyham the cable was subjected to tests. Mr. C. V. Walker reported that the leakage was very high, and Professor Thomson observed that the insulation was much better at one end of the cable than at the other. It was moreover discovered, that the copper wire had forced itself through the insulating material in some places, which Mr. Whitehouse reported was the result of the repeated coiling and uncoiling, and several pieces had to be cut out, the number of joints being thereby much increased.

The cable was again placed on board the ships in the spring of 1858, and they started in May to make experiments in the Bay of Biscay. They proceeded to about 350 miles west of Ushant, where Captain Dayman, in the ‘Gorgon,’ pointed out a depth of 2400 fathoms. A joint was made between the ends of the cable in the two ships, and some miles of cable paid out so as to reach the bottom, and signals were passed through the cable then lying at the bottom. The only effect on the cable observed after it was hauled up, was that the hemp serving between the steel wire and gutta percha core was very much squeezed. This experiment was considered to show satisfactorily that a joint between the ends of the cable could be easily made at sea. It was consequently determined to begin this time to lay the cable from mid-ocean. The two first attempts proved unsuccessful. In the first, an accidental fracture occurred on board the ‘Niagara’ after a few miles had been paid out, which was indicated in the ‘Agamemnon’ by the instantaneous stoppage of signals. Professor Thomson says:—

‘The first indication was at the time when the pre-arranged signals were being sent from the “Agamemnon.” The character of those signals showed that there was a sudden loss of insulation, and immediately after came the period at which the “Niagara” should have sent to us; but nothing came. The testing continued to show very defective insulation; but there being 1500 miles of cable between the point at which the battery and galvanometer could be applied, and the portion paid out, it was difficult to make quite sure what the

character and the locality of the fault might be. The engineer arranged to give me an opportunity of testing on a portion not very many miles from the paid-out part; but to do so it was necessary to diminish the speed of the ship, and to hold the outgoing part of the cable fast, in which process the cable parted close under the stern of the "Agamemnon." The "Agamemnon" returned, and met the "Niagara." They had found precisely similar indications of failure of signals; and consequently, after a certain time, they cut away the cable from the ship, and returned, according to the pre-arranged plan. We joined, started again, and the signals were regularly interchanged until the evening of the second day. When the whole of the upper deck coil on board the "Agamemnon" had been paid out, and the speed of the ship was diminished with a view to beginning paying out from one of the lower coils, without the slightest warning of any danger, the cable parted below the stern of the "Agamemnon."

After these unsuccessful attempts, the vessels returned to Cork, but started again on the 17th July, and accomplished the laying of the cable between Newfoundland and Valentia, on the 5th August, 1858, with apparently complete success. The communication between the ships during the paying out had been kept up by a pre-arranged series of signals; during the first ten minutes of each Greenwich hour, the signals were made from one ship, viz., a reversal every minute for five minutes, and then a constant current for five minutes. During the next ten minutes, a similar series of signals were sent from the other ship.\* Serious misgivings were, however, entertained by the men of science on board the two ships, as to the permanent success of the undertaking, from two serious faults, which became apparent in the process of laying the cable. Professor Thomson gives the following interesting account of the first of these faults:—

'The signals suddenly ceased, but the testing showed improved insulation. At this time operations were going on in the hold with a view to protecting a portion of the outside sheath which had got damaged. It seemed most natural to suppose that the breach of continuity in the interior conductor, which the tests demonstrated, was in the portion of cable under repair, since this portion had been bent about so much as to displace the outer strands of iron wire, in consequence of the rough weather of the previous trip. Accordingly, the cable was pricked into very close to the outgoing part, with a view to testing whether the breach of continuity was or was not on board the ship. The result was that there was almost perfect insulation exhibited when the battery was applied to the conductor, at the part where it was pricked into. It was perfectly certain, then, that a portion of the wire at fault was broken inside the gutta percha, between the part pricked into and the "Niagara's" end of the cable; and, from the very great perfection of insulation which I found, it

was quite certain that the distance of the fractured point could not be great. It was in the paid-out part or else on board the "Niagara," but the imperfection of the apparatus which I had at command prevented me from making more than a guess where. I made a rough estimate, by comparing the result of an experiment I had made the day before, with a view to the possibility of such a contingency. I found that the discharge, after charging by the battery, and then discharging through the galvanometer, was such as was consistent with the supposition that something more than 50 miles, and less than 150 miles, might be the locality of the fracture: 80 miles of the cable had been paid out at that time.

'When it had been ascertained that the defect was not on board the "Agamemnon," we had nothing to do but to mend the place where the cable had been pricked as quickly as possible, finish the mechanical operation of joining, and get it overboard.

'It seemed now as if we had nothing to do but to continue to pay out for the pre-arranged time, and then cut the cable, because no indication whatever of signals was perceived. There was very excellent insulation, but no vestige of current through. After about an hour and a half from the moment of failure, during a period when we were sending, the current from our battery suddenly became much stronger instead of much weaker than that observed when the whole cable was in circuit. Three minutes later came our regular period for receiving; we put our end to earth as usual, and signals came from the "Niagara." I could only account for what we had observed by two possible hypotheses at the time; one of them was that the wire had broken under water, and the two parts had come together again by the elasticity of the sheath, when the cable was relieved from stress on or near the bottom; and the other hypothesis was that there had been a breach of continuity on board the "Niagara." According to the second hypothesis, the cause of the great sudden rush of current from our battery must have been owing to their cutting the cable on board the "Niagara," or else to a fracture of the cable by accident, at the stern of the "Niagara," but when the signals came it could no longer be apprehended that the cable had been broken at the stern of the "Niagara." The result proved that the breach of continuity had been overboard, because in the "Niagara" precisely similar difficulties occurred as to failure of signals. The tests gave similar results, and a similar uncertainty prevailed until the continuity was re-established. The strong current which I found was owing to the fact that on board the "Niagara" they had cut and tested, and were testing at the time when the wire came together again. Thus it was on short circuit, so far as the "Niagara" was concerned, that we had the very strong current from our battery when the wire came together again. About an hour later, instead of our strong outgoing current, we had again the current of previous strength, which convinced me that after having cut to test, and after the fault had come right of itself, those on board the "Niagara" had joined in the whole cable, and our current became, as before, of moderate strength. The cessation was from 10 to 11:30 P.M. Greenwich time.'

The second fault occurred about 420 miles from the Irish coast, from defective insulation. Of this Professor Thomson says:—

‘About midnight, local time, on the Sunday night I had retired to rest for a short time, but I was informed almost immediately that there was something wrong. I went instantly, and found the signals coming, but excessively weak. I looked at the diary for a few minutes before, and found that in our outward current there had been an increase of strength, showing that there was some great fault of insulation. The signals became very weak, then they altogether failed for a time; then they came again very weak, failed altogether several times; and on the Monday forenoon, about 11 or 12 o'clock, I could get signals only by observing very slight flickers of the spot of light reflected from the marine galvanometer. I read some of the signals indicating the number of miles paid out, and thus I assured myself that the continuity still existed. On Monday afternoon the signals received became much better, and the other tests indicated an improved, but still very defective condition of the cable. In the last part of the voyage, for a day or so perhaps, the insulation became somewhat improved, which I attributed to the outgoing part becoming cooler, but it was still very bad; very much worse than it had been previous to Sunday night. When we landed the indications of insulation were extremely bad, and showed a very faulty condition.’

From the landing of the cable on Thursday the 5th August, till the following Monday, mere indications of signals were received, although signals were being regularly sent. On the Monday night, strong induction coils having been applied at Newfoundland, the signals were easily read. The first words were, ‘Please repeat power.’ The Queen’s message to the President occupied sixteen hours in transmitting, which is explained by its having been stopped in the middle during some operations in the harbour of Valentia, and by the necessity of repeating parts over and over again. The signals continued to be received, sometimes better, sometimes worse: they would suddenly show satisfactory indications for a time, then fail again, but they gradually became weaker. The variation in the strength of the signals appeared to be due to the effect produced by the oxidation of the copper by means of the positive current at the place or places where the faults were situated, which oxidation gives an insulating covering to the wire, and to the clearing off of this covering from the copper when the negative currents were sent. On the 20th of October, a message was entered in the Valentia signal diary, as being read thus: ‘Two hundred and forty tk— ( ? two ) ‘Daniell’s now in circuit.’ That was the reading as entered

in the Valentia diary. The message really sent was, 'Two hundred and forty trays, and seventy-two liquid Daniell's now 'in circuit.' So that the word that could not be made out was, 'trays;' that was the last effort of the cable. Attempts have subsequently been made to repair it, but the decay from rust, of the outer covering, which consists of strands of very fine wires, has prevented the possibility of raising the cable without breaking it.

We have been thus particular in noting the history of this enterprise, from the surpassing interest which attached to it. The account which we have given shows that its failure was in great measure owing to the absence of a proper preliminary experimental inquiry into the conditions required in the construction of such a cable. But the more immediate causes of its failure were, 1st, the absence of sufficient care in the manufacture of the cable from the limited time allowed for its completion; 2nd, the injury that the cable received by repeated handling between the time when it was constructed and the time when it was laid; 3rd, the insufficient protection of the outer covering against corrosion; 4th, the insufficient size of the conductor, and of its insulating covering in proportion to the length of the cable—a want which necessitated the use of high battery power.

In 1853, or 1854, the Mediterranean Telegraph Company obtained from the French and Sardinian Governments a guarantee of five per cent. on the capital required for laying submarine lines between Spezzia, Corsica, Sardinia, and Algeria, accompanied by a monopoly to last for fifty years of the right to lay cables between the shores of those countries. The company proceeded in July, 1854, to lay down a submarine cable, with six conducting wires, from Cape Santa Croce, Spezzia, to Corsica (Cape Corse). From Cape Corse, land wires were laid to Bonifacio; from Bonifacio a submarine cable of six conducting wires was laid in July 1854, to Santa Theresa, in the island of Sardinia, and land wires to Cagliari and Cape Spartivento, whence a submarine cable was laid in 1855, to Bona, in Algeria, a distance of 125 miles.

In laying this latter cable, serious mishaps occurred. The first attempt was made with a cable containing six conducting wires, and protected with strong iron wire weighing eight or nine tons per mile. The cable was stowed in a sailing vessel, which was towed by a steamer of small power. The result was, that considerably more was paid out than had been allowed for, and whilst the vessels lay to for consultation, and commenced an attempt to raise the cable by means of a

windlass, from deep water, the cable broke. The next attempt was made with a cable of three conducting wires, weighing three or four tons per mile. This was placed in a steamer, and we have already described the cause of its failure. These attempts were made by Mr. Brett. The third and successful attempt was made by Messrs. Newall, who laid a cable containing four conducting wires, and weighing three tons per mile. Of the four wires, only two appear to have been in good working order, the third could be used to some extent, and the fourth was defective. All these wires, however, failed in the course of last year.

After having laid these lines, the company applied for assistance from the English Government, to enable them to lay a line from Cagliari to Malta, from Malta to Corfu, and from Malta to Alexandria. They asked for a guarantee of interest for fifty years, urging the appointment of a government director, as has been done in the case of Indian railways. They stated in support of their application, that 'Submarine cables when once laid down, are so little liable to accident, that it may be safely affirmed that they will work as efficiently at the end of fifty years as on the first day of their operation.' This blind confidence, then almost universally felt, has been one of the main causes of the disasters of ocean telegraphs.

In 1857, the Treasury agreed to guarantee 5 per cent. upon a capital of 120,000*l.* for the construction of a line from Cagliari to Malta, and thence to Corfu. The guarantee to be in force for twenty-five years, and to be payable only when the line is in working order. The Government names an official director, with a power of veto on the proceedings. The accounts were to be submitted annually to the Treasury, and when the net earnings exceed 12 per cent. a reduction is to be made in the tariff. The company at once proceeded to lay their lines: they consisted of a strand of copper wires, forming one conductor, covered with gutta percha, and protected by a serving of tarred yarn, covered with iron wires. The line between Cagliari and Malta, remained in good working order for twelve months, when a fault occurred. The company unfortunately did not possess sufficient information as to the electrical resistance of the cable, to enable them to ascertain the exact locality of this fault. Consequently, in the process of repairing it with an extra length of cable, it was raised by mistake some miles beyond the defective part. In under-running it from thence to the fault, it was broken once or twice before it was finally repaired—and it failed again suddenly about six weeks afterwards. This second failure has

not yet been repaired. The line between Malta and Corfu remained from eighteen to twenty months in good working order, then failed suddenly. From want of accurate data as to the resistance of the cable the exact position of this fault is not known, but it is assumed to be from twenty to forty miles from Corfu.

In 1858, the Government guaranteed 6 per cent. on a sum of 30,000*l.* for the construction of a telegraph from Portland to the Channel Islands; the guarantee being conditional on the efficient working of the line. This cable was laid from Alderney to Guernsey and Jersey in August, 1858, the whole length of submarine line being about 120 miles. The traffic on this line is so small, that the guarantee is not covered by the receipts; and it would only become a paying line, provided the company could continue the line to the coast of France. This, however, is prohibited by the French Government, who have granted to the Submarine Telegraph Company (who work under a charter from the English Government and in connexion with the British Telegraph Company) the exclusive right to lay lines on the coast of France from Great Britain for a period of thirty years.

The Channel Islands telegraph cable consists of a strand of copper wires forming one conductor covered with gutta serena, and protected by iron wires, the weight being about two-and-a-half tons per mile. Its history is very instructive, as showing the causes of injury to which telegraph cables laid in comparatively shallow water are subject. The depth is nowhere greater than sixty fathoms, but no care was taken before laying the cable to ascertain the nature of the bottom. Subsequent inquiry shows that the bottom is chiefly rocky, in some parts there is sand, and in one or two places shingle. Where there is shingle, the shingle adheres to and forms a concrete round the cable and so protects it. The first accident took place in the month of February, 1859, at the Jersey end where the landing is very rocky and precipitous. The shore ends of the cable are very stout, and had been submerged between rocks, but not fixed to the rocks. After a violent gale, the whole of the sand in the little bay in which the cable was landed was washed away, the cable was loosened, and the heavy waves rolling in caused it to strike repeatedly against the edge of a rock, which at last cut it in two. The possibility of this damage recurring again, was prevented by clamping the cable down to the rocks by means of iron forks. The next accident occurred four miles off the island of Portland: the cable had been working upon a ridge of rock in twenty-five fathoms water, by the vibratory



motion given to it by the tide, which has a velocity sometimes of six miles an hour, and it was completely worn through. The recurrence of an injury of this kind was prevented by taking up this portion of cable and relaying it on better ground. In other parts the iron covering of the cable became corroded apparently by the rust which formed being washed away and reforming; in other places where it rested on cement stone, the wire was decayed, and in some cases the cable sunk into the cement stone. Another cause of corrosion is stated to be from zoophytes and vegetation attached to the cable. In one place the cable was worn on rocks, so that half the gutta percha and three inches of copper wire were worn away, leaving only an oxide of copper exposed to the water in the groove in which the copper had lain; yet it is stated that weak currents could still be passed through the cable. Another defect was produced by the effect of lightning. A thunder-storm took place in Jersey, and the lightning struck the wire on the land. A portion of the fluid passed into the office and destroyed the instruments, another portion passed out into the land wires, producing small punctures, the remainder passed into the cable, and travelled along it sixteen miles to within two miles of Guernsey, where it appears to have met with a weak place, and passed out into the water, of course injuring the cable, and producing a fault in it.

The next undertaking of the kind we come to is that of the Red Sea and India Telegraph, the history of which we have gleaned from the published correspondence. In September, 1854, a proposal was made by Mr. Lionel Gisborne to the Earl of Clarendon to establish submarine telegraphic communication between Constantinople and Alexandria as a first step towards India, and he obtained powers from the Porte for executing the work. Upon the strength of these powers, and also on the promised support of the East India Company to the extension of this line to India, the Eastern Telegraph Company was formed in July, 1855, for the construction of the Constantinople-Alexandria Telegraph. The Treasury did not, however, support the line, either because they were desirous to promote the construction of the Euphrates Valley Telegraph, and of other rival telegraphic lines in the Mediterranean, or for other unexplained causes; and consequently the necessary capital was not subscribed, and this company remained in abeyance. Steps were, however, taken to secure the continuation of the line to India, and with this view Mr. Gisborne was despatched to Constantinople in the summer of 1855, but the company was soon after dissolved.

It appears from a letter of Messrs. Gisborne and Forde to the India Board, dated 21st August, 1856, that in the opinion of these gentlemen it was expedient for the Government to support the Red Sea and India Line, in preference to the Euphrates Valley Line. They estimated the cost of making the Euphrates line at 222*l.* per mile. The estimate of the Red Sea line was about 120*l.* per mile, and they added, 'experience has shown that a good cable once laid successfully requires no maintenance.' The result will show how far this statement underrated the cost of the line, and how woefully mistaken the writer was in assuming that the maintenance might be set down at *nil*. The cost of the Euphrates Valley Land Line was as much over-estimated as the other is under-estimated. The original promoters, however, continued their negotiations with the Porte, and in the winter of 1856-7, Mr. Gisborne obtained concessions from the Turkish and Egyptian Governments, which empowered the promoters to continue the Constantinople-Alexandria Telegraph across Egypt and down the Red Sea, thus completing the necessary powers for the construction of the line to India. These concessions give complete control over the line, as regards *employés*, secrecy of messages, and the forwarding of through-messages, either in cypher or otherwise, without their being subject to examination on the part of the Turkish or Egyptian Governments; sufficient land for stations was also granted. Upon these concessions the promoters proceeded to form the Red Sea and India Telegraph Company.

The Egyptian and Red Sea Telegraph concessions were sold to this company for a sum of 15,000*l.*, Mr. Gisborne being engineer, and Messrs. Newall and Co. contractors for the projected line. The Government offered a guarantee of about 6 per cent. conditional on the efficient working of the line. But the company were unable to raise the necessary money; and in June, 1858, notwithstanding the failure of the first attempt in 1857 to lay the Atlantic Telegraph, and the doubt which was consequently still hanging over submarine telegraphic enterprise, and notwithstanding that in a very short time these doubts would have been set at rest by the completion of the undertaking of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, Lord Derby's Government decided upon giving an unconditional guarantee of 4½ per cent. for fifty years upon the whole capital required for the construction of the Red Sea and India line,—viz. 800,000*l.*,—thus relieving the shareholders from all risk in the matter. They committed the construction of the line to an engineer of undoubted talent, but who had not previously had great practical telegraphic experience, and to the contractors already named,

merely appointing an official director to watch over the financial proceedings of the company.

This cable had the largest copper conductor, and the best insulation of any cable made up to that date. The first portion of the line (Suez to Aden) was completed successfully on the 28th of May, 1859. The second portion, viz. from Aden to Kurrachee, was completed in February, 1860. The first portion between Suez and Aden consisted of three sections; viz., Suez Cossire 255 miles, Cossire Suakin, 474 miles, Suakin Aden, 629 miles. There was a fault in the Cossire Suakin section when it was first laid, but not such a one as to prevent the working of the line; and the whole line from Suez to Aden worked satisfactorily until February, 1860, a period of more than nine months, during which time, although the line was isolated and depending upon messages arriving by steamers at Alexandria and Aden, the net receipts are said to have been as much as 1000*l.* per month. In February, 1860, the Aden Suakin section failed. The company endeavoured to repair it, and laid down above 300 miles of new cable, they also repaired other faults and restored the communication in July. The section, however, failed again five days afterwards. Faults occurred in the Suez Cossire section; and the fault on the Cossire Suakin section already mentioned, has developed itself so far as to render that section unworkable. The second portion of line remained for a short time in working order. The sections are Aden to Hallain 718 miles, Hallain to Muscat 486 miles, Muscat to Kurrachee 481 miles. Faults have appeared on the Aden Hallain, and on the Muscat Kurrachee sections; consequently the only section said to be in working order is the section between Muscat and Hallain, which in its isolated position is of no possible use. In the endeavour to repair the portion of line between Suakin and Aden, the iron covering of the cable was found to be completely corroded away in many places.

Whilst these various lines were being laid with the support of the English Government, additional submarine lines have been laid by other governments or individuals. Messrs. Newall laid a line from the Dardanelles to Syra, Athens and Candia, and three times failed in laying a line from Candia to Alexandria, a distance of 400 miles, which would complete the telegraphic communication between Alexandria and England by way of the Turkish and Austrian lines. The same contractors laid a cable for the Dutch Government from Singapore to Batavia. The French Government contracted to have a light steel and hemp covered cable laid between Algeria and Toulon. This

cable is a very good one, having a large strand of copper wire as a conductor, covered with four coats of gutta percha. The first attempt to lay it failed, however, from rough weather, and one end was obliged to be taken into Majorca, between which place and Spain the Spanish Government have recently laid submarine lines. A renewed attempt to lay this line is about to be made, and will probably have been completed before these pages are in type. The only other submarine enterprise to which we would call attention, is the line now about to be laid under the British and Indian Governments, to connect Rangoon with Singapore, which will form a most important link in the line of communication between this country and Australia. Mr. Gisborne in the spring of 1859 urged upon Lord Derby's Government the necessity of connecting the Mediterranean fortresses with this country by means of a direct line of telegraphic communication; the Government determined to lay a line from this country to Gibraltar; they appointed Messrs. Gisborne and Forde engineers to the projected line in May, 1859, and made a contract with the Gutta Percha Company for the manufacture of a core consisting of a strand of copper wire, weighing 400 lbs. per mile, covered with three coats of gutta percha, also weighing 400 lbs. per mile. This line was to be completed and laid in September, 1859. Lord Derby's Government went out of office immediately afterwards. When the present Government came into office, Mr. Gladstone directed that the control of this line should be transferred from the Treasury to the Board of Trade; that department reported that the knowledge possessed at the time was not such as to justify the submerging of another deep sea cable without further experiments being made, and they recommended the appointment of a Committee to investigate the subject. This Committee consisted of the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, Professor Wheatstone, and Captain Douglas Galton, R. E., and with them was associated a committee formed by the Atlantic Telegraph Company. Upon the death of Mr. R. Stephenson, a modification of the Committee took place, and Mr. Bidder, Mr. W. Fairbairn, Mr. Ed. L. Clark, and Mr. Varley, appear to have been added to it. The Government deserve great credit for the appointment of a Committee to investigate this subject. It is the first and most important step which has yet been taken for placing the knowledge of deep sea telegraphy upon a sound basis, by showing its present condition, and the steps which are necessary for its future success.

In the spring of 1860 the Government determined to transfer the cable which had been constructed for the purpose of con-

necting Falmouth with Gibraltar to a projected line from Rangoon to Singapore, where it will be laid in comparatively short lengths, and in water of such a depth that it will be easily repaired if necessary. This cable should be now on its way to its destination; but a most unexpected occurrence has delayed its progress. For greater security it was deposited in water-tanks after its manufacture; but when placed on board ship it was coiled dry; the moisture imbibed by the hemp serving being gradually squeezed out, caused the iron covering to rust; the process of rusting generates heat, and the enormous surface of iron condensed into the smallest possible compass, and supplied with continual facilities for rusting, became a perfect wick, whilst the heat evolved was such as to endanger the safety of the cable. This effect can only be prevented by not allowing an iron covered cable to be wetted, or by covering the cable with some material to exclude air from the iron, or else by keeping it immersed in fresh water until it is laid.

This concludes the account which we propose to give of the present condition of deep sea telegraphy; but the great national and pecuniary interests involved in it induce us to offer some additional observations on the highly unsatisfactory condition in which the whole matter now stands. If it is a condition of uncertainty and doubt, we cannot but feel that for this condition Government is to a great extent answerable.

The first submarine cable which was laid, viz., the line from Dover to Calais, was as great a step in Ocean Telegraphy as any which has been made since. The preliminary effort made by Mr. Brett in 1851, to show that a current could be passed across the Channel,—an effort made without proper apparatus, and without proper scientific advice,—may be compared to the more recent ill-digested scheme for connecting Europe with America by the Atlantic Telegraph. The leading engineering talent of the day was not consulted in the construction of the line, although we then possessed in Brunel and in Stephenson engineers of whom it may be said that the genius of the one would have mastered any difficulty, and the prudence of the other would have ensured the success of any undertaking.

The history of the Atlantic enterprise shows that failure was its necessary result, and yet it was made under Government sanction, and by help of assistance from the Government. No doubt the form in which this assistance was given was one of the least objectionable forms in which Government assistance could be given; viz., a payment conditional upon success; but there was no definition of what that success was to be; if one word *per hour* could have been transmitted, the company

might have claimed the letter of its bond. It may, however, be fairly assumed that if the Government had declined to assist the undertaking, it would at that time have gone forward perhaps more slowly, but more surely, than it did with the flourish of Government help. The shareholders who advanced 1000*l.* a piece in London and Liverpool did so for a national experiment, and not with the sole thought of gain. But even if it had not gone forward then, and if we had continued to advance by slow and sure steps in Ocean Telegraphy, it would have been better for science, better for our credit as a practical nation, and better for those whose property now lies irrecoverably lost at the bottom of the Atlantic.

Between 1852, when the first successful Dover cable was laid and 1856, telegraphic enterprise had progressed rapidly. The lengths of submarine lines laid by private companies, without Government assistance, had increased from 25 miles, the Dover and Calais line, to 125 miles, the Orfordness and Schevening line; and in 1858 a line was laid from England to Denmark, 350 miles in length: for these lines no Government aid has been asked or given. They are all exposed to strong competition, and yet it has been found worth the while of private companies to lay them. The published correspondence shows that repeated applications were made to the Government, between 1852 and 1856, to assist telegraphic enterprises, but the Government declined giving assistance, except by requesting their ambassadors and ministers at foreign Courts to help Englishmen who were endeavouring to procure foreign concessions. In 1855, the East India Company informed Mr. Gisborne that if he completed a line of telegraph to Alexandria, they would be prepared to consider with a liberal spirit any proposition for the extension of the line to India. In 1856, the Treasury were in possession of several applications for Government assistance towards lines in the Mediterranean. Amongst others, a proposal was made by Messrs. Brett and Pinniger, for assistance to be given to a line promoted by the Austrian Government, to be laid from Ragusa to Corfu and Alexandria. Upon this proposal being made, the whole question appears to have been considered, and Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of the Treasury, laid down in a minute, dated the 15th August, 1856, the definition of what the Treasury considered should be the policy of the Government with respect to telegraphic communication in the Mediterranean and the East. That policy was, that the Government should support telegraphic lines by subscriptions or by guarantees of the capital involved; rather than by the construction of the lines themselves.

As a result of the decision of the Treasury, it appears that the Government guaranteed for the construction of the proposed Ragusa, Corfu, and Alexandria line, 6 per cent. upon a sum of 250,000*l.* for twenty-five years, payable whether the line was in working order or not; and the Austrian Government guaranteed a similar sum, making 500,000*l.* in all, for the construction of this line. The line has, however, never been constructed. The Government then guaranteed the Atlantic Telegraph; the Cagliari, Malta, and Corfu Telegraph; the Channel Islands Telegraph, conditionally on the successful working of the lines; and they gave to the Red Sea Company a guarantee, not fettered by the necessity of keeping the line in working order. These guaranteed lines have all failed. A guarantee of interest so long as it is limited to a certain amount, and so long as it is only to be paid while the line is capable of doing a specified amount of work, is one of the least objectionable modes of support which can be given, but even *this mode has* objections; the name of a government guarantee itself, shows a want of confidence of the promoters in their own enterprise, and tends to diminish that habit of self-reliance which is the source of our commercial success. It is perfectly legitimate that the Government, if it requires a service, should pay for that service, but let the sum to be paid be a definite amount for a specific quantity of work, as is the case in packet contracts, that the Government and the country may know exactly in what position it stands, instead of allowing the amount to be dependent, as it is in a guarantee, upon the good or bad management of the directors of the company. When, however, the Government gives a guarantee which ensures to the shareholders a specified rate of interest, whatever the working expenses and whatever the condition of the line may be; and which guarantee is to last for a specified number of years, whether the enterprise is a failure or a success, as is the case of the Red Sea Telegraph and of the Ragusa and Alexandria Telegraph; the injury done to the spirit of public enterprise is incalculable.

If the failure of the Red Sea Telegraph should cause the Government and Parliament to discontinue this system of guarantees, the nation will be in some degree repaid for all the money this guarantee has cost, and will continue to cost us, although we fear that it may be some years before telegraphic enterprise is restored to a healthy condition. Guaranteed telegraphic lines have unfortunately been got up generally by persons unacquainted with the subject, and have been placed by the promoters in the hands either of contractors, who were, of course, only interested in the lines being laid in such a

manner as to work for the few days required by the contract; or in the hands of engineers, who at the time when they undertook the work, had not attained the highest rank in their profession. The promoters appear to have studiously avoided the employment of the leading engineering talent of the country, and the Government when it had control, appears to have countenanced this line of conduct. Stephenson and Brunel would not have allowed the Atlantic Telegraph to be laid upon their responsibility, without proper preliminary experiments being made; and it is to the absence of a proper scientific appreciation of the difficulties of these enterprises, that we attribute the disasters and disappointments to which the project has been subjected.

The *Enterprise* and *Ocean Telegraphy* is, however, at present in the hands of the two old sea captains, in H.M.S. 'Bulldog,' and the 'Fox,' Young, in the 'Fox,' have just completed a survey of the proposed route for a telegraphic line by way of the North Atlantic to America. It is understood that the officers who accompanied the expedition are sanguine of the success of the proposed line. The ships experienced difficulties in passing through the ice which encumbered the coast of Greenland; but it is alleged that these difficulties were exceptional, and a consequence of the unusual inclemency of the season; at any rate, they are sufficient to prevent the laying or repairing of a telegraphic cable in similar seasons, and the promoters of the enterprise should therefore carefully consider the means of overcoming these difficulties before they finally embark in the undertaking. It cannot be too strongly urged that before laying a telegraphic cable, the selection of the route which it is to traverse should be guided by a detailed survey of the bottom of the ocean, so as to ascertain the inequalities of the surface as well as the materials of which it is composed. We do not know what course the line from England to America will eventually take: whether the North Atlantic Company, under the guidance of Colonel Shaffner, will succeed in laying and maintaining the line by way of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland, through the inhospitable territory of Labrador to Canada; or whether the company which has just obtained a concession from the Portuguese Government for a line to Lisbon, will carry a line to America by a southern route; or whether the Atlantic Company will lay another direct line — but of this we are convinced, that at no very distant period submarine telegraphs, established on sound principles and in a durable manner, will encircle the globe.



ART. VI. — *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk; containing Memorials of the Men, and Events of his Times.* 8vo. Edinburgh and London: 1860.

THIS book contains by far the most vivid picture of Scottish life and manners that has been given to the public since the days of Sir Walter Scott. In bestowing upon it this high praise, we make no exception, not even in favour of Lord Cockburn's 'Memorials,' the book which resembles it most, and which ranks next to it in interest. Indeed, even going beyond the range of our Scottish experience, we doubt whether there is anywhere to be found as trustworthy a record of the domestic, social, and intellectual life of a whole bygone generation, or an appreciation of the individual peculiarities of the persons by whom that generation was led, as shrewd and unprejudiced, as has been bequeathed to us by this active, high-spirited, claret-drinking, play-going, and yet withal worthy and pious Minister of the Kirk.

The term autobiography scarcely describes it correctly. A far more accurate notion of its contents would have been conveyed, had the editor adhered to that which Dr. Carlyle himself seems from the opening sentence to have contemplated—viz., 'Anecdotes and Characters of the Times.' The subjective element, which in modern autobiography plays so great a part, is almost entirely wanting; for though the worthy Minister of Inveresk often indulged in a little harmless vanity, and even defended it as 'a passion that is easy to be intreated, and that unites freely with all the best affections,' he took far too lively an interest in the characters of his friends to be very deeply absorbed in the contemplation of his own, or very solicitous to analyse it for the amusement of others. Those of his readers, therefore, whose peculiar taste lies in the direction of *confessions* are doomed to disappointment. But we believe they will be the only disappointed readers; and those, at all events, who regard the study of the past somewhat in the same light as foreign residence or travel, and consider that the chief benefit which both confer consists in delivering us from conventional narrowness, by bringing us in contact with life under new circumstances, will be of opinion that this book, whatever it may be called, is not only an entertaining, but a highly instructive one.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers the extracts in which we purpose, somewhat beyond our wont, to indulge,

there is one subject of a somewhat delicate kind to which it may be proper that we should refer. The fact of a work of such varied interest, the existence of which in manuscript was widely known (for it was no literary *trouvaille*, like that of the Irish Dr. Campbell)—the fact, we say, of such a work having been so long withheld from the public, necessarily gave rise to reports unfavourable to its character. There was plainly something mysterious, probably something wrong. Ability was not likely to be wanting in a volume from the pen of one whose talents were in high repute with Hume and Smith, and Robertson, and Ferguson, and Home, and Blair, and whose title to rank with the foremost of his countrymen had been recognised by so competent a judge as Smollett; but it was thought that it might be coarse and scandalous, possibly even licentious. Dr. Carlyle had been a moderate of the moderates, at a period when moderatism was in the ascendant in the church, both in Scotland and in England, and a report to his prejudice was not incredible to those who, had he been alive, would have been his natural opponents. But if the surmise was not unnatural, it was in the highest degree unjust. Personality, in a certain sense, it is true, constitutes the essence of the book, but it is personality in the now harmless sense of exhibiting an unvarnished picture of the acknowledged or notorious peculiarities both of friends and adversaries; a fact which alone perhaps was reason enough, and which at any rate was the only reason, for delaying the publication. Of personality in the odious sense of exposing infirmities which ought for ever to be hidden, or in the still more wicked form of propagating calumnies which can no longer be refuted, nothing whatever will be found. Though full of gossip, it is singularly free from what can be fairly denominated scandal. It exhibits on every page the gay and jovial temper of its author, and makes no secret of his having conformed to 'the convivial habits of the time;' but it never loses sight of the broad line which distinguishes the full and unconstrained enjoyment from the intemperate abuse of the gifts of Providence. Having made these few explanatory remarks, we shall follow the judicious course which Mr. Burton has adopted of presenting Dr. Carlyle without further preface to our readers.

It was not until he had entered on his seventy-ninth year that Dr. Carlyle began to write these Reminiscences. He was born in 1722, and the first page of his manuscript is dated 1800—an interval of time which embraces all the events of the 18th century most memorable to Scotland and to Scottish society. His father, the minister of Prestonpans, was born in 1690; so

that these family traditions may be said to extend from the Revolution to the outset of the present century.

Dr. Carlyle's father had previously been minister of Cumbertrees, in Annandale, from whence he was brought to Prestonpans by the famous, or infamous, Lord Grange, whose character our readers have recently been furnished with the means of appreciating. Our author himself was born in the former parish, and thus sprung from the same region, and we believe from the same stock, with his more celebrated namesake in our own day. His father had two sisters, married and settled in London—the one to a 'Mr. Lyon of Easter Ogill, a branch of the Strathmore family, who had been in the rebellion of '1715; and, having been pardoned, had attempted to carry on 'business in London, but was ruined in the South Sea (scheme).' Of this lady, who visited his father's family in his youth, he says, 'She was young and beautiful and vain, not so much of her person (to which she had a good title) as of her husband's great family, to which she annexed her own, and, by a little stretch of imagination and a search into antiquity, made it great also.' This lady's son became an officer in the Guards, and married Lady Catherine Bridges, a daughter of the Marquis of Carnarvon, and grandchild of the Duke of Chandos: the connexion was one which Carlyle turned to account in his visits to London in after life. His other English aunt also visited at the Manse about the same period. 'She staid with us for a year, and during that time taught me to read English, with just pronunciation and a very tolerable accent—an accomplishment which in those days was very rare.' These connexions and many other passages in this volume throw considerable light on the position of the Scottish clergy, who at that period, like their English brethren now, seem frequently, if not generally, to have been cadets of noble or gentle families:—

'At this time (1733) I made a very agreeable tour round the country with my father and Mr. Robert Jardine [minister of Lochmaben], the father of Dr. Jardine, afterwards minister of Edinburgh. Among the places we visited was Bridekirk, the seat of the eldest cadet of Lord Carlyle's family, of which my father was descended. I saw, likewise, a small pendicle of the estate which had been assigned as the portion of his grandfather, and which he himself had tried to recover by a lawsuit, but was defeated for want of a principal paper. We did not see the laird, who was from home; but we saw the lady, who was a much greater curiosity. She was a very large and powerful virago, about forty years of age, and received us with much kindness and hospitality; for the brandy-bottle—a Scotch pint—made its appearance immediately, and we were obliged to take

our *morning*, as they called it, which was indeed the universal fashion of the country at that time. This lady, who, I confess, had not many charms for me, was said to be able to empty one of those large bottles of brandy, smuggled from the Isle of Man, at a sitting. They had no whisky at that time, there being then no distilleries in the south of Scotland.' . . .

'The face of the country was particularly desolate, not having yet reaped any benefit from the union of the Parliaments; nor was it recovered from the effects of that century of wretched government which preceded the Revolution, and commenced at the accession of James. The Border wars and depredations had happily ceased; but the borderers, having lost what excited their activity, were in a dormant state during the whole of the seventeenth century, unless it was during the time of the grand Rebellion, and the struggles between Episcopacy and Presbytery.' (P. 25.)

It was during this visit that Carlyle made the acquaintance of his grandfather, Mr. Alexander Robinson, the minister of the parish, a pious and accomplished man, who exercised a salutary influence over his after life, and of whose memory he speaks in terms of reverence and affection.

His mother, a Graham, connected with many of the principal families in Galloway, and descended by her mother from the Queensberry family (as my father was, at a greater distance by his mother, of the Jardine Hall family), gave the worthy people and their children an air of greater consequence than their neighbours of the same rank, and tended to make them deserve the respect which was shown them.' (P. 27.)

In November 1735, Carlyle became a student at the University of Edinburgh, where soon afterwards he actually witnessed the execution of Wilson in the Grass-market, when Captain Porteous fired on the people, and saw the signal of the ever memorable Porteous riots. Having been born on the 22nd January 1722, Carlyle had not at that time completed his fourteenth year, and yet he does not seem to have been younger than the generality of his fellow students. Hitherto he had been educated at the parish school of Prestonpans, which was then in a condition to put him pretty much on a footing of equality with lads who had been educated in Edinburgh. Though there is no reason to suppose that his acquirements ever were extensive in any department of learning, Carlyle was one of those who learn with facility, and he thus had no difficulty in holding a good place amongst his fellow students. Amongst these he soon came in contact with the names which give its charm and importance to the reminiscences of his life.

'Having passed the Greek class, I missed many of my most in-

time companions, who either remained one year longer at the Latin class, or attended the Greek. But I made new ones, who were very agreeable. My acquaintance with Dr. Robertson [the future principal and historian of Charles V.] began about this time. I never was at the same class with him, for, though but a few months older, he was at College one session before me. One of the years, too, he was seized with a fever, which was dangerous, and confined him for the greater part of the winter. I went to see him sometimes when he was recovering, when in his conversation one could perceive the opening dawn of that day which afterwards shone so bright. I became also acquainted with John Home this year, though he was one year behind me at College, and eight months younger. He was gay and talkative, and a great favourite with his companions.' (P. 47.)

Our Doctor had no lack of gaiety in his composition, and he ingenuously confesses —

'I was very fond of dancing, in which I was a great proficient, having been taught at two different periods in the country, though the manners were then so strict that I was not allowed to exercise my talent at penny-weddings, or any halls but those of the dancing-school. Even this would have been denied me, as it was to Robertson and Witherspoon, and other clergymen's sons, at that time, had it not been for the persuasion of those aunts of mine who had been bred in England, and for some papers in the *Spectator* which were pointed out to my father, which seemed to convince him that dancing would make me a more accomplished preacher, if ever I had the honour to mount the pulpit. My mother too, who generally was right, used her sway in this article of education. But I had not the means of using this talent, of which I was not a little vain, till luckily I was introduced to Madame Violante, an Italian stage-dancer, who kept a much-frequented school for young ladies, but admitted of no boys above seven or eight years of age, so that she wished very much for senior lads to dance with her grown-up misses weekly at her practisings. I became a favourite of this dancing-mistress, and attended her very faithfully with two or three of my companions, and had my choice of partners on all occasions, insomuch that I became a great proficient in this branch at little or no expense.' (P. 48.)

To this propensity the future minister of Inverreek added, by his own confession, rather too strong a taste for the noble game of billiards. When it came to the choice of a profession, his thoughts turned first to the army, and afterwards to surgery. But the Kirk had marked him for her own.

'In the mean time came a letter from my grandfather, in favour of his own profession and that of my father, written with so much force and energy, and stating so many reasons for my yielding to the wish of my friends and the conveniency of a family still consisting of eight children, of whom I was the eldest, that I yielded to the influence of

parental wishes and advice, which in those days swayed the minds of young men much more than they do now, or have done for many years past. I therefore consented that my name should this year be enrolled in the list of students of divinity, though regular attendance was not enjoined.' (P. 52.)

Whilst residing with his father at Prestonpans, after having completed his course of Arts at Edinburgh, and when he was about nineteen, Carlyle witnessed a performance of Lord Lovat and Lord Grange strangely characteristic of themselves and of the coarse profligate manners of the time.

'It was in the course of this summer (1741) that Lovat brought his son Alexander to be placed with Halket, from whom understanding that I was a young scholar living in the town who might be useful to his son, he ordered Halket to invite me to dine with him and his company at Lucky Vint's, a celebrated village tavern in the west end of the town. His company consisted of Mr. Erskine of Grange, with three or four gentlemen of the name of Fraser, one of whom was his man of business, together with Halket, his son Alexander, and myself. The two old gentlemen disputed for some time which of them should say grace. At last Lovat yielded, and gave us two or three pious sentences in French, which Mr. Erskine and I understood, and we only. As soon as we were set, Lovat asked me to send him a whiting from the dish of fish that was next me. As they were all haddocks, I answered that they were not whittings, but, according to the proverb, he that got a haddock for a whiting was not ill off. This saying takes its rise from the superiority of haddocks to whittings in the Firth of Forth. Upon this his lordship stormed and swore more than fifty dragons; he was sure they must be whittings, as he had bespoke them. Halket tipped me the wink, and I retracted, saying that I had but little skill, and, as his lordship had bespoke them, I must certainly be mistaken. Upon this he calmed, and I sent him one, which he was quite pleased with, swearing again that he never could eat a haddock all his life. The landlady told me afterwards that as he had been very peremptory against haddocks, and she had no other, she had made her cook carefully scrape out St. Peter's mark on the shoulders, which she had often done before with success. We had a very good plain dinner. As the claret was excellent, and circulated fast, the two old gentlemen grew very merry, and their conversation became youthful and gay. What I observed was that Grange, without appearing to flatter, was very observant of Lovat, and did everything to please him. He had provided Geordy Sym, who was Lord Drummorie's piper, to entertain Lovat after dinner; but though he was reckoned the best piper in the country, Lovat despised him, and said he was only fit to play reels to Grange's oyster-women. He grew frisky at last, however, and upon Kate Vint, the landlady's daughter, coming into the room, he insisted on her staying to dance with him. She was a handsome girl, with fine black eyes and an agreeable person; and though without the advantages of dress

or manners, she, by means of her good sense and a bashful air, was very alluring. She was a mistress of Lord Drummore, who lived in the neighbourhood; and though her mother would not part with her, as she drew much company to the house, she was said to be faithful to him; except only in the case of Captain Merry, who married her, and soon after went abroad with his regiment. When he died she enjoyed the pension. She had two sons by Drummore and one by Merry. One of the first was a pretty lad and a good officer, for he was a master and commander before he died. Lovat was at this time seventy-five, and Grange not much younger; yet the wine and the young woman emboldened them to dance a reel, till Kate, observing Lovat's legs as thick as posts, fell a laughing, and ran off. She missed her second course of kisses, as was then the fashion of the country, though she had endured the first. This was a scene not easily forgotten.

'Lovat was tall and stately, and might have been handsome in his youth, with a very flat nose. His manner was not disagreeable, though his address consisted chiefly in gross flattery and in the due application of money. He did not make on me the impression of a man of a leading mind. His suppleness and profligacy were apparent.' (P. 60.)

Carlyle's father obtained for his son from the Duke of Hamilton, with whom he was connected by marriage, a presentation to one of the bursaries founded in the University of Glasgow, by Duchess Ann, for the purpose of enabling students of Divinity to pass two winters in Glasgow, and a third in a foreign university. 'The salary for the first two years was 100*l.* Scots annually (8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), and for the third 400*l.*, which might have been competent as far back as 1670, but was very far short of the most moderate expense at which a student could live in 1742.' What the expenses of students at that time actually were, may be seen from the following curious passage:—

'Living at Edinburgh continued still to be wonderfully cheap, as there were ordinaries for young gentlemen, at four pence a-head for a very good dinner of broth and beef, and a roast and potatoes every day, with fish three or four times a-week, and all the small-beer that was called for till the cloth was removed. In the summer I passed some time in East Lothian, where by accident at that period there were no less than a dozen young scholars, preachers, and students in divinity, who generally met there on the presbytery day. For two or three times we dined with the presbytery by invitation; but finding that we were not very welcome guests, and that whatever number there were in company they never allowed them more than two bottles of small Lisbon wine, we bespoke a dinner for ourselves in another tavern; and when the days were short, generally stayed all night. By this time even the second tavern in Haddington (where the presbytery dined, having quarrelled with the first) had

knives and forks for their table. But ten or twelve years before that time, my father used to carry a chagreen case, with a knife and fork and spoon, as they perhaps do still on many parts of the Continent. When I attended, in 1742 and 1743, they had still but one glass on the table, which went round with the bottle.' (P. 70.)

It was not, however, till the following year, 1743, that Carlyle went to Glasgow and took possession of his bursary. Of two of the professors he speaks with the liveliest gratitude, Leichman and Hutcheson; and as the latter at least has attained a permanent place in philosophical literature, the description of him by so intelligent a witness as Carlyle is of some interest. His mode of lecturing reminds us of that of Professor Wilson in Edinburgh a century later: —

'I attended Hutcheson's class this year with great satisfaction and improvement. He was a good-looking man, of an engaging countenance. He delivered his lectures without notes, walking backwards and forwards in the area of his room. As his elocution was good, and his voice and manner pleasing, he raised the attention of his hearers at all times; and when the subject led him to explain and enforce the moral virtues and duties, he displayed a fervent and persuasive eloquence which was irresistible. Besides the lectures he gave through the week, he, every Sunday at six o'clock, opened his class-room to whoever chose to attend, when he delivered a set of lectures on *Grotius de veritate Religionis Christianæ*, which, though learned and ingenious, were adapted to every capacity; for on that evening he expected to be attended, not only by students, but by many of the people of the city; and he was not disappointed, for this free lecture always drew crowds of attendants.' (P. 70.)

But in Glasgow, as elsewhere, Carlyle was more a man of the world than of the cloister, and his social, consequently, are more complete than his academical sketches.

'The city of Glasgow at this time, though very industrious, wealthy, and commercial, was far inferior to what it afterwards became, both before and after the failure of the Virginia trade. The modes of life, too, and manners, were different from what they are at present. Their chief branches were the tobacco trade with the American colonies, and sugar and rum with the West India. There were not manufacturers sufficient, either there or at Paisley, to supply an outward-bound cargo for Virginia. For this purpose they were obliged to have recourse to Manchester. Manufactures were in their infancy. About this time the inkle manufactory was first begun by Ingram & Glasford, and was shown to strangers as a great curiosity. But the merchants had industry and stock, and the habits of business, and were ready to seize with eagerness, and prosecute with vigour, every new object in commerce or manufactures that promised success.



‘Few of them could be called learned merchants; yet there was a weekly club, of which a Provost Cochrane was the founder and a leading member, in which their express design was to inquire into the nature and principles of trade in all its branches, and to communicate their knowledge and views on that subject to each other. I was not acquainted with Provost Cochrane at this time, but I observed that the members of this society had the highest admiration of his knowledge and talents. I became well acquainted with him twenty years afterwards, when Drs. Smith and Wight were members of the club, and was made sensible that too much could not be said of his accurate and extensive knowledge, of his agreeable manners, and colloquial eloquence. Dr. Smith acknowledged his obligations to this gentleman’s information, when he was collecting materials for his *Wealth of Nations*; and the junior merchants who have flourished since his time, and extended their commerce far beyond what was then dreamt of, confess, with respectful remembrance, that it was Andrew Cochrane who first opened and enlarged their views.’ (P. 74.)

The vast mass of interesting matter which lies before us warns us that we must not dwell longer on this portion of the story. The following winter (1744–5) he returned to Glasgow, and we remark that the system of collegiate residence, which continued down to a recent period at St. Andrew’s, and which we hope to see everywhere restored, then existed at Glasgow. Carlyle resided within the walls of the college, in a room which he ‘furnished for the session, at a moderate rent.’

He had been visiting friends in the south of Scotland, in the year ’45, and had got to Moffat, when the news reached him that ‘The Chevalier Prince Charles had landed in the north ‘with a small train, had been joined by many of the clans, and ‘might be expected to break down into the low country, unless ‘Sir John Cope, who was then on his march north, should meet ‘with them and disperse them.’ He soon learned that this hope had proved vain, that the Prince had evaded his adversary, and was marching with his Highlanders on the city of Edinburgh, which was attempting to put itself in some state of defence. His account of the success which attended this effort is more entertaining than encouraging to civic warriors. Having joined the volunteers, he says:—

‘We were marched immediately up to the Lawn-market, where we halted till the other companies should follow. They were late in making their appearance, and some of their officers, coming up to us while in the street, told us that most of the privates were unwilling to march. During this halt, Hamilton’s dragoons, who had been at Leith, marched past our corps, on their route to join Gardiner’s regiment, who were at the Colt Bridge. We cheered them, in passing,

with a huzzah ; and the spectators began to think at last that some serious fighting was likely to ensue, though before this moment many of them had laughed at and ridiculed the Volunteers.

‘While we remained there, which was great part of an hour, the mob in the street and the ladies in the windows treated us very variously, many with lamentation, and even with tears, and some with apparent scorn and derision. In one house on the south side of the street there was a row of windows, full of ladies, who appeared to enjoy our march to danger with much levity and mirth.

‘We halted in the Grassmarket, near the West Port, that the other bodies who were to join us might come. On our march even our company had lost part of their number, and none of the other Volunteers had come up. The day being advanced to between twelve and one o’clock, the brewers who lived in that end of the street brought out bread and cheese, and strong ale and brandy, as a refreshment for us, in the belief that we needed it, in marching on such an enterprise.’ (Pp. 115-7.)

But upon the approach of the Highlanders the Volunteer Corps dispersed, and returned their arms to the provost. Carlyle with his two friends, Cleghorn and Robertson, in whom ‘the ardour for arms and the field was not yet abated,’ now set off to Prestonpans, in order to join Cope’s army, which it was expected would land at Dunbar. Carlyle walked to his father’s house during the night, accompanied by his younger brother ; and the others joined them the following day, Robertson alone of the party having a horse. Their warlike ardour, however, does not seem to have obliterated all relish for creature comforts.

‘As we were finishing a small bowl of punch that I had made for them after dinner, James Hay, the gentleman I mentioned before, paid us a visit, and immediately after the ordinary civilities, said earnestly that he had a small favour to ask of us, which was that we would be so good as to accept of a small collation which his sister and he had provided at their house—that of Charles Sheriff, the most eminent merchant in the place, who had died not long before, and left a widow and four daughters with this gentleman, their uncle, to manage their affairs. We declined accepting this invitation for fear of being too late. He continued strongly to solicit our company, adding that he would detain us a very short while, as he had only four bottles of burgundy, which if we did not accept of, he would be obliged to give to the Highlanders. The name of burgundy, which some of us had never tasted, disposed us to listen to terms, and we immediately adjourned to Mrs. Sheriff’s, not a hundred yards distant. We found very good apples and pears and biscuit set out for us, and after one bottle of claret to wash away the taste of the whisky punch, we fell to the burgundy, which we thought excellent ; and in little more than an hour we were ready to take the road, it being then not long after

five o'clock. Robertson mounted his horse, and left us to go round by his house at Gladsmuir to get a little money, as he had not wherewithal to defray his expenses, and mentioned an hour when he promised to meet us at Bangley Braefoot, Maggie Johnstone's, a public-house on the road leading to Dunbar, by Garlton Hills, a mile to the north of Haddington. There were no horses here for me, for though my father kept two, he had them both at the Goat Why quarters.

'As soon as I arrived at the town I inquired for Colonel Gardiner, and went and visited him at Mr. Pyot's, the minister of the town, where he lodged. He received me with kindness, and invited me to dine with him at two o'clock, and to come to him a little before the hour. I went to him at half-past one, and he took me to walk in the garden. He looked pale and dejected, which I attributed to his bad health and the fatigue he had lately undergone. I began to ask him if he was not now quite satisfied with the junction of the foot with the dragoons, and confident that they would give account of the rebels. He answered dejectedly that he hoped it might be so, but — and then made a long pause. I said, that to be sure they had made a very hasty retreat: "a foul flight," said he, "Sandie, and they have not recovered from their panic; and I'll tell you in confidence that I have not above ten men in my regiment whom I am certain will follow me. But we must give them battle now, and God's will be done!"

'We were called to dinner, where there was nobody but the family and Cornet Kerr, a kinsman of the colonel. He assumed an air of gaiety at dinner, and inquiring of me the adventures of the night, rallied me as a raw soldier in not taking up with the first good quarters I could get; and when the approaching event was mentioned, spoke of victory as a thing certain, "if God were on our side." We sat very short time after dinner. The Colonel went to look after his regiment, and prepare them for to-morrow's march, and I to look out for my companions. (P. 128.)

Neither Carlyle nor his friends were present at the battle; but the former, at all events, took an active share in the preliminary arrangements.

'Colonel Gardiner having informed the General and his staff that I was at hand to execute anything in my power for the good of the service, there was sent to me a message to inquire if I could provide a proper person to venture up to the Highland army, to make his observations, and particularly to notice if they had any cannon, or if they were breaking ground anywhere. With some difficulty I prevailed on my father's church-officer, a fine stout man, to make this expedition, which he did immediately. A little further on in the afternoon the same aide-de-camp, an uncle of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's, came to request me to keep a look-out from the top of the steeple, and observe if at any time any detachment from the main army was sent westwards. Not long after this, about four in

the afternoon, the rebels made a movement to the westward of Birsley, where they had first appeared, and our army took their first position. Soon after this I observed from the steeple a large detachment of Highlanders, about 300 or 400, lodge themselves in what was called the Thorny Loan, which led from the west end of Preston to the village of Dolphingston to the south-west. I mounted my horse to make this known to the General, and met the aide-de-camp riding briskly down the field, and told him what I had seen. I immediately returned to my station in the steeple. As twilight approached, I observed that detachment withdrawn, and was going up the field to tell this when my doughty arrived, who was going to tell me his story how numerous and fierce the Highlanders were—how keen for the fight—and how they would make but a breakfast of our men. I made him go with me to the General to tell his own story. In the mean time I visited Colonel Gardiner for a third time that day on his post, and found him grave, but serene and resigned; and he concluded by praying God to bless me, and that he could not wish for a better night to lie on the field; and then called for his cloak and other conveniences for lying down, as he said they would be awaked early enough in the morning, as he thought, by the countenance of the enemy, for they had now shifted their position to a sloping field east from the church, and were very near our army, with little more than the morass between. Coming down the field, I asked my messenger if they had not paid him for his danger. Not a farthing had they given him, which being of a piece with therest of the General's conduct, raised no sanguine hopes for to-morrow. I gave the poor fellow half-a-crown, which was half my substance, having delivered the gold to my father the night before.' (P. 138.)

Having then returned to his father's house at Prestonpans, he adds with infinite *naïveté*: —

'I directed the maid to awake me the moment the battle began, and fell into a profound sleep in an instant. I had no need to be awaked, though the maid was punctual, for I heard the first cannon that was fired, and started to my clothes; which, as I neither buckled nor gartered, were on in a moment, and immediately went to my father's, not a hundred yards off. All the strangers were gone, and my father had been up before daylight, and had resorted to the steeple. While I was conversing with my mother, he returned to the house, and assured me of what I had guessed before, that we were completely defeated. I ran into the garden where there was a mount in the south-east corner, from which one could see the fields almost to the verge of that part where the battle was fought. Even at that time, which could be hardly more than ten or fifteen minutes after firing the first cannon, the whole prospect was filled with runaways, and Highlanders pursuing them. Many had their coats turned as prisoners, but were still trying to reach the town in hopes of escaping. The pursuing Highlanders, when they could not overtake, fired at them, and I saw two fall in the glebe. By-and-by a High-

land officer whom I knew to be Lord Elcho passed with his train, and had an air of savage ferocity that disgusted and alarmed. He enquired fiercely of me where a public-house was to be found; I answered him very meekly, not doubting but that, if I had displeased him with my tone, his reply would have been with a pistol bullet.' (P. 141.)

A very different person indeed from the gallant and accomplished gentleman who bears that name and title in our own days!

Carlyle's father was now, not unnaturally, uneasy lest his son should be ill-treated by the rebels, and he therefore determined to escape along with him. He ordered the horses to be saddled, and they both set off by the sea-shore. But they had scarcely proceeded a mile when an occurrence took place which convinced the worthy minister that whatever might be the dangers of his own fire-side, those of the open country in such times were still more formidable. A small party of Highlanders were pursuing two or three carts with baggage that were attempting to escape, and coming up with the foremost driver, who would not stop when called to, they shot him on the spot. 'This daunted my father, who turned immediately, and took 'the way we came.' On their return, Carlyle offered his services to the surgeons, who informed him that the only service he could do to them was to try to find their medicine-chests among the baggage, as they could do nothing for want of instruments. Having undertaken to perform this office, he was furnished with a guard, in the person of a 'fine, brisk little well-dressed Highlander, armed cap-a-pie with pistols and dirk and 'broadsword.' His account of the effects of the victory and of the appearance of the Highland army are too curious to be omitted.

'Never did any young man more perfectly display the boastful temper of a raw soldier, new to conflict and victory, than this Highland warrior. He said he had that morning been armour-bearer to the Duke of Perth, whose valour was as conspicuous as his clemency; that now there was no doubt of their final success, as the Almighty had blessed them with this almost bloodless victory on their part; that He had made the sun to shine upon them uninterruptedly since their first setting out; that no brawling woman had cursed, nor even a dog had barked at them; that not a cloud had interposed between them and the blessings of Heaven, and that this happy morning—here he was interrupted in his harangue by observing in the street a couple of grooms leading four fine blood-horses. He drew a pistol from his belt, and darted at the foremost in a moment. "Who are you, sir? and where are you going? and whom are you seeking?" It was answered with an uncovered head and a dastardly tone,

"I am Sir John Cope's coachman, and I am seeking my master." "You'll not find him here, sir, but you and your man and your horses are my prisoners. Go directly to the Collector's house, and put up your horses in the stable, and wait till I return from a piece of public service. Do this directly, as you regard your lives." They instantly obeyed. A few paces further on he met an officer's servant with two handsome geldings and a large and full clothes-bag. Similar questions and answers were made, and we found them all in the place to which they were ordered, on our return.

'It was not long before we arrived at Cockenzie, where, under the protection of my guard, I had an opportunity of seeing this victorious army. In general they were of low stature and dirty, and of a contemptible appearance. The officers with whom I mixed were gentleman-like, and very civil to me, as I was on an errand of humanity. This view I had of the rebel army confirmed me in the prepossession that nothing but the weakest and most unaccountable bad conduct on our part could have possibly given them the victory. God forbid that Britain should ever again be in danger of being overrun by such a despicable enemy, for, at the best, the Highlanders were at that time but a raw militia, who were not cowards.' (P. 147.)

We shall conclude this portion of the narrative by quoting the few sentences in which Dr. Carlyle draws a portrait differing in some respects from most others which have been preserved to us of Prince Charles:—

'As Prince Charles had issued a proclamation allowing all the Volunteers of Edinburgh three weeks, during which they might pay their court to him at the Abbey, and receive a free pardon, I went twice down to the Abbey Court with my friend, about twelve o'clock, to wait till the Prince should come out of the Palace and mount his horse to ride to the east side of Arthur Seat to visit his army. I had the good fortune to see him both days; one of which I was close by him when he walked through the guard. He was a good-looking man, of about five feet ten inches; his hair was dark red, and his eyes black. His features were regular, his visage long, much sunburnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy. He mounted his horse and rode off through St. Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk to his army. There was no crowd after him—about three or four hundred each day. By that time curiosity had been satisfied.

'In the house where I lived they were all Jacobites, and I heard much of their conversation. When young Seller and I retired from them at night, he agreed with me that they had less ground for being so sanguine and upish than they imagined. The court at the Abbey was dull and sombre—the Prince was melancholy; he seemed to have no confidence in anybody, not even in the ladies, who were much his friends; far less had he the spirit to venture to the High Church of Edinburgh and take the sacrament, as his great-uncle Charles II. had done the Covenant, which would have secured

him the low-country commons, as he already had the Highlanders by attachment. He was thought to have loitered too long at Edinburgh, and, without doubt, had he marched immediately to Newcastle, he might have distressed the city of London not a little. But besides that his army wanted clothing and necessaries, the victory at Preston put an end to his authority. He had not a mind fit for command at any time, far less to rule the Highland chiefs in prosperity.' (P. 153.)

Carlyle now proceeded to continue his studies at the famous University of Leyden, in Holland; but this portion of his reminiscences is not the most complete or interesting part of the volume. On this, as on all other occasions, when he visited foreign countries or England, and might have seen something of foreign society, he steadily adhered to his Scotch companions, and the twenty-two North British students, then at Leyden, were his principal friends and associates. He embarked at Shields, as the sloop had fallen down there, and was to sail immediately with the London convoy. The convoy, as is usual with convoys, very soon disappeared, the whole fleet was scattered by the wind, Carlyle and his skipper,—for he was the only passenger,—landed at Yarmouth, and it was not till after the lapse of another week that he found himself in Rotterdam, armed with his diploma as Master of Arts of the University of Edinburgh, and a Latin letter from the University of Glasgow to any foreign university where he might happen to go. In Rotterdam, as everywhere else, Carlyle had friends and connexions. Mr. Herries, his banker, a handsome young man of a good family in Annandale, had been sent over by his uncle, Provost Bell of Dumfries, as a factor and agent, and he immediately proceeded to gather all the Scotch in Rotterdam around the relation of his principal. At the advice of his friends he remained some days in that place, because 'our king's birthday having happened lately,' the British students (at Leyden) were to have a grand entertainment; 'and it was better for me to escape the expence that might be incurred by going there too soon. Besides, I had to equip myself in clothes, and with a sword and other necessaries, with which I could be better and cheaper supplied at Rotterdam than at Leyden.' Arrived at Leyden, he found his lodgings ready at the house of

'A lively little Frenchwoman, about thirty-six, who had been tolerably well-looking, and was plump and in good condition. As she had only one maid-servant, and five gentlemen to provide for, she led an active and laborious life; insomuch that she had but little time for her toilet, except in the article of the coif, which no French-

woman omits. But on Sundays, when she had leisure to dress herself for the French Church, either in the morning or evening, then who but Mademoiselle Vandertasse! She spoke English perfectly well, as the guests of the house had been mostly British.' (P. 166.)

Among the first of the acquaintance he picked up, we stumble upon a face and character well known to us elsewhere.

'On the first Sunday evening I was in Leyden, I walked round the Cingle—a fine walk on the outside of the Rhine, which formed the wet ditch of the town—with John Gregory, who introduced me to the British students as we met them, not without giving me a short character of them, which I found in general a very just outline. When we came to John Wilkes, whose ugly countenance in early youth was very striking, I asked earnestly who he was. His answer was, that he was the son of a London distiller or brewer, who wanted to be a fine gentleman and man of taste, which he could never be, for God and nature had been against him. I came to know Wilkes very well afterwards, and found him to be a sprightly, entertaining fellow—too much so for his years, as he was but eighteen; for even then he showed something of daring profligacy, for which he was afterwards notorious. Though he was fond of learning, and passionately desirous of being thought something extraordinary, he was unlucky in having an old ignorant pedant of a dissenting parson for his tutor. This man, a Mr. Leeson, or Lyson, had embraced the creed of the Arians, and his chief object seemed to be to make Wilkes an Arian also, and he teased him so much about it that he was obliged to declare that he did not believe the Bible at all, which produced a quarrel between them, and Wilkes, for refuge, went frequently to Utrecht, where he met with Immateriality Baxter.

'Wilkes was very fond of shining in conversation very prematurely, for at that time he had but little knowledge except what he derived from Baxter in his frequent visits to Utrecht. If the art of shining, however, he was much outdone by Charles Townshend, who was not above a year older, and had still less furniture in his head; but then his person and manners were more engaging. He had more wit and humour, and a turn for mimicry; and, above all, had the talent of translating other men's thoughts, which they had produced in the simple style of conversation, into the most charming language, which not only took the ear but elevated the thoughts.' (P. 168.)

Supper parties amongst themselves, limited to 'eggs and 'bukkam and salad, with tobacco of forty stivers a pound, and 'very good claret:' trips to Rotterdam to get news about the Rebellion: expeditions to the Hague, to meet his 'kinsman, 'Willie Jardine, now Sir William, who was a cornet in the 'Prince of Orange's Horse Guards:' skating parties to Tergon to see the painted glass in the church, and similar occupations, filled up our author's Leyden terms, till the end of February or the beginning of March, when, accompanied by Gregory, and



having as a fellow-passenger Violetti, the beautiful dancer, then engaged to the opera in the Haymarket, afterwards Mrs. Garrick, he set sail for London. Violetti, for some reason which is not explained, was in male attire, and Carlyle and Gregory took her for a young Hanoverian baron, coming to Britain to pay his court at St. James's. The lady's real name, by the way, was Veigel, which means a *violet* in the patois of Vienna, where she was born, and she assumed the name of Violette (not Violetti) by command of the Empress Maria Theresa.

'My bed was directly opposite that of the stranger, but we were so sick that there was no conversation among us till the young foreigner became very frightened in spite of the sickness, and called out to me in French, if we were not in danger. The voice betrayed her sex at once, no less than her fears. I consoled her as well as I could, and soon brought her above the fear of danger.' (P. 184.)

When twelve years afterwards Carlyle visited Garrick at his villa at Hampton, along with Robertson, Home, and Wedderburn, he found his former travelling companion grown fat, though still very lively, a woman of uncommon good sense, mistress of English, and in all respects most agreeable company. 'She did not seem,' he says, 'at all to recognise me, which was no wonder, at the end of twelve years, having thrown away my bag wig and sword, and appearing in my own grisly hairs, and in parson's clothes, nor was I likely to remind her of her former state.'

On his arrival in London from Leyden, Carlyle drove to his cousin, Captain Lyon's, who, as we formerly mentioned, had married Lady Catherine Bridges. His account of the marriage, which did not turn out happily, is curious; but it is rather with a view to show the position which Carlyle occupied in society that we have selected the following extracts. In this respect they are important, for the very manner in which the story is told explains to us how it came about that Carlyle continued all his days, whilst living in his humble manse at Inveresk, to enjoy the intimacy of persons of the very highest social rank. The privilege, if such it must be regarded, is one which we are persuaded would be quite as readily conceded at the present day to all persons of Carlyle's profession, if they can claim it on the ground on which he claimed it, that of being, in the old and good sense of the word, in acquirements, manners, and feelings, a gentleman. If Dr. Carlyle's autobiography teaches no other lesson to his brethren, it teaches this at least, that the duties of a clergyman are confined to no rank, and that if a Church and its ministers eschew those who by birth, intelligence, or wealth,

rise above a certain level, they do but half, and when we consider to how great an extent the lower follow the higher orders, not half their duty. If the ranks of the ministry had continued to be recruited chiefly from the class of persons to which Carlyle belonged, there might have been a 'disruption,' but there would have been far less Episcopalian dissent.

'I got a coach, and went to New Bond Street to my cousin, Captain Lyon's, who had been married for a few years to Lady Catherine Bridges, a daughter of the Marquess of Carnarvon, and grandchild of the Duke of Chantlos. Lyon's mother was an acquaintance of the Marchioness, the young lady's mother of the Dysart family. The Marchioness had fallen in love with Lyon, who was one of the handsomest men in London, but he escaped by marrying the daughter, who, though not handsome, was young and alluring, and had the prospect of a great fortune, as she had only one sister, who was deformed. Here I renewed my acquaintance with my aunt Lyon, who was still a fine woman. They had bespoke for me a small lodging in Little Maddox Street, within sight of the back of their house.' (P. 185.)

Lyon, who 'was a cheerful, fine fellow as ever was born,' introduced his cousin to some families of condition, and carried him to court, —

'For George II. at that time had evening drawing-rooms, where his Majesty and Princess Amelia, who had been a lovely woman, played at cards, and the courtiers sauntered for an hour or two.' (P. 186.)

Amongst the persons of distinction to whom he was introduced on the occasion of this early visit, was Lady Dalkeith, the future wife of his friend Charles Townshend, and mother of his much-respected patron and highly-honoured friend, the Duke of Buccleuch.

'Captain Lyon introduced me to his friends, the officers of the Horse-Guards, with whom I lived a good deal. The troop he belonged to, which, I think, was Lord Tyrwley's, was one of the two which had been abroad in Flanders, between whom and those at home there was a strong emulation who should entertain most expensively when on guard. Their parties were generally in the evening, when they had the most expensive suppers that could be got from a tavern—amongst other things, champagne and ice-creams, both which were new to me, and the last then rare in London. I had many very agreeable parties with those officers, who were all men of the world, and some of them of erudition and understanding. One I must particularly mention was Captain Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield, the celebrated defender of Gibraltar.' (P. 187.)

Two of Carlyle's Scotch friends, Blair, afterwards a prebendary of Westminster, and Smith (not Adam), who had been

abroad with the Laird of M'Leod, and was called home with his pupil when the Rebellion began, were acquainted with Smollett, and introduced Carlyle to him.

'We four, with one or two more, frequently resorted to a small tavern in the corner of Cockspur Street at the Golden Ball, where we had a frugal supper and a little punch, as the finances of none of the company were in very good order. But we had rich enough conversation on literary subjects, which was enlivened by Smollett's agreeable stories, which he told with peculiar grace.

'Soon after our acquaintance, Smollett showed me his tragedy of "James I. of Scotland," which he never could bring on the stage. For this the managers could not be blamed, though it soured him against them, and he appealed to the public by printing it; but the public seemed to take part with the managers.

'I was in the coffeehouse with Smollett when the news of the battle of Culloden arrived, and when London all over was in a perfect uproar of joy. About nine o'clock I wished to go home to Lyon's, in New Bond Street, as I had promised to sup with him that night, it being the anniversary of his marriage night, or the birthday of one of his children. I asked Smollett if he was ready to go, as he lived at Mayfair; he said he was, and would conduct me. The mob were so riotous, and the squibs so numerous and incessant, that we were glad to go into a narrow entry to put our wigs in our pockets, and to take our swords from our belts and walk with them in our hands, as everybody then wore swords; and, after cautioning me against speaking a word, lest the mob should discover my country and become insolent, "for John Bull," says he, "is as haughty and valiant to-night as he was abject and cowardly on the Black Wednesday when the Highlanders were at Derby." After we got to the head of the Haymarket, through incessant fire, the Doctor led me by narrow lanes, where we met nobody but a few boys at a pitiful bonfire, who very civilly asked us for sixpence, which I gave them. I saw not Smollett again for some time after, when he showed Smith and me the manuscript of his "Tears of Scotland," which was published not long after, and had such a run of approbation. Smollett, though a Tory, was not a Jacobite, but he had the feelings of a Scotch gentleman on the reported cruelties that were said to be exercised after the battle of Culloden.' (P. 191.)

On this occasion he also made the acquaintance of Thomson; but he preferred the author of 'Humphrey Clinker' to the poet of 'The Seasons.' Thomson, he says, 'disappointed me both by his appearance and conversation.' Armstrong (the author of the 'Art of Preserving Health,' a physician and poet of eminence in his day) 'bore him down, having got into his sarcastic vein by the wine he had drunk before Thomson joined 'us.' St. George's, Hanover Square, and the opera, were then, as now, the former the fashionable church, the latter 'so far from real life and so unnatural,' that Carlyle 'was pleased with

‘nothing but the dancing, which was exquisite, especially that of Violetti.’

In May Carlyle left London for Scotland, on horseback, of course, accompanied by Coggalton, one of his Leyden fellow-students, visiting Windsor and Oxford on the way. On his arrival, he preached his first sermon on the fast day before the sacrament at Tranent; and as he was always admitted, even by his opponents, to be an excellent preacher, the self-congratulatory strain in which he mentions it was probably well founded. As regarded society, Carlyle always fell on his feet.

‘Our society (at Prestonpans) was still pretty good; for though Hew Horn was no more, Mr. Keith had left us, and Cheap’s eldest son, Alexander, had been killed at the battle of Fontenoy, Mr. William Grant, then Lord Advocate, had bought Prestongrange, and resided much there: Lord Drummorie, too, was still in the parish, and with both of them I was in good habits. Hew Bannatine had been ordained minister of Ormiston, who was a first-rate man for sound understanding and classical learning; Robertson was at Gladsmuir; and in January 1747 John Home was settled at Athelstaneford; so that I had neighbours and companions of the first rank in point of mind and erudition.’ (P. 202.)

He was first presented to the living of Cockburnspath, which he describes as an ‘obscure, distant place, without amenity, comfort, or society.’ The latter, we fear, was his only real objection to it, for it is now one of the sweetest rural villages in East Lothian, with a church which even then must have been old, and which is still better than is at all common in Scotland. Entertaining such opinions, his joy may be imagined when, by a fortunate accident, the living of Inveresk, which is within an easy hour’s ride of Edinburgh, was conferred on him before he was even inducted at Cockburnspath. But the joy of his future flock was chastened by misgivings. ‘There arose,’ he says, ‘much murmuring in the parish against me as too young, too full of levity, and too much addicted to the company of my superiors to be fit for so important a charge, together with many doubts about my having the grace of God, an occult quality, which the people cannot define, but surely is in full opposition to the defects they saw in me.’

Carlyle has jotted down very graphic sketches of his parishioners. But we must pass over these minor worthies. Amongst his friends and companions at this period none was a greater favourite than John Home, the author of ‘*Douglas*.’ He has described him over and over again. We quote the following sentence, not as a record of him only, but also for the sake of the very beautiful image with which it terminates:—

'John Home was an admirable companion, and most acceptable to all strangers who were not offended with the levities of a young clergyman, for he was very handsome and had a fine person, about 5 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and an agreeable, catching address; he had not much wit, and still less humour, but he had so much sprightliness and vivacity, and such an expression of benevolence in his manner, and such an unceasing flattery of those he liked (and he never kept company with anybody else)—the kind commendations of a lover, not the adulation of a sycophant—that he was truly irresistible, and his entry to a company was like opening a window and letting the sun into a dark room.' (P. 223.)

There is something very touching in the devotion of his friends to this loveable creature, and their pride and joy in the efforts of what they believed to be his unrivalled genius. It was on the success of the 'Douglas,' above all, that they set their hearts. For five long years, critics, male and female—Blair, Robertson, Hew Bannatine, Patrick Lord Elibank, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Carlyle himself, Miss Hepburn of Monklands, Lord Millon's niece, Miss Eliza Fletcher, afterwards Mrs. Wedderburn, Miss Campbell of Carrick—suggested, corrected, improved, each according to the measure of his critical acumen or his poetic gifts. They copied and re-copied. In one place Carlyle tells us that he himself copied 'Douglas' several times over; in another that he met Sir Gilbert Elliot at Dalkeith House, 'who, on my telling him that I had three acts of it written in my hand, came round to my house in Musselburgh, where I read them to his great delight.' 'Douglas,' in short, was regarded as their common offspring by all the rising ministers of the 'moderate side,' and Carlyle, in particular, ran the narrowest risk of deposition for going to see it acted in Edinburgh. But by far the drollest thing connected with 'Douglas' was the escort which they resolved to give it across the border, when Home went to offer it to Garrick, and to offer it in vain. The account of this singular manifestation of clerical enthusiasm must be given in Carlyle's words:—

'In the month of February, 1755, John Home's tragedy of "Douglas" was completely prepared for the stage, and had received all the corrections and improvements that it needed by many excellent critics, who were Mr. Home's friends, whom I have mentioned before, and with whom he daily lived. [He accordingly set out for London, and] were I to relate all the circumstances, serious and ludicrous, which attended the outset of this journey, I am persuaded they would not be exceeded by any novelist who has wrote since the days of the inimitable "Don Quixote." Six or seven Merse ministers—the half of whom had slept at the manse of Polwarth, bad as it was, the night before—set out for Woolerhaughhead in a snowy morning in February. Before we had gone far, we discovered that our bard had no mode of carry-

ing his precious treasure, which we thought enough of, but hardly foresaw that it was to be pronounced a perfect tragedy by the best judges; for when David Hume gave it that praise, he spoke only the sentiment of the whole republic of belles lettres. The tragedy in one pocket of his greatcoat, and his clean shirt and nightcap in the other, though they balanced each other, was thought an unsafe mode of conveyance; and our friend—who, like most of his brother poets, was unapt to foresee difficulties and provide against them—had neglected to buy a pair of leather bags as he passed through Haddington. We bethought us that possibly James Landreth, minister of Simprin, and clerk of the Synod, would be provided with such a convenience for the carriage of his Synod records; and having no wife, no *atra cura*, to resist our request, we unanimously turned aside half-a-mile to call at James's; and, concealing our intention at first, we easily persuaded the honest man to join us in this convoy to his friend Mr. Home, and then observing the danger the manuscript might run in a greatcoat-pocket on a journey of 400 miles, we inquired if he could lend Mr. Home his valise only as far as Wooler, where he would purchase a new pair for himself. This he very cheerfully granted. But while his pony was preparing, he had another trial to go through; for Cupples, who never had any money, though he was a bachelor too, and had twice the stipend of Landreth, took the latter into another room, where the conference lasted longer than we wished for, so that we had to bawl out for them to come away. We afterwards understood that Cupples, having only four shillings, was pressing Landreth to lend him half-a-guinea, that he might be able to defray the expense of the journey. Honest James, who knew that John Home, if he did not return his own valise, which was very improbable, would provide him in a better pair, had frankly agreed to the first request; but as he knew Cupples never paid anything, he was very reluctant to part with his half-guinea. However, having at last agreed, we at last set out, and I think gallant troops, but so-and-so accoutred, to make an inroad on the English border. By good luck the river Tweed was not come down, and we crossed it safely at the ford near Norham Castle; and, as the day mended, we got to Woolerhaughhead by four o'clock, where we got but an indifferent dinner, for it was but a miserable house in those days; but a happier or more jocose and merry company could hardly be assembled.

'John Home and I, who slept in one room, or perhaps in one bed, as was usual in those days, were disturbed by a noise in the night, which being in the next room, where Laurie and Monteith were, we found they had quarrelled and fought, and the former had pushed the latter out of bed. After having acted as mediators in this quarrel, we had sound sleep till morning. Having breakfasted as well as the house could afford, Cupples and I, who had agreed to go two days' journey further with Mr. Home, set off southwards with him, and the rest returned by the way they had come to Berwickshire again.' (P. 301.)

From the time that Carlyle entered the ministry we have

glimpses of ecclesiastical controversy, and of all the known phases of Scotch Church politics. There are plans for applying to Parliament for a general augmentation of stipends; litigations about settlements stretching over years; and what we should all consider now, and what he considered then, the very objectionable practice of *treating* by patrons; there is the claim of the clergy for exemption from the window-tax, which he was intrusted to urge on Government, and which led to his most memorable journeys to London; finally, there was the great standing question of patronage as opposed to popular election of ministers, by which the Church was then divided into moderates and high-flyers, and which finally rent it in twain. To many of Dr. Carlyle's readers, the most interesting portions of his book will be those in which he deals with these various subjects with the keenness of a partisan, and the insight of one who was behind the scenes on one side, whilst, with reference to the other, his observation was sharpened by being continually before the enemy. From these subjects, however, for reasons which to many of our readers will be obvious, and which to others it would be tedious to explain, we have resolved, on this occasion, wholly to abstain. As a picture of general society and of individual character at a period of unusual activity, the book offers matter for more remark than we have space to bestow. There is infinite humour unquestionably in his descriptions of the ecclesiastical leaders of the time: of Dr. Webster, the five-bottle evangelical, who rejoiced in the appropriate nickname of Dr. Magnum Bonum, and who was 'held to be excellent company even by those of dissolute habits;' and on the other hand, of Dr. Patrick Cuning, who was the head of the moderate interest, and who, 'had his temper been equal to his talents, might have kept it long, for he had both learning and sagacity, and very agreeable conversation, with a constitution able to bear the conviviality of the times.' But there are names before which those even of these well-seasoned leaders of the Kirk must give way, and we hasten from the ecclesiastical to what the editor has called, *par excellence*, the personal sketches.

'It was in one of those years that Smollett visited Scotland for the first time, after having left Glasgow immediately after his education was finished, and his engaging as a surgeon's mate on board a man-of-war, which gave him an opportunity of witnessing the siege of Carthage, which he has so minutely described in his "Roderick Random." He came out to Musselburgh and passed a day and a night with me, and went to church and heard me preach.

'Smollett was a man of very agreeable conversation and of much

genuine humour ; and, though not a profound scholar, possessed a philosophical mind, and was capable of making the soundest observations on human life, and of discerning the excellence or seeing the ridicule of every character he met with. Fielding only excelled him in giving a dramatic story to his novels, but, in my opinion, was inferior to him in the true comic vein. He was one of the many very pleasant men with whom it was my good fortune to be intimately acquainted.' (P. 265.)

But one of the greater lights of Edinburgh in those days, was unquestionably David Hume. In many respects Carlyle presents Hume in a new and a more pleasing light than that in which the world has hitherto seen him. His sketches of him are of special importance, proceeding, as they do, not only from an intimate friend, but from one whose own sincerity as a Christian believer was never called in question.

'At this time David Hume was living at Edinburgh and composing his "History of Great Britain." He was a man of great knowledge, and of a social and benevolent temper, and truly the best-natured man in the world. He was branded with the title of Atheist, on account of the many attacks on revealed religion that are to be found in his philosophical works, and in many places of his History—the last of which are still more objectionable than the first, which a friendly critic might call only sceptical. Apropos of this, when Mr. Robert Adam, the celebrated architect, and his brother, lived in Edinburgh with their mother, an aunt of Dr. Robertson's, and a very respectable woman, she said to her son, "I shall be glad to see any of your companions to dinner, but I hope you will never bring the Atheist here to disturb my peace." But Robert soon fell on a method to reconcile her to him, for he introduced him under another name, or concealed it carefully from her. When the company parted, she said to her son, "I must confess that you bring very agreeable companions about you, but the large jolly man who sat next me is the most agreeable of them all." "This was the very Atheist," said he, "mother, that you was so much afraid of." "Well," says she, "you may bring him here as much as you please, for he's the most innocent, agreeable, facetious man I ever met with." This was truly the case with him ; for though he had much learning and a fine taste, and was professedly a sceptic, though by no means an atheist, he had the greatest simplicity of mind and manners with the utmost facility and benevolence of temper of any man I ever knew. His conversation was truly irresistible, for while it was enlightened, it was naïve almost to puerility.

'I was one of those who never believed that David Hume's sceptical principles had laid fast hold on his mind, but thought that his books proceeded rather from affectation of superiority and pride of understanding and love of vainglory. I was confirmed in this opinion, after his death, by what the Honourable Patrick Boyle, one of his most intimate friends, told me many years ago at my house in



Musselburgh, where he used to come and dine the first Sunday of every General Assembly, after his brother, Lord Glasgow, ceased to be Lord High Commissioner. When we were talking of David, Mrs. Carlyle asked Mr. Boyle if he thought David Hume was as great an unbeliever as the world took him to be? He answered, that the world judged from his books, as they had a right to do; but he thought otherwise, who had known him all his life, and mentioned the following incident: When David and he were both in London, at the period when David's mother died, Mr. Boyle, hearing of it, soon after went into his apartment—for they lodged in the same house—when he found him in the deepest affliction and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence, Mr. Boyle said to him, "My friend, you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled by the firm belief that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was now completely happy in the realms of the just." To which David replied, "Though I threw out my speculations to entertain and employ the learned and metaphysical world, yet in other things I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you may imagine." To this my wife was a witness. This conversation took place the year after David died, when Dr. Hill, who was to preach, had gone to a room to look over his notes.

'At this period, when he first lived in Edinburgh, and was writing his "History of England," his circumstances were narrow, and he accepted the office of Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, worth 40*l.* per annum. But it was not for the salary that he accepted this employment, but that he might have easy access to the books in that celebrated library; for, to my certain knowledge, he gave every farthing of the salary to families in distress. Of a piece with this temper was his curiosity and credulity, which were without bounds, a specimen of which shall be afterwards given when I come down to Militia and the Poker. His economy was strict, as he loved independency; and yet he was able at that time to give suppers to his friends in his small lodging in the Canongate. He took much to the company of the younger clergy, not from a wish to bring them over to his opinions, for he never attempted to overturn any man's principles, but they best understood his notions, and could furnish him with literary conversation. This intimacy of the young clergy with David Hume enraged the zealots on the opposite side, who little knew how impossible it was for him, had he been willing, to shake their principles.

'As Mr. Hume's circumstances improved he enlarged his mode of living, and instead of the roasted hen and minced collups, and a bottle of punch, he gave both elegant dinners and suppers, and the best claret, and, which was best of all, he furnished the entertainment with the most instructive and pleasing conversation, for he assembled whosoever were most knowing and agreeable, among either the laity or clergy. This he always did, but still more unsparingly when he became what he called rich. For innocent mirth and agreeable raillery I never knew his match.' (Pp. 272-6.)

Perhaps Hume's love of a joke led the 'sullen clergy and the 'raving crowd' to look upon his opinions with more severity than he deserved. Thus:—

'David, who delighted in what the French call *plaisanterie*, with the aid of Miss Nancy Ord, one of the Chief Baron's daughters, contrived and executed one that gave him very great delight. As the new town was making its progress westward, he built a house in the south-west corner of St. Andrew Square. The street leading south to Princes Street had not yet got its name affixed, but they got a workman early one morning to paint on the corner-stone of David's house "St. David's Street," where it remains to this day.' (P. 276.)

And again:—

'On Monday, when we were assembling to breakfast (at Gilmerton, the residence of Sir David Kinloch), David retired to the end of the dining-room, when Sir David entered. "What are you doing there, Davy? come to your breakfast." "Take away the enemy first," says David. The baronet, thinking it was the warm fire that kept David in the lower end of the room, rung the bell for a servant to carry some of it off. It was not the fire that scared David, but a large Bible that was left on a stand at the upper end of the room, a chapter of which had been read at the family prayers the night before, that good custom not being then out of use when clergymen were in the house. Add to this John Home saying to him at the Poker Club, when everybody wondered what could have made a clerk of Sir William Forbes run away with 900*l.*, "I know that very well," says John Home to David; "for when he was taken, there was found in his pocket your 'Philosophical Works' and Boston's 'Fourfold State of Man.'"" (P. 277.)

As a man of the world, Carlyle, not without reason probably, regarded both Hume and Smith as mere babies, second only to the author of 'Douglas.' They had, he says, 'no discernment 'at all of characters;' and 'the only two clergymen whose 'interests Hume espoused, and for one of whom he provided, 'were the two silliest fellows in the Church.' Few will probably agree with the criticism of either of Smith's two great works, with which Carlyle's character of him concludes; though those who have looked into the various pamphlets on commercial subjects which appeared at the period of the Union and subsequently, are aware how prevalent free-trade doctrines had been in Scotland for more than half a century before Smith's time.

'Adam Smith, though perhaps only second to David in learning and ingenuity, was far inferior to him in conversational talents. In that of public speaking they were equal—David never tried it, and I never heard Adam but once, which was at the first meeting of the Select Society, when he opened up the design of the meeting. His

voice was harsh and enunciation thick, approaching to stammering. His conversation was not colloquial, but like lecturing, in which I have been told he was not deficient, especially when he grew warm. He was the most absent man in company that I ever saw, moving his lips, and talking to himself, and smiling, in the midst of large companies. If you awaked him from his reverie, and made him attend to the subject of conversation, he immediately began a harangue, and never stopped till he told you all, he knew about it, with the utmost philosophical ingenuity. He knew nothing of characters, and yet was ready to draw them on the slightest invitation. But when you checked him or doubted, he retracted with the utmost ease, and contradicted all he had been saying. His journey abroad with the Duke of Buccleuch cured him in part of those foibles; but still he appeared very unfit for the intercourse of the world as a travelling tutor.

'Smith had from the Duke a bond for a life annuity of 300*l.* till an office of equal value was obtained for him in Britain. When the Duke got him appointed a Commissioner of the Customs in Scotland, he went out to Dalkeith with the bond in his pocket, and, offering it to the Duke, told him that he thought himself bound in honour to surrender the bond, as his Grace had now got him a place of 500*l.* The Duke answered that Mr. Smith seemed more careful of his own honour than of his, which he found wounded by the proposal. Thus acted that good Duke, who, being entirely void of vanity, did not value himself on splendid generosity.

'Though Smith had some little jealousy in his temper, he had the most unbounded benevolence. His smile of approbation was truly captivating. His affectionate temper was proved by his dutiful attendance on his mother. One instance I remember which marked his character. John Home and he, travelling down from London together (in 1776), met David Hume going to Bath for the recovery of his health. He anxiously wished them both to return with him; John agreed, but Smith excused himself on account of the state of his mother's health, whom he needs must see. Smith's fine writing is chiefly displayed in his book on Moral Sentiment, which is the pleasantest and most eloquent book on the subject. His "*Wealth of Nations*," from which he was judged to be an inventive genius of the first order, is tedious and full of repetition. His separate essays in the second volume have the air, of being occasional pamphlets, without much force or determination. On political subjects his opinions were not very sound.' (Pp. 279-81.)

We pass over Carlyle's sketch of his friend Dr. Adam Ferguson, whose *Roman History* is certainly not ranked in our day with Polybius, and has fallen very far below the classical writings of his own fireside and contemporaries.

But there are other names we cannot so lightly dismiss. Principal Robertson was, as we have seen, one of Carlyle's earliest and most intimate friends; and although the biographer

has not disguised the foibles of this excellent man, the portrait he has presented to us is singularly pleasing.

‘To the character of Robertson (by Dugald Stewart), I have only to add here, that though he was truly a very great master of conversation, and in general perfectly agreeable, yet he appeared sometimes so very fond of talking, even when showing-off was out of the question, and so much addicted to the translation of other people’s thoughts, that he sometimes appeared tedious to his best friends. Being on one occasion invited to dine with Patrick Robertson, his brother, I missed my friend, whom I had met there on all former occasions: “I have not invited him to-day,” says Peter, “for I have a very good company, and he’ll let nobody speak but himself.” He [Robertson] was very much a master of conversation, and very desirous to lead it, and to make dissertations and raise theories that sometimes provoked the laugh against him. One instance of this was when he had gone a jaunt into England with some of Henry Dundas’s (Lord Melville’s) family. He [Dundas] and Mr. Baron Cockburn and Robert Sinclair were on horseback, and seeing a gallows on a neighbouring hillock, they rode round to have a nearer view of the felon on the gallows. When they met in the inn, Robertson immediately began a dissertation on the character of nations, and how much the English, like the Romans, were hardened by their cruel diversions of cock-fighting, bull-baiting, bruising, &c.; for had they not observed three Englishmen on horseback do what no Scotchman or — Here Dundas, having compassion, interrupted him, and said, “What! did you not know, Principal, that it was Cockburn and Sinclair and me?” This put an end to theories, &c., for that day. Robertson’s translations and paraphrases on other people’s thoughts were so beautiful and so harmless that I never saw anybody lay claim to their own; but it was not so when he forgot himself so far as to think he had been present where he had not been, and done what he had not the least hand in.

‘He was the best-tempered man in the world, and the young gentlemen who had lived for many years in his house declared they never saw him once ruffled. His table, which had always been hospitable, even when his income was small, became full and elegant when his situation was improved. As he loved a long repast, as he called it, he was as ready to give it at home, as to receive it abroad. The softness of his temper, and his habits at the head of a party, led him to seem to promise what he was not able to perform, which weakness raised up to him some very inveterate enemies, while at the same time his true friends saw that those weaknesses were rather amiable than provoking. He was not so much beloved by women as by men, which we laughingly used to say was owing to their rivalry as talkers, but was much more owing to his having been very little in company with ladies in his youth. He was early married, though his wife (a very good one) was not his first choice, as Stewart in his *Life* would make us believe. Though not very complaisant to women, he was not beyond their regimen any more than Dr. George

Wishart, for instances of both their frailties on that side could be quoted.

'Robertson's conversation was not always so prudent as his conduct, one instance of which was his always asserting that any minister of state who did not take care of himself when he had an opportunity was no very wise man. This maxim shocked most young people, who thought the Doctor's standard of public virtue was not very high. This manner of talking likewise seconded a notion that prevailed that he was a very selfish man. With all those defects, his domestic society was pleasing beyond measure; for his wife, though not a woman of parts, was well suited to him, who was more fitted to lead than to be led; and his sons and daughters led so happy a life that his guests, which we were often for a week together, met with nothing but welcome, and peace, and joy.' (Pp. 285-90.)

Some slight bitterness between Carlyle and the Principal may be traced to the influence of Kirk politics, on which they were not always agreed; and Robertson's authority in Church affairs was in some degree superseded by that of Dr. Blair.

'Dr. Blair was a different kind of man from Robertson, and his character is very justly delineated by Dr. Finlayson, so far as he goes. Robertson was most sagacious, Blair was most naïf. Neither of them could be said to have either wit or humour. Of the latter Robertson had a small tincture — Blair had hardly a relish for it. Robertson had a bold and ambitious mind, and a strong desire to make himself considerable; Blair was timid and unambitious, and withheld himself from public business of every kind, and seemed to have no wish but to be admired as a preacher, particularly by the ladies. His conversation was so infantine that many people thought it impossible, at first sight, that he could be a man of sense or genius. He was as eager about a new paper to his wife's drawing-room, or his own new wig, as about a new tragedy or a new epic poem.

'Robertson had so great a desire to shine himself, that I hardly ever saw him patiently bear anybody else's showing-off but Dr. Johnson and Garrick. Blair, on the contrary, though capable of the most profound conversation, when circumstances led to it, had not the least desire to shine, but was delighted beyond measure to show other people in their best guise to his friends. "Did not I show you the lion well to-day?" used he to say after the exhibition of a remarkable stranger. For a vain man, he was the least envious I ever knew. He had truly a pure mind, in which there was not the least malignity; for though he was of a quick and lively temper, and apt to be warm and impatient about trifles, his wife, who was a superior woman, only laughed, and his friends joined her. Though Robertson was never ruffled, he had more animosity in his nature than Blair. They were both reckoned selfish by those who envied their prosperity, but on very unequal grounds; for though Blair

talked selfishly enough sometimes, yet he never failed in generous actions. In one respect they were quite alike. Having been bred at a time when the common people thought to play with cards or dice was a sin, and everybody thought it an indecorum in clergymen, they could neither of them play at golf or bowls, and far less at cards or backgammon, and on that account were very unhappy when from home in friends' houses in the country in rainy weather.' (P. 291-3.)

We cannot venture on the great play-going controversy which sprung out of the acting of 'Douglas' in Edinburgh, and which occupies a whole chapter in the book. At the distance of half a century Dr. Carlyle evidently felt with great keenness all that then took place; and no wonder, when he was tried by his Peers in the General Assembly, if not for his life, at least for his living, on a libel which accused him of 'keeping company without necessity, familiarly conversing and eating and drinking with actors and actresses, particularly with a certain Miss Sarah Ward—persons that do not reside in his parish, and who, by their profession, and in the eye of the law, are of bad fame, and who cannot obtain from any minister a testimonial of their moral character.' He was acquitted, and most laymen at all events will join him in his self-congratulations, though they may scarcely long for a recurrence of the times in which, when Mrs. Siddons appeared in Edinburgh during the sitting of the Assembly, that court was obliged to fix all its important business for the alternate days when she did not act, as all the younger members, clergy as well as laity, took their stations in the theatre in those days by three in the afternoon.

We have now arrived at the joint visit of Carlyle and Robertson to London in 1758. Carlyle went, carrying his sister Margaret along with him, 'to get her married with Dr. Dickson, 'M.D.' a marriage, as he hints elsewhere, which was not entirely to his satisfaction. It was twelve years since his former visit, and indications of the usages of our degenerate days are creeping in. Had it been in the '45 or '46, he would inevitably have carried his sister on a pad behind his saddle; as it is, he tells us that they 'could get no four-wheeled chaise till they came to Durham, those conveyances being only in their infancy, the two-wheeled close chaise, which had been used for some time, and was called an 'Italian chaise, having been found very inconvenient. Turnpike roads were only in their commencement in the North.' Seventeen years later, when Dr. Thomas Campbell, the Irish parson, whose famous visit to the shrine of Dr. Johnson we formerly commemorated\*, travelled from Holyhead to Conway, a distance

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\* Ed. Rev., vol. cx., p. 329, Oct. 1859.

of forty-three miles, he found that 'a post-chaise and four cost eight guineas for two, and nine for three!'

The business of the marriage 'being put successfully over,' and his aunt, Mrs. Lyon, 'whose head was constantly swimming with vanity,' having been gratified by the Honourable Miss Nelly Murray having officiated as a bridesmaid, Carlyle proceeded to hunt up Home, who was now living in a lodging in South Audley Street, 'which he had taken to be near Lord Bute, who had become his great friend and patron, 'having introduced him to the Prince of Wales, who had settled 'on him a pension of 100*L*.' Dr. Robertson had come to London at the same time to offer his 'History of Scotland' for sale. He had never been in London before, 'and so,' says Carlyle, 'we went to see the lions together.' For the convenience of being near the city, whither their engagements frequently drew them, the two strangers accepted the invitation of a Dr. Pitcairn, a Scotch physician in great practice, 'a cousin of Dr. Robertson's, 'whose mother was a Pitcairn.' The society in which they found themselves had still therefore a tinge of the North, but this did not prevent them from seeing most of the eminent persons of the day. For example :

'The first William Pitt had at this time risen to the zenith of his glory, when Robertson and I, after frequent attempts to hear him speak, when there was nothing passing in the House that called him, we at last heard a debate on the Habeas Corpus Act, which Pitt had new modelled in order to throw a slur on Lord Mansfield, who had taken some liberties, it was alleged, with that law, which made him unpopular. We accordingly took our places in the gallery, and for the first three hours were much disposed to sleep by the dull, tedious speeches of two or three lawyers, till at last the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Camden, rose and spoke with clearness, argument, and eloquence. He was answered ably by Mr. York, Solicitor-General. Dr. Hay, the King's Advocate in Doctors' Commons, spoke next, with a clearness, a force, and brevity, which pleased us much. At length Mr. Pitt rose, and with that commanding eloquence in which he excelled, he spoke for half an hour, with an overpowering force of persuasion more than the clear conviction of argument. He was opposed by several speakers, to none of whom he vouchsafed to make an answer, but to James Oswald of Dunikier, who was a very able man, though not an eloquent speaker. With all our admiration of Pitt's eloquence, which was surely of the highest order, Robertson and I felt the same sentiment, which was the desire to resist a tyrant, who, like a domineering schoolmaster, kept his boys in order by raising their fears without wasting argument upon them. This haughty manner is necessary, perhaps, in every leader of the House of Commons; for when he is civil and condescending, he soon loses his authority, and is trampled upon.

Is this common to all political assemblies? or is it only a part of the character of the English in all ordinary political affairs, till they are heated by faction or alarmed by danger, to yield to the statesman who is most assuming?' (P. 336.)

Is it a relief to descend from Chatham lording it over the House of Commons, to Smollett lording it over his literary hacks?

'Robertson had never seen Smollett, and was very desirous of his acquaintance. By this time the Doctor had retired to Chelsea, and came seldom to town. Home and I, however, found that he came once a-week to Forrest's Coffeehouse, and sometimes dined there; so we managed an appointment with him on his day, when he agreed to dine with us. He was now become a great man, and being much of a humorist, was not to be put out of his way. Home and Robertson and Smith and I met him there, when he had several of his minions about him, to whom he prescribed tasks of translation, compilation, or abridgment, which, after he had seen, he recommended to the booksellers. We dined together, and Smollett was very brilliant. Having to stay all night, that we might spend the evening together, he only begged leave to withdraw for an hour, that he might give audience to his myrmidons; we insisted that, if his business [permitted], it should be in the room where we sat. The Doctor agreed, and the authors were introduced, to the number of five, I think, most of whom were soon dismissed. He kept two, however, to supper, whispering to us that he believed they would amuse us, which they certainly did, for they were curious characters.'

'We passed a very pleasant and joyful evening. When we broke up, Robertson expressed great surprise at the polished and agreeable manners and the great urbanity of his conversation. He had imagined that a man's manners must bear a likeness to his books, and as Smollett had described so well the characters of ruffians and profligates, that he must, of course, resemble them. This was not the first instance we had of the rawness, in respect of the world, that still blunted our sagacious friend's observations.' (P. 339.)

Carlyle's portrait of Lord Bute is probably touched with some national partiality, but it fully explains the intense unpopularity on the Southern side of the Border of the first minister of George III.

'The day came when we were presented to Lord Bute, but our reception was so dry and cold that when he asked when we were to go north, one of us said to-morrow. He received us booted and spurred, which in those days was a certain signal for going a-riding, and an apology for not desiring us to sit down. We very soon took our leave, and no sooner were we out of hearing, than Robert Adam, who was with us, fell a-cursing and swearing. "What! had he been presented to all the princes in Italy and France, and most graciously received,



to come and be treated with such distance and pride by the youngest earl but one in all Scotland?" They were better friends afterwards, and Robert found him a kind patron, when his professional merit was made known to him. When I was riding with Home in Hyde Park a week before, trying the horse I bought, we met, his lordship, to whom Home then introduced me, and we rode together for half an hour, when I had a very agreeable chat with his lordship; but he was a different man when he received audience. To dismiss the subject, however, I believe he was a very worthy and virtuous man—a man of taste, and a good belles-lettres scholar, and that he trained up the prince in true patriotic principles and a love of the constitution, though his own mind was of the Tory cast, with a partiality to the family of Stuart, of whom he believed he was descended. But he proved himself unfit for the station he had assumed, being not versatile enough for a prime minister; and, though personally brave, yet void of that political firmness which is necessary to stand the storms of state. The nobility and gentry of England had paid court to him with such abject servility when the accession of his pupil drew near, and immediately after it took place, that it was no wonder he should behave to them with haughtiness and disdain, and with a spirit of domination. As soon, however, as he was tried and known, and the disappointed hopes of the courtiers had restored them to the exercise of their manhood, he showed a wavering and uncertain disposition, which discovered to them that he could be overthrown. The misfortune of great men in such circumstances is, that they have few or no personal friends on whose counsels they can rely. There were two such about him, who enjoyed his confidence and favour, Sir Harry Erskine and John Home. The first, I believe, was a truly honest man, but his views were not extensive nor his talents great; the second had better talents, but they were not at all adapted to business. Besides ambition and pride to a high degree, Lord Bute had an insatiable vanity, which nothing could allay but Home's incessant flattery, which being ardent and sincere, and blind and incessant, like that of a passionate lover, pleased the jealous and supercilious mind of the Thane.' (P. 358.)

The journey to Scotland, where gentlemen only were concerned, was still performed on horseback, and they set out a party of four, James Adam, John Home, and the two Doctors of Divinity. At Bulstrode they encountered a Scotch gardener, who showed them the grounds, and furnished them with a note to the gardener at Blenheim, 'who, he told us, was our countryman, and would furnish us with notes to the head gardeners all the way down.' Oxford was then, perhaps, at about the lowest point it has ever reached, and to us the little respect with which Carlyle speaks of it is as astonishing as it would have been to those who lived two centuries earlier. They found their countryman, John Douglas, in 'the act of one of his wall-lectures, as they are called, for there is no audience.' On seeing his friends enter the chapel, Douglas talked to them,

and wished them away, that he might not be forced to lecture. They maliciously persisted in remaining, however, telling him that they wished a specimen of Oxford learning, and he was at last compelled to read two or three verses out of the Greek Testament and expound them in Latin. 'We listened,' says Carlyle, 'for five minutes, and then, telling where we were to dine, we left him to walk about.' Douglas came to dinner accordingly, bringing with him two Baliol College men, Foster and Vivian, who were the bearers of an invitation to that society next day. 'They were well-informed and liberal-minded men, but from them and their conversation we learned that this was far from applying to the generality of the University.' Home's remark on Birmingham would be equally appropriate in our own day, notwithstanding all the changes which time has effected in that great metropolis of industry, 'that it seemed there as if God had created man only for making buttons.'

Dr. Carlyle looms so large on his own canvass, he is so prominent, and withal so interesting a figure in the various groups which he paints, that the reader feels quite excited as he approaches the all-important subject of his marriage. He had almost every quality which is supposed to ensure what the French call a 'success' *par excellence*. He was manly, intelligent, sprightly, a fluent and brilliant converser, he had a smooth and easy temper, and he was not selfish or egotistical beyond common. In his youth he was singularly handsome. When presented at Court, we are told that 'the elegance of his manner and the dignity of his appearance excited both surprise and admiration.' and in advanced life his person was so imposing as to have acquired for him the name of 'Jupiter Carlyle.' Even out of the caricaturists' hands he escapes better than almost any other member of the brilliant band of his contemporaries. There he stands, booted and spurred, with riding whip in hand, and a loose riding coat over his parson's dress, as he used to ride from Musselburgh to Dalkeith or Edinburgh in the morning. Above all, he was not only universally admired and respected, but very generally beloved by men. And yet there is no reason to think that he was a special favourite with women, and some unequivocal grounds for arriving at an opposite conclusion. His first love, after a courtship of sixteen years, refused him point blank, and his second jilted him for a very insignificant rival, 'when in full belief that he had gained her affections.' At last, no doubt, at the ripe age of thirty-eight, he married a very lovely and attractive girl of seventeen, of whom he speaks terms of the in highest admiration and of

the warmest attachment. Yet even this final affair wears the air of a successful arrangement, brought about by the instrumentality of kind John Home, rather than of any very decided and inevitable mutual attachment on the part of Carlyle and Mary Roddam. The fact is, that Carlyle was made for friendship rather than love, and the reason why he did not inspire more passionate attachments in all probability was, that he did not feel them. He speaks of his Mary as 'the most 'valuable friend and companion that any mortal ever possessed'; as gifted with an ease and propriety of manner, which made her to be well received, and indeed much distinguished, in every company. Throughout it appears that his satisfaction sprang quite as much from the judgment of the world without as from the promptings of the heart within; and the following passage, though most creditable to him as a friend, is quite decisive against his claim to the character of a lover: —

'I do not think it is possible I could derive greater satisfaction from any circumstance in human life than I did from the high approbation which was given to my choice by the very superior men who were my closest and most discerning friends, such as Ferguson, Robertson, Blair, and Ballantine, not merely by words, but by the open, respectful, and confidential manner in which they conversed with her.'

Mrs. Carlyle was co-heiress of a small estate in Northumberland, called Heathpool, and had many relations in and around Newcastle. This led to frequent visits to that and other parts of the north of England. In Newcastle, as in most trading towns, the women were superior to the men in manners and appearance.

In 1766, Dr. Robertson, now Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and leader of the moderate party in the Church, and Dr. Carlyle, who, notwithstanding some slight jealousies connected with the 'Douglas' sibel and other matters, was his ablest supporter, paid a visit at Kelburn, the seat of the Earl of Glasgow, then High Commissioner of the General Assembly. Lord Glasgow, it seems, was in reality a man of far greater ability than the world ever came to know, and the sketch preserved of him by Carlyle adds to its other merits, as Mr. Burton has remarked in a note, that of being unique. From the mainland the party passed over to Bute, and they were made free of the burgh of Rothesay, 'which cost us a hard 'drink of new claret.' No wonder that he complained of the civic tap when compared with that at Mount Stuart, where he was living, and where Alexander 'McMillan (Lord Bute's 'factor) was one of the best landlords for a large company, for

‘he was loud and joyful, and made the wine flow like Bacchus himself . . . .’ There was the best cyprus I ever saw, which ‘had lain there since Lord Bute left the island in 1745. The ‘claret was of the same age, and excellent.’ The following is an amusing specimen of the clerical views of these libations:—

‘After we had been four days there, Robertson took me into a window before dinner, and with some solemnity proposed to make a motion to shorten the drinking, if I would second him; “because,” added he, “although you and I may go through it, I am averse to it on James Stuart’s (the Hon. James Stewart Montague) account.” I answered that I would willingly second whatever measure of that kind he should propose, but added that I was afraid it would not do, as our housemaster was very despotic, and, besides, might throw ridicule on us, as we were to leave the island the day after the next, and that we had not proposed any abridgement to the repast till the afternoon was over, the last of which we had drunk yesterday.’ Yet, when I asked the doctor, “be it so, then, and let us begin,” we began.

It was in the last chapter which the stout old doctor proposed to write: and our readers will not be sorry to learn that it records two visits to London. The occasion of the first visit was partly the claim of exemption from window tax, which the Clergy of Scotland had instructed Carlyle to urge on their behalf, on the same grounds on which they were exempted from paying the land tax on their glebes, and partly for his wife’s health. The following scene of a great legal debate in the House of Lords on the great Douglas case, is on every account extremely interesting and graphic:—

‘On the 27th I attended the House of Peers on the Douglas Cause. The Duke of B[uccleuch] had promised to carry me down to the House; but as I was going into Grosvenor Square to meet him at ten o’clock, I met the Duke of Montague, who was coming from his house, and took me into his chariot, saying that the Duke of B. was not yet ready. He put me in by the side of the throne, where I found two or three of my friends, among them Thomas Bell. The business did not begin till eleven, and from that time I stood, with now and then a lean on the edge of a deal board, till nine in the evening, without any refreshment but a small roll and two oranges. The heat of the house was chiefly oppressive, and Lord Sandwich’s speech, which, though learned and able, yet being three hours long, was very intolerable. The Duke of Bedford spoke low, but not half an hour. The Chancellor and Lord Mansfield united on the side of Douglas; each of them spoke above an hour. Andrew Stuart, whom I saw in the House, sitting on the left side of the throne, seemed to be much affected at a part of Lord Camden’s speech, in which he reflected on him, and immediately left the House; from whence I concluded that he was in despair of success. Lord Mansfield, overcome with heat,

was about to faint in the middle of his speech, and was obliged to stop. The side-doors were immediately thrown open, and the Chancellor rushing out, returned soon with a servant, who followed him with a bottle and glasses. Lord Mansfield drank two glasses of the wine, and after some time revived, and proceeded in his speech. We, who had no wine, were nearly as much recruited by the fresh air which rushed in at the open doors as his lordship by the wine. About nine the business ended in favour of Douglas, there being only five Peers on the other side. I was well pleased with that decision, as I had favoured that side: Professor Ferguson and I being the only two of our set of people who favoured Douglas, chiefly on the opinion that, if the proof of filiation on his part was not sustained, the whole system of evidence in such cases would be overturned, and a door be opened for endless disputes about succession. I had asked the Duke of B., some days before the decision, how it would go; he said that if the Law Lords disagreed, there was no saying how it would go; because the Peers, however imperfectly prepared to judge, would follow the Judge they most respected. But if they united, the case would be determined by their opinion; it being [the practice] in their House to support the Law Lords in all judicial cases. . . .

'The rejoicings in Scotland were very great on this occasion, and even outrageous: although the Douglas family had been long in obscurity, yet the Hamiltons had for a long period lost their popularity. The attachment which all their acquaintances had to Baron Mure, who was the original author of this suit, and to Andrew Stuart, who carried it on, swayed their minds very much their way. They were men of uncommon good sense and probity.' (P. 514.)

But Carlyle saw the great Judge more nearly than in the House of Lords, and the following conversation with him is noteworthy:—

'In the course of my operations about the window tax, I had frequently short interviews with Lord Mansfield. One day he sent for me to breakfast, when I had a long conversation with him on various subjects. Amongst others, he talked of Hume and Robertson's Histories, and said that though they had pleased and instructed him much, and though he could point out few or no faults in them, yet, when he was reading their books, he did not think he was reading English: could I account to him how that happened? I answered that the same objection had not occurred to me, who was a Scotchman bred as well as born; but that I had a solution to it, which I would submit to his lordship. It was, that to every man bred in Scotland the English language was in some respects a foreign tongue, the precise value and force of whose words and phrases he did not understand, and therefore was continually endeavouring to word his expressions by additional epithets or circumlocutions, which made his writings appear both stiff and redundant. With this solution his lordship appeared entirely satisfied. By this time his lordship perfectly understood the nature of our claim to exemption from the window tax, and promised me his aid, and suggested some new arguments in our favour.' (P. 516.)

It was during this visit to London that Carlyle sat to Martin for the picture from which the engraving is taken which forms the frontispiece of this volume. The face, in which one can trace the likeness to Kay's well-known caricatures, reminds one of some of the earlier portraits of Goethe. But there is a tinge in it of that hereditary fragility which carried so many of his loved ones to the tomb, and clouded the long earthly pilgrimage which yet remained for this man of mirth. The following passage, one of the latest which he wrote, and which must positively close our copious analysis, is full of sadness:—

‘When we returned from the south, we were happy to find our two fine girls in such good health; but my mother, and unmarried sister Sarah, had lived for some time close by us, and saw them twice every day. Sarah, the eldest, was now eight years of age, and had displayed great sweetness of temper, with an uncommon degree of sagacity. Jenny, the second, was now six, and was gay and lively and engaging to the last degree. They were both handsome in their several kinds, the first like me and my family, the second like their mother. They already had made great proficiency in writing and arithmetic, and were remarkably good dancers. At this time they betrayed no symptoms of that fatal disease which robbed me of them, unless it might have been predicted from their extreme sensibilities of taste and affection which they already displayed. It was the will of Heaven that I should lose them too soon. But to reflect on their promising qualities ever since has been the delight of many a watchful night and melancholy day. I lost them before they had given me any emotions but those of joy and hope.’ (P. 526.)

The supplementary chapter, which tells the story of Dr. Carlyle's long career of usefulness, from the period at which the autobiography closes till his death in 1805, is by Mr. Burton, one of the best of living antiquarians, the author of ‘Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion,’ and, what is most of all to the present purpose, the biographer of Hume. It is fortunate that so able and independent a man was charged with the editorship of this curious fragment. Mr. Burton wisely resolved to publish it *in its integrity*, without suppression or alteration; and in preserving the accuracy and completeness of the text (which had been considerably tampered with by other persons who formerly had access to the manuscript), he has rendered another service to history and to literature.

ART. VII.—*History of the United Netherlands, from the death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort, with a full view of the English-Dutch struggle against Spain, and of the origin and destruction of the Spanish Armada.* By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L. Two vols. 8vo. London: 1860.

MR. MOTLEY'S former volumes, containing the 'History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic,' were reviewed by us in connexion with Mr. Prescott's 'Life of Philip II.\*' In being thus reminded of the decease of that delightful historian, we must again lament the rapidity with which, during the past year or two, star after star, whose brilliancy has been the guide of youth, and the companion and delight of maturity and age, in the continents of the east and west, has disappeared below the horizon. Mr. Prescott's reputation from the first hour of its appearance has shone with a steady and enduring lustre; his great acquirements, his patience and unremitting hopefulness and industry under the most severe affliction which could happen to a student, his pure devotion to one of the loftiest departments of literature, the honest and single-hearted purpose of his life, have caused his name to be regarded with affection and esteem wherever English literature is read or heard of. That he should have left half told the story of Philip II. will long remain a subject of regret: and of this we are reminded in opening the present volumes, for although they embrace the same subject approached from a different side, one is never consoled for the half-finished picture of one artist by that of another. This present portion of Mr. Motley's continuation of the 'History of the Netherlands' is written on a more extensive plan than that with which the public are already acquainted. This was in some degree necessary. From the death of William the Silent, the struggle in the Netherlands embraces more or less the contemporaneous history of France, Spain, and England, and indeed the whole interest of European history at that period. The archives of these various countries abound in MS. wealth, in diplomatic correspondence and state papers, the accumulations of the sixteenth century. These volumes bear evidence of long and laborious researches in these authentic collections—researches which, even if they have sometimes led Mr. Motley to violate the due proportions of his narrative, will be regarded by every student of European history with real interest.

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\* Ed. Rev., vol. cv. p. 1.

Most readers must have remarked that the historical productions of the present century are especially distinguished from those of the last by the study of manuscript authorities. In the days of Robertson and Hume it was considered sufficient for the historian to have studied the printed books which had relation to a given age, but in our time—partly from the greater facility of access to, and the better arrangement of, MS. documents, and partly from an earnest desire to see deeper into the subject—he is not considered to have done his duty unless he goes through a great deal of manuscript reading. Mr. Motley says of these new sources of history:—

‘Thanks to the liberality of many modern governments of Europe, the archives where the state-secrets of the buried centuries have so long mouldered, are now open to the student of history. To him who has patience and industry many mysteries are thus revealed, which no political sagacity or critical acumen could have divined. He leans over the shoulder of Philip the Second at his writing-table, as the king spells patiently out, with cipher-key in hand, the most concealed hieroglyphics of Parma or Gêse or Mendoza. He reads the secret thoughts of “Fabius,”\* as that cunctative Roman scrawls his marginal apostilles on each despatch; he pries into all the stratagems of Camillus, Hortensius, Mucius, Julius, Tullius, and the rest of those ancient heroes who lent their names to the diplomatic masqueraders of the sixteenth century; he enters the cabinet of the deeply-pondering Burghley, and takes from the most private drawer the memoranda which record that minister’s unutterable doubtings; he pulls from the dressing-gown folds of the stealthy, softly-gliding Walsingham the last secret which he has picked from the Emperor’s pigeon-holes, or the Pope’s pocket, and which, not Hatton, nor Buckhurst, nor Leicester, nor the Lord Treasurer, is to see; nobody but Elizabeth herself; he sits invisible at the most secret councils of the Nassaus and Barneveldt and Buys, or pores with Farnese over coming victories, and vast schemes of universal conquest; he reads the latest bit of scandal, the minutest characteristic of king or minister, chronicled by the gossiping Venetians for the edification of the Forty; and, after all this prying and eavesdropping, having seen the cross-purposes, the bribings, the windings, the fencings in the dark, he is not surprised, if those who were systematically deceived did not always arrive at correct conclusions.’ (Vol. i. p. 54.)

But these new opportunities have their dangers as well as their advantages: the student who is thus let into the cabinets of princes, ministers, and generals—who is enabled to search their secret thoughts—who sees the great actors of political and diplomatic transactions in new aspects and relations, who has thus

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\* The name usually assigned to Philip himself in the Paris-Simancas Correspondence.



the means of unravelling and sifting to the bottom each formerly inexplicable intrigue—is tempted to exaggerate the importance of his discoveries. He has lived among the statesmen of a by-gone age, he has watched with them the changing aspect and turns of policy, and become a participator in hopes and fears out of all proportion to the real issue of the question. Often a sterile attempt at political action has called into play all the passions of the chief actors with whom the historian is concerned; the records of it illustrate their character, and they modify or strengthen the already conceived opinions of the investigator, who pursues its windings and changing phases with a pleasure and an interest which he would fain impart to others. Indeed, by this minute study of the past, he is placed at the same disadvantage which it is so difficult to overcome in the present. What makes it almost impossible to write contemporaneous history is the difficulty of grasping a whole — of seeing the due proportion of part to part, and each event, not in the fictitious grandeur of proximity, but in that harmonious significance which it really possesses. It is nearly as difficult to describe rightly the present as it would be to paint a landscape by poring over every square foot of its ground without rising to a general prospect. Time, after a generation or two, gives us a good point of view, from whence light and shadow, eminences and level spaces, appear in due proportion. But the historian, by the method we have been describing, loses this advantage of time; this near contemplation of the past brings all the disadvantages of the present, unless his judgment is sufficiently sure, and his grasp of the subject sufficiently powerful to enable him to compress the non-essential to its just dimensions.

In this respect Mr. Motley has not always been successful in keeping the graphic variety of his details subordinate to the main theme of his work. The temptation, from the extraordinary abundance of new material which he has fallen upon, has been great, and he has yielded to it. Nevertheless, so much light is thrown, by the history of negotiations now fully narrated for the first time, upon the court of Elizabeth, and the counsels of Philip and the Prince of Parma, that few will regret their presence, although they exceed the just requisites of the narrative. We thus dwell *in limine* on what we consider the only blemish in a most valuable historical work. The fault which we have touched on naturally interferes with the development of the story, and prevents it from having that lucid order, that unbroken continuity of purpose, which we seek for in a history; but it is atoned for by striking merits, by many narratives of great events faithfully, powerfully, and vividly executed, by the

clearest and most life-like conceptions of character, and by a style which, if it sacrifices the severer principles of composition to a desire to be striking and picturesque, is always vigorous, full of animation, and glowing with the genuine enthusiasm of the writer. Mr. Motley combines as an historian two qualifications seldom found united, — to great capacity for historical research he adds much power of pictorial representation. In his pages we find characters and scenes minutely set forth in elaborate and characteristic detail, which is relieved and heightened in effect by the artistic breadth of light and shade thrown across the broader prospects of history. In an American author, too, we must especially commend the hearty English spirit in which the book is written; and fertile as the present age has been in historical works of the highest merit, none of them can be ranked above these volumes in the grand qualities of interest, accuracy, and truth.

It is strange that the very means taken by Philip to enshroud himself and his cabinet in mysterious secrecy should be those by which we are enabled now to see him at his desk, and to read his secret thoughts; for, thanks to his habits of seclusion and of putting every thing upon paper, we can now be present at his councils with greater facility than at those of any monarch who ever lived. Thus the famous '*junta de noche*' is now stripped of all its mysterious darkness, and the character of Philip, studied by the light of the archives of Simancas, is revealed in all its mediocrity and pedantry, — a subject only for ridicule and scorn, did we not see him through an atmosphere of blood and fire, and reverence the awful mystery by which, like famine, war, and pestilence, he became the inexorable instrument of the powers of evil. The world knew before how irresolute and devoid of genius or originality was this heartless bigot, who made Spain the '*Butcher of Rome*'; but we now learn, for the first time, how trivial and even childish were the king's preoccupations in the midst of his barbarous schemes. His long despatches were not composed or dictated by himself; he was hardly even the president of the triumvirate, Don Juan de Idiaquez, the Count de Chinchon, Don Cristoval de Moura, who directed his affairs. He principally confined his attention to a mere supervision of the despatches, oftentimes fifty pages long, presented to him by Idiaquez or Moura; and the wretched victim of routine made himself happy day by day in commenting on their margin in a school-boy scrawl, and making observations of the most miserable puerility. In the midst of information about the Armada, Philip would stop to note in the margin a fault in orthography, — 'But one *s* in "*quasi*" — '*Ha un s in quasi*!'

And when the letter arrived with the news of the murder of Henry III. by a 'coup de pissetolle,' Philip's comment was, '*Quiza es alguna manera de cuchillo.*'—'Perhaps it is some sort of knife.' That, however, which gave a sort of ferocious greatness to his character, was the inflexible tenacity of his purposes, under all the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune.

The murder of the Prince of Orange by this malignant plotter and tyrant threw an air of tragic gloom over the whole Netherlands. But amid the darkness of their desolation, the wickedness of the act aroused in all hearts an invincible resolve never to yield to the perpetrator of so foul a crime, and, as Herle, the English emissary, wrote to Queen Elizabeth, 'a resolution to revenge the foulness of the fact committed on the person of the prince by the tyrant of Spain, and to defend their liberties advisedly against him and his adherents by all means that God has given them, to the uttermost portion of their substance, and the last drop of their blood.'

Yet the resolve was indeed a desperate one. A medal of Holland struck at this period fitly represented her as a dismasted hulk, with the motto, '*incertum quo fata ferunt.*' The Walloon provinces, more Catholic than the rest, had submitted to Spain by the reconciliation of 1583-4, and these once fertile districts were rewarded for their obedience by the depredations of the Spanish soldiery, more savage than the wolves and bears who now roamed over the depopulated and uncultivated fields, and attacked the sentinels at the very gates of the towns. In East Flanders and South Brabant the contest was still going on, but the provinces were nearly lost. Bruges had already given in, Ghent was soon to follow. The fall of Brussels was delayed till March 1585, that of Mechlin till July. Ostend and Sluys were yet in the hands of the patriots. But the fate of Flanders hung upon Antwerp, then in the middle of that famous siege by the Duke of Parma, which has been illustrated by the genius of Schiller, and which again forms a splendid chapter in the volumes before us. The descent of the fire-ships on the bridge, the desperate contest on the great Kowenstyn, and the efforts of the besieged to tear down the fatal dyke whose demolition would have rolled the waters of the ocean to the gates of Antwerp and made the city impregnable, are described with the spirit and reality of an actual participator in the conflict. We think, however, that full justice has not been done to the great genius and patriotism of Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, who was placed over the town by William the Silent to defend it to the last extremity. That this great man should subsequently have been treated with neglect or ingratitude by his

countrymen, in the land of De Barneveldt and the De Witts, leaves not a tinge of shadow upon the great reputation of the friend and counsellor of William of Orange; and Mr. Motley, after a scrupulous examination of the evidence, acquits him of all culpable or corrupt motives in the surrender of the city.

There remained then only entire the seven strippling provinces, but half screened by sandbanks from the Northern Sea, Holland, the isle of Zealand, and Friesland, held at bay by the united forces of the vast Spanish empire, which drew its enormous revenues from every quarter of the globe, and its legions from the most favoured and populous districts of Europe.

In this unequal contest the States look anxiously round for an ally—but it was to France that they turned first for assistance. The States' ambassadors, among whom was Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, had had sufficient experience of the parsimony and caprice of Elizabeth, during her negotiations for marriage with the Duke of Anjou, to entertain little hopes of assistance from her. And the Prince of Orange and Sainte Aldegonde, the head and heart of the revolution, had long entertained hopes of assistance from France. The associations of both were French,—and their religion was more akin to that of the great party of the Huguenots than to that of England. The Prince of Orange was partly of French descent; his title was French; he had mixed much with the French Huguenots and with the Court; and he credited France with the spotless reputation of the great Coligny, whom he had known, and whose daughter, Louise de Coligny, he subsequently married. Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde was also partly of French extraction: he wrote and spoke French with such purity and genius, that, had he been a Frenchman born, his works would have remained classic in the language; and he had imbibed the pure spirit of Calvinism from the lips of Calvin and Théodore de Bèze. Both were strong Calvinists, as were the Reformers generally in the United Netherlands, and this consideration led them to entertain small hopes of the English alliance. There had been little in the recent history of England to lead the Calvinist of Holland to believe that his creed would receive the sympathy or even the tolerance of England. Henry VIII. had burnt those who disbelieved in transubstantiation, auricular confession, and the 'Six Articles.' Mary had burnt Protestants of every denomination. In the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, Anabaptists and Calvinists were treated with greater severity than Papists. Of the 9400 Catholic ecclesiastics whom Elizabeth found in benefices on her accession, 9,211 made no difficulty to acknowledge the tenets of their new mistress. It was not to be supposed that

this large body, or that the Queen who retained in her chapel the crucifix and the lighted candles, and is said to have used prayers to the Virgin, would have any very deep sympathy for the Iconoclasts of the Netherlands; while, on the other hand, it might be expected that the increasing strength of the Huguenots of France, headed by the chivalrous chief of the house of Navarre, might be able to constrain a monarch as weak and even as faithless as Henry III. to a faithful observance of toleration towards the Calvinists of the Netherlands.

Elizabeth had not looked with disfavour on the application to the French monarch for protection, and she had strongly advocated the offer of the sovereignty of the Provinces to Anjou, between whom and herself marriage seemed at one time to have been irrevocably determined. On the death of Anjou, the Provinces sent two deputies, La Mouillerie and Asseliers, to Henry III., to make him a tender of that sovereignty which they had resolved to confer upon his brother, in despite of the known worthlessness and treachery of his character and conduct. But from the ignoble head of the House of Valois, the envoys received treatment little in accordance with the nature of their embassy. The men who came to offer to the head of the French nation the allegiance of a brave people, and the annexation of some of the most flourishing provinces in Europe, were compelled to steal about the country like spies, and was refused a royal audience. Nevertheless, Des Pruneaux, who had been envoy in the Netherlands, persuaded the King to send him back to the Provinces to treat directly with the States-General; and the deputies, during their secret stay at Paris and Rouen, held conversations with the leading members of the Royal Council, of the parliaments of Paris and Rouen, and of the Huguenot party. From these they learnt that all the best heads of France were in favour of French intervention, and that should Holland and Zealand unite with the rest of the Netherlands, the King 'would undertake their cause most earnestly.' Many leading personages in France declared themselves ready to 'venture their lives and their fortunes, and to use all the influence they possessed at Court to bring about this result,' and that, with the assistance of Holland and Zealand, there would be little difficulty in chasing every Spaniard out of the Netherlands.

'All the Huguenots, with whom the envoys conversed, were excessively sanguine. Could the king be once brought, they said, to promise the Netherlands his protection, there was not the least fear but that he would keep his word. He would use all the means within his power; "yea, he would take the crown from his head," rather than turn back. Although reluctant to commence a war with so powerful

a sovereign, having once promised his help, he would keep his pledge to the utmost, "*for he was a king of his word*," and had never broken and would never break his faith with those of the reformed religion.

'Thus spoke the leading Huguenots of France, in confidential communication with the Netherland envoys, not many months before the famous edict of extermination, published at Nemours.

'At that moment the reformers were full of confidence; not foreseeing the long procession of battles and sieges which was soon to sweep through the land. Notwithstanding the urgency of the Papists for their extirpation, they extolled loudly the liberty of religious worship which Calvinists, as well as Catholics, were enjoying in France, and pointed to the fact that the adherents of both religions were well received at Court, and that they shared equally in offices of trust and dignity throughout the kingdom.

'The Netherland envoys themselves bore testimony to the undisturbed tranquillity and harmony in which the professors of both religions were living and worshipping side by side "without reproach or quarrel" in all the great cities which they had visited. They expressed the conviction that the same toleration would be extended to all the Provinces when under French dominion; and, so far as their ancient constitutions and privileges were concerned, they were assured that the King of France would respect and maintain them with as much fidelity as the States could possibly desire.' (Vol. i. p. 60.)

Des Pruniaux, with the two States' envoys, departed for the Netherlands, and the French emissary, enraptured at the prospect of adding such enviable possessions to the dominion of France, actually travelled from town to town, and overcame all opposition in Holland and Zealand — so that the States-General resolved to send a solemn embassy to make an offer of their sovereignty to Henry III. If the former embassy, however, had been received like spies, the second were only solemnly and publicly trifled with, and dismissed with ignominy, after eight months had been wasted in fruitless negotiations. The painted, curled, frivolous, bedizened, and disgusting fop, who then represented France, received the deputies in the midst of a court radiant with gold, and satin, and jewelry, and with hypocritical tears and protestations refused the offer of unconditional sovereignty over a population the most enterprising, industrious, and independent among the then civilised nations, and destined, in a few years, to be the first commercial and naval power in the world. Nor does it appear that, from beginning to end, either Henry III. or the Queen Mother had the slightest intention of giving any serious assistance to the Netherlanders. To waste valuable time, to play into the hands of Spain, to use the offer of the States before Philip as a means of getting money from him for the pretensions of Catharine de' Medici to the crown of Portugal — these were the

objects for which the United Provinces were deluded with hopes of negotiation.

'The envoys, with their predecessors, had wasted eight months of most precious time; they had heard and made orations, they had read and written protocols, they had witnessed banquets, masquerades, and revels of stupendous frivolity, in honour of the English Garter, brought solemnly to the Valois by Lord Derby, accompanied by one hundred gentlemen "marvellously, sumptuously, and richly accoutred," during that dreadful winter when the inhabitants of Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin—to save which splendid cities, and to annex them to France, was a main object of the solemn embassy from the Netherlands—were eating rats, and cats, and dogs, and the weeds from the pavements, and the grass from the churchyards; and were finding themselves more closely pressed than ever by the relentless genius of Farnese; and in exchange for all these losses and all this humiliation, the ambassadors now returned to their constituents, bringing an account of Chiverny's magnificent banquets and long orations, of the smiles of Henry III., the tears of Catharine de' Medici, the regrets of M. Des Pruneaux, besides sixteen gold chains, each weighing twenty-one ounces and two grains.' (Vol. i. p. 99.)

Meanwhile, in the United Provinces, public opinion was beginning to set itself strongly against the French alliance, and to look towards England. The memory of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve, the treachery of Anjou, the contemptible character of the French King, his underhand dealings to get the island of Walcheren into his possession, the rooted conviction which many entertained that France and Spain were in collusion for the extermination of all heretics, these, and other reasons, contributed to set the Netherlands against putting themselves into the power of France. The young prince Maurice, the son of William the Silent, then twenty years of age, already felt the stir of ambition within him, and looked with repugnance on the introduction into the country of a foreign potentate of such great pretensions. Paul Buys, one of the ablest statesmen of the Netherlands, and a close friend of William the Silent, began to be active in the advocacy of the English alliance, even while the treaty with France was pending. The widowed Princess of Orange, the ex-Elector of Cologne, Count Hohenlo, the General-in-Chief of the States' army under Count Maurice, were all described by Queen Elizabeth's confidential agent as being entirely devoted to her. Treslong, Admiral of Holland and Zealand, and Governor of Ostend, drank at his table, at Ostend, in company with some English officers, a bumper to the Queen's health, and prayed she might yet be his sovereign. William Herle, the secret emissary of the English Government to the Netherlands,

wrote, 'The reverend respect which is borne to your Majesty 'throughout these dominions is very great;' and in Holland and Zeeland especially the same feeling was enthusiastic. In England, however, up to the time of the mission to France, no definite conviction as to the necessity of supporting the Provinces had yet been formed by the Queen and her Council. While towns were besieged, their populations enduring the last extremities of hunger, and the Prince of Parma winning advantage after advantage, the councillors of Elizabeth, day by day, and month after month, sat gravely at the council board, wagging their white beards, the Queen herself would come to no determination — while Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Dendermonde, Vilvoorde, and other places of inferior importance, were struggling for life or death against the soldiers of persecution. Unless Protestant England were content to see the last friend she possessed in Europe swept away before she met Spain in a death grapple, it was necessary for her to rouse herself from the chronic state of indecision which had long exasperated the youth and the patriotism of the country. 'To allow the Provinces to fall back into 'the grasp of Philip, was to offer England as a last sacrifice to 'the Spanish Inquisition.'

Elizabeth and her council had carefully watched the negotiations between France and the Provinces. They appear to have feared equally for the success and for the failure of the mission; and the favourite scheme of the Queen, in which she was supported by the cautious Burleigh, was a joint protectorate of France and England over the Netherlands. As soon, however, as the definite refusal of Henry III. was known in England, instant steps were taken on the part of the English court to bring about an offer of the protectorate from the States. Urgent letters were sent to Holland, and the two diplomatic agents of the Netherlands, Jacques de Gryze and Joachim Ortel, had many conferences with Walsingham, Leicester, and Burleigh, and with the Queen. One of the suite of the Earl of Leicester was in constant attendance on the envoys to do them service; and being 'of good quality and a member of Parliament,' assured them that the National Legislature had strongly urged her Majesty to undertake the protectorate, and assured her of their willingness to supply her with money. 'And if,' said he, 'one subsidy should not be enough, she shall have three, 'four, or six, or as much as may be necessary' — a proof that the parsimony of the Queen cannot be laid to the charge of the unwillingness of the Parliament to contribute.

Those who have recourse to the pages of Mr. Motley for the



history of these negotiations, will find cause for astonishment in the never-ending mutability, indecision, and parsimony of Elizabeth; in the magnificent outbursts of high heroic speech of the virgin queen, followed by gusts of passion and pettishness or by chilly seasons of indifference and disgust; and in the unvarying haggling and niggardly spirit which characterised the whole transaction. Indeed, the whole of the English policy, up to the very hour in which the Spanish Armada was sighted off the Lizard, was carried on in so reckless and random a manner, with such a blind hankering for peace, when peace was seen to be impossible, with such incredible and misplaced confidence in the insidious machinations of Spain, that the preservation of England, and consequently of Protestant Christendom, was the result of a conjuncture of events beyond the possibility of human foresight; but at the same time we now learn for the first time how deep is the debt of gratitude we owe to statesmen like Walsingham and even the much-abused Leicester, both of whom had long advocated with ardour the open espousal of the Protestant cause in Holland in opposition to Burleigh's eternal dubitations, negotiations, and delays.

Indeed, Leicester's character appears to us in a better light in these volumes than elsewhere. In an interview with one of the Dutch envoys, he said: — 'For myself I am ready, if her Majesty choose to make use of me, to go over there in person, and to place life, property, and all the assistance I can gain from my friends upon the issue; yea, with so good a heart, that I pray the Lord may be good to me only so far as I serve faithfully the cause.' Out of the Queen's Council, as the member of Parliament above mentioned stated, a very strong feeling in favour of immediate and open war with Spain existed. How deeply this was felt may be found in the letters and papers of Sir Philip Sidney, who certainly embodied the most English and Protestant aspirations of the age; and who, as the son-in-law of Walsingham and the nephew of Leicester, and his defender on many occasions, had a considerable influence on the counsels of these two statesmen. It must be remembered that so utterly, up to the very last moment, did Sir Philip Sidney despair of seeing England play a part worthy of her in the great struggle, so wearied out was he at this painful state of inactivity and indecision when the great interests of the world were at stake, that he ran away secretly to Plymouth to join Drake's expedition to the West Indies, and was only induced to return by the offer of the governorship of Flushing, and the assurance that the Queen had now veritably engaged in the defence of the Nether-

lands. And in these pages we repeatedly find Walsingham shutting himself up in his house in fits of despair, and Leicester at his wits' end, before the troops were really on their way to Flushing.

In the meantime, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the greatest military genius of the age, had surrounded Antwerp with his Italian musqueteers, Spanish pikemen, and German mercenaries, and invested it with such an inexpugnable girdle of fortified dykes and stupendous bridges, that when the Huguenot chief, La Noüe Bras de Fer was, on his liberation from prison, led through the siege-works by the great general himself, he was seized with admiration, and declared the fall of Antwerp to be inevitable. It was well known that on the fate of Antwerp depended the fate of the Southern Provinces; and yet at every flying rumour of a success at Antwerp, the Queen relaxed in her ardour for the cause of the States, as though her assistance were no longer necessary. The same was the case with respect to the designs of Spain: although all Europe knew that the mysterious plotter of the Escorial was weaving the meshes of his diplomacy thicker and thicker both in France and England, Elizabeth chose to disbelieve what everybody knew. Everybody knew how utterly worthless was the effeminate monarch of France; everybody knew that the Guises thought of nothing but Elizabeth's ruin; that the liberation of Mary Stuart, to be followed by Elizabeth's deposition or death, was a design they never abandoned. Everybody knew that the Guises were in the pay of Philip, and that the king of France had neither the will nor the power to oppose them, and that through them France must become a mere instrument in the policy of Spain; yet Elizabeth to the last moment continued to act as if all this was mere surmise. 'I asked her Majesty,' said Ortel (3rd May, 1585), 'whether in view of these vast preparations in France, it did not behove her to be most-circumspect and upon her guard. For in the opinion of many men, everything showed one great scheme already laid down—a general conspiracy throughout Christendom against the reformed religion. She answered me that thus far she could not perceive this to be the case; nor could she believe that the king of France could be so faint-hearted as to submit to such injuries from the Guises.' Yet at this very time Henry III. was making overtures to Philip for the invasion of England; and on the 18th of July all doubt about the will or the power of Henry III. to oppose the plots of the Guises was set at rest by the famous edict of Nemours, which put some of the strongest cities in France into their power, as a guarantee for the suppression

of heresy by the gibbet within the limits of the French monarchy. This was the edict the news of which, Henry of Navarre said, turned his moustache grey with emotion and sorrow at the age of thirty-one.

Through the mediation, however, of Davison, the Queen's emissary in Holland, and the letters of Ortel and De Gryze from England, a deputation from Holland had audience of the Queen at Greenwich Palace, on the 9th of July, 1585. The embassy was an imposing one, consisting of about a dozen of the best intellects in the Netherlands, among whom was the famous John Van Olden Barneveldt, lawyer, soldier, and statesman, whose commanding abilities had already placed him among the first men of the Netherlands, and whose tragic end is one of the most melancholy episodes of modern history. The deputation was received in state by the Queen, when Joos de Menin, pensionary of Dort, made an elaborate speech tendering the sovereignty of the United Netherlands.

‘The Queen listened intently and very courteously to the delivery of this address, and then made answer in French to this effect:—“Gentlemen,—Had I a thousand tongues I should not be able to express my obligation to you for the great and handsome offers which you have just made. I firmly believe that this proceeds from the true zeal, devotion, and affection which you have always borne me, and I am certain that you have ever preferred me to all the princes and potentates in the world. Even when you selected the late Duke of Anjou, who was so dear to me, and to whose soul I hope that God has been merciful, I know that you would sooner have offered your country to me if I had desired that you should do so. Certainly I esteem it a great thing that you wish to be governed by me, and I feel so much obliged to you in consequence that I will never abandon you, but, on the contrary, assist you till the last sigh of my life. I know very well that your princes have treated you ill, and that the Spaniards are endeavouring to ruin you entirely; but I will come to your aid, and I will consider what I can do, consistently with my honour, in regard to the articles which you have brought me. They shall be examined by the members of my council, and I promise that I will not keep you three or four months, for I know very well that your affairs require haste, and that they will become ruinous if you are not assisted. It is not my custom to procrastinate, and upon this occasion I shall not dally, as others have done, but let you have my answer very soon.”’ (Vol. i. p. 321.)

This was indeed a queenly speech, and had these promises been fulfilled, they might have altered the history of the world, and forwarded the cause of civilisation in the Belgic provinces by two centuries; but unfortunately a number of

points of difference arose, on which it seemed hopeless to expect any agreement. In the first place, the Queen resolutely refused the sovereignty, although she was willing to render the States assistance; yet it subsequently appeared she claimed all the rights of sovereignty. The haggling about men and money was infinite, and the diplomacy about the places to be delivered into the Queen's hands for security not less so. Meanwhile, Antwerp fell. Then things went quicker for a while, until it was at last agreed that a permanent force of 5000 foot and 1000 horse should serve in the Provinces at the Queen's expense; that the cities of Flushing and Brill should be placed in her Majesty's hands until the entire reimbursement of the debt thus incurred by the States. Elizabeth agreed, after much opposition on her part, that the force necessary to garrison these places should form an additional contingent, instead of being deducted from the general auxiliary force. In justice to the Queen and her councillors, and as some excuse for the smallness of this force, it must be remembered that the England of that day hardly contained more inhabitants than the county of Middlesex does now, and that London was inferior in wealth and population to many cities on the continent at that period.

Thus the expedition was resolved on, and the Earl of Leicester was appointed commander-in-chief. Then came his turn for bargaining and haggling with the lady, whom the Reformers loved to call the Zenobia of the West. Leicester was to go in great state to the Netherlands; but whatever state he went with he was to pay for himself. However tender may have been the sentiments of Zenobia towards him, she was determined to keep them clear of her cash accounts. She already possessed mortgages of Leicester's lands. Leicester was obliged not only to find his own state expenses, but to raise levies of men; and for this purpose to further mortgage his estates, and get his bills discounted as he could. So far from receiving any salary for the office, Leicester would have been only too happy to be reimbursed the expenses he had incurred in the Queen's service. Walsingham was wearied out and disgusted with the never ending battles to be fought against the Queen's avarice and caprice. Davison had to prepare the way for the reception of the English governors in the Netherlands as he best could without money and without authority. The complaints of Leicester on the subject of money are piteous, as will be seen by the following extract of a letter to Walsingham, written on the 7th December, two days before starting from Harwich for the Netherlands:—

‘ “What hope of help can I have, finding her Majesty so strait with myself as she is? I did trust that—the cause being hers and the realm’s—if I could have gotten no money of her merchants, she would not have refused to have lent money on so easy prized land as mine, to have been gainer and no loser by it. Her Majesty, I see, will make trial of me how I love her, and what will discourage me from her service. But resolved am I that no worldly respect shall draw me back from my faithful discharge of my duty towards her, though she shall show to hate me, as it goeth very near; for I find no love or favour at all. And I pray you to remember that I have not had one penny of her Majesty towards all these charges of mine—not one penny—and, by all truth, I have already laid out above 5000*l*. Her Majesty appointed 8000*l*. for the levy, which was after the rate of 400 horse, and, upon my fidelity, there is shipped, of horse of service, 800, so that there ought 8000*l*. more to have been paid me. No general that ever went that was not paid to the uttermost of these things before he went, but had cash for his provision, which her Majesty would not allow me—not one groat. Well, let all this go, it is like I shall be the last shall bear this, and some must suffer for the people. Good Mr. Secretary, let her Majesty know this, for I deserve God-a-mercy, at the least.” ’ (Vol. i. p. 351.)

Sir Philip Sidney had preceded Leicester to the Netherlands, as governor of Flushing, where the commander-in-chief himself disembarked from a fleet of fifty ships on the 19th December, 1585. From Flushing he went by sea to Dort, and from Dort to Rotterdam and Delf. The joy with which he was received was immense: as he advanced from town to town, his progress was one triumphal procession; and people declared that Charles V., in passing through the Provinces, had never been greeted with such magnificent demonstrations—thunders of ordnance, allegories, fireworks, banquetings, and harangues. Our space will not permit us to display how utterly delusive all these triumphant exhibitions turned out. In Mr. Motley’s volumes the reader will find that far less blame is to be imputed to Leicester than has hitherto fallen to his share. To do the Earl justice, he was from the first fully sensible of the necessity of grappling with Spain in the Netherlands, and after his arrival in the country his convictions on this point were strengthened incalculably, when he saw the enormous accession of naval and commercial power which would accrue to Spain if she could succeed in subjecting those flourishing provinces to her sway; for, unlike the provinces which had returned to obedience to Philip, where the wolves were littering in the farm-houses, and bears and foxes inhabiting the deserted houses of the peasantry, the provinces of Holland and Zealand had flourished and grown prosperous by war, under the auspices of liberty; and the rudest soldiers in the English ranks felt that the re-establish-

ment of the Spanish empire in the Netherlands would be the annihilation of England.

Leicester, doubtless, had many faults, and had never shown sufficient capacity to justify his appointment to the post he now held; but, at least he entered into the part he had to play with spirit and honesty, and was determined to do his best; but he was not allowed the opportunity. The Queen, by her avarice, by her fits of ungovernable passion and jealousy, and, above all, by her underhand dealings with Spain, brought the English name into such discredit that Leicester's authority over the States was utterly ruined, and his resources of men and money so crippled that he was unable to attempt any enterprise of moment.

The great dispute with the English General was touching the matter of sovereignty. Soon after his arrival the States had offered to Elizabeth's representative absolute authority over the sea and land forces and the finances of the Provinces. It seems that the country was going fast to anarchy from the want of some central authority; that it was necessary for the carrying on the war that somebody should have absolute command; that the counsellors about Leicester considered it unbecoming to the Queen's honour that any one should hold authority over her lieutenant; and, moreover, that the Queen had promised the States, by word of mouth, that her representative should not be restrained from taking such authority as they might intrust him with.

It is true that she seems to have warned Leicester on the point herself, before starting, against accepting absolute authority; but yet it is quite clear also she would submit to no opposition from the base 'mechanicals,' as she styled them, of the Netherlands; and she afterwards was as angry with the States for attempting to curtail Leicester's authority, after he had been discredited by her, as she was previously with Leicester for accepting the power they offered him. The scenes caused by the Queen's anger at times were inexpressibly comic:—

'The wintry gales which had been lashing the North Sea, and preventing the unfortunate Davison from setting forth on his disastrous mission, were nothing to the tempest of royal wrath which had been shaking the court-world to its centre. The Queen had been swearing most fearfully ever since she read the news, which Leicester had not dared to communicate directly to herself. No one was allowed to speak a word in extenuation of the favourite's offence. Burghley, who lifted up his voice somewhat feebly to appease her wrath, was bid, with a curse, to hold his peace. So he took to his bed—partly from prudence, partly from gout—and thus sheltered

himself for a season from the peltings of the storm. Walsingham, more manful, stood to his post, but could not gain a hearing. It was the culprit that should have spoken, and spoken in time. "Why, why did you not write yourself?" was the plaintive cry of all the Earl's friends, from highest to humblest. "But write to her now," they exclaimed, "at any rate; and, above all, send her a present, a love-gift." "Lay out two or three hundred crowns in some rare thing, for a token to her Majesty," said Christopher Hatton.' (Vol. i. p. 418.)

The effects of the Queen's displeasure on the authority of Leicester and the estimation in which the English were held in the Netherlands, were most disastrous, and the evil was beyond remedy. Not content with writing an angry letter to himself, she wrote another to the States, in which he was very severely handled. Whether Elizabeth was right or wrong in refusing the sovereignty of the States may be a matter of doubt, but it is certain that this second thrusting back of the sovereignty on the States, with expressions derogatory to her lieutenant-general, was not a step calculated to advance her own interest, and most unwise in the presence of that semi-anarchy which existed in the United Provinces, where that which they had sought for, above all things, was a head to govern them. The Earl was now looked on as a disgraced man, his authority was made ridiculous, and it was not to be restored again by letters beginning 'Rob,' and ending 'with my million' and legion of thanks for all your pains and cares. As you 'know, ever the same, E. R.'

Worse, however, than all this, inasmuch as it not only served still more to discredit the English with the Netherlanders, but also showed an utter want of humanity towards her own people, was the Queen's parsimony to her soldiers, by which she allowed Englishmen who were fighting her battles in a foreign country to waste away in cold, hunger, and nakedness, during an inclement winter season, objects of derision and contempt to the natives. It has been seen that Leicester could get no money to start with; no letters were sent to him for four months after his arrival in the Netherlands, and not a single groat of remittance was to be had for the troops. 'Our soldiers,' writes ominously Digges, the quarter-master, in March, 1586, 'notwithstanding great numbers of them be paid with earth in their graves, yet the rest are so ill-contented of their due for the time past, that if pay come not speedily before they be drawn to deal with the enemy, I doubt some worse adventure than I will divine beforehand.' The army was rapidly dwindling away, the men crept about the streets, haggard, ghastly scare-

crows, ashamed to be seen. The recruits from England were terrified at the spectacle the army presented. Out of eleven hundred Englishmen newly landed, five hundred ran away in two days. 'Some were caught and hanged, and all seemed to prefer hanging to remaining in the service; while the Earl declared that he would be hanged as well rather than again undertake such a charge without being assured payment for his troops beforehand.' During the time that the army was in this crippled condition, the spies and ill-concealed papists and malevolents who surrounded Leicester and abounded in the Provinces, were going about making the most of the Queen's coldness to the Earl and to the cause, declaring that Leicester's opinions were to be held of no account whatever, and that Parma could have peace whenever he pleased; meanwhile a house was ostentatiously prepared at Brussels, which was now in the possession of the Spaniards, for the reception of an English Ambassador. It was in vain for Leicester to declare all these reports of secret negotiations to be false; the States lost all confidence in him and in the Queen—the military operations became more and more languid, the brilliant achievements of Sir Philip Sidney and his heroic end, the valiant energies of Lord Willoughby, Essex, Pelham, Sir John Norris, Robert Sidney, and Roger Williams, were all entirely thrown away in the hopeless condition of the English troops; and had Philip on his side duly supported the Prince of Parma, the whole of the Netherlands must certainly have been lost.

Notwithstanding all the excuses, however, that may be made for Leicester, his conduct proved him to be one of the most unfit persons whom the Queen could have appointed; although perhaps this consideration makes the Queen's conduct towards him still more impolitic, by increasing the number of difficulties which he was unable to overcome. That Leicester was the utterly worthless and criminal character which he passed for with many in his time, we cannot believe of the intimate friend of Walsingham and the uncle, as well as friend, of Sir Philip Sidney, to whose pen he was indebted for a brilliant defence against the calumnious libels of the Jesuits. But he was a court favourite and grandee, imperious, arrogant, captious, and revengeful. He was not qualified to meet on equal terms the leading men of the States—with men like Barneveldt, who was one of the best political heads in Europe, who had read law at Leyden, Paris, and Heidelberg, and had served his country with the pen, the tongue, and the sword, for the last fifteen years. Other men were there, too, like Adrian Van der Werff, the heroic burgomaster of Leyden, during the famous siege;



‘ John Van der Does, statesman, orator, soldier, poet ; Adolphus Meetkerke, judge, financier, politician ; Carl Roorda ; Noel de Caron, a diplomatist of most signal ability ; Floris Thin, Paul Buys, and many others who would have done honour to the legislative assemblies and national councils in any country or any age.’ All these had been in the habit of dealing with William the Silent, whom Lord Broke saw at Delft, in plain raiment, doing business with the beer-brewing burgesses of the town on terms of perfect equality, which formed a striking contrast to the ostentatious airs of Leicester. Indeed, the great struggle with Spain which had been going on for fifteen years, and the additional life thereby given to the old established provincial and general constitutions of the Provinces, had generated a superior and independent order of councillors, not at all accustomed to the obsequious servility which Leicester desired to have of them. ‘ With the chief of these Leicester very soon managed to get into collision, while he set them down as merchants, advocates, town-orators, church tinkers, and base mechanic men, born not to command but to obey.’ It is sufficient to say that on the points of dispute which include the weightiest questions of Church and State, Leicester was nearly always in the wrong, and that he finally threw himself with rancour and animosity into the arms of the democratic opposition, and endeavoured to subvert the immemorial institutions of the country. Barneveldt and Buys, the two greatest statesmen of the Netherlands, on whose shoulders, since the death of William of Orange, the main burden of the defence of the Protestant cause had fallen, were his chief antagonists, and them accordingly he spoke of in terms of undeviating hatred and contempt. The Queen, as soon as she got over her first fit of anger against her General, took him back again into more favour than ever ; called him her ‘ sweet Robin,’ and was infuriated with everybody, Dutch or English, who dared to oppose his plans, and seconded him in everything except in helping him out of the great distress which his generosity and ruinous expenditure in the cause of the Netherlands had entailed upon him.

But meanwhile events had been marching faster in France, England, and Spain than in Holland. The effect of the edict of Nemours had been to plunge the Huguenots and Catholics again into civil war. On the one side was the degraded Valois, completely subject to the dominion of the Guises, and following their dictation in fear, and hate, and despair ; and on the other side was the gallant chief of the House of Navarre. The Guises scarcely concealed their dependence upon Philip, and through

Spanish crowns, and the influence of Mendoza the ambassador, France was rapidly becoming a barbarous province of Spain. Elizabeth's prisoner, the Queen of Scotland, was, as usual, the central figure of all the plots and intrigues of the Guises, the Spaniards, and the Jesuits. To murder the Queen of England, to set up Mary, to marry her now to this person, now to that, and to restore the Catholic religion in England, was the constant dream of every member of the Guise faction, of Philip in the Escorial, of the Pope in the Vatican, of every seminary-priest, of every Jesuit of Rheims or Rome. But the omniscient secretary of the Queen, Walsingham, was present at nearly every secret deliberation. It is impossible to over-estimate the services of Walsingham to his country at this period: heart-broken as he said he now was at the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, and longing for retirement, impoverished with long service and the ingratitude of his mistress, Walsingham's indefatigable eyes saw through every Popish device, read the very secrets of the Pope's cabinet in the Vatican, and penetrated every design against his religion, his prince, and his country. It was Walsingham who now discovered the Babington conspiracy, which was to lead to the execution of Mary Stuart — an execution in the eyes of the Queen's ministers and the Commons of England imperatively necessary for the preservation of the Faith and the country, but which was a deed of mortal defiance to the conspirators of the Vatican and Escorial. In the tremendous crisis which preceded the execution of the Scottish queen, Elizabeth was desirous of Leicester's assistance in England, and he accordingly left Flushing for England at the end of November 1586.

The departure of Leicester was, nevertheless, a cruel blow to the Netherlands. They were plunged again into anarchy — the governor was gone, and had neither resigned his authority nor pledged himself to return; his faction used the opportunity of working every possible mischief during his six months of absence: and worse than all, he appointed two suspected soldiers, Sir William Stanley and Rowland York, men who had served under Alva and Parma, to the command of the important towns of Deventer and Zutphen. These places were betrayed by them into the hands of the enemy. Stanley was an Englishman of high consideration, and had been named by Leicester for the command in chief in his absence. A burst of execration arose throughout the Provinces at the English name. Parma declared that all confidence in the Englishmen was lost. In every city and village of the Provinces Englishmen were denounced as traitors and miscreants.

‘Respectable English merchants went from hostelry to hostelry, and from town to town, and were refused a lodging for love or money. The nation was put under a ban. A most melancholy change from the beginning of the year, when the very men who were now loudest in denunciation and fiercest in hate, had been the warmest friends of Elizabeth of England and of Leicester.’

But we must pass the remainder of Leicester's connexion with the Netherlands. Suffice it to say, that after his return in 1587, his administration was marked by the same imprudence and party spirit as before. He was unable to relieve the very important town of Sluys, which fell into the hands of Parma. The Queen sustained him most zealously in his quarrels with the States-General, and there was a very sharp and frequent interchange of invectives between her Majesty and the Netherlands. Nevertheless, so manifest was his unpopularity that she thought fit to recall him; and he departed in December 1587, leaving the Dutch republic in a distracted condition, while Lord Willoughby took the command of the Queen's forces. During the interregnum of his absence in England, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the author of the ‘Induction’ and ‘Gorboduc,’ a nobleman of brilliant talents and accomplishments, had been sent over; but his efforts to conciliate parties, and his eloquent representations to the Queen of the true policy demanded for the honour of England and the safety of the Protestant cause, brought on him the animosity of Leicester and the anger of Elizabeth; and he was, on his return, ignominiously confined to his own house till the death of Leicester, which happened soon after the destruction of the Spanish Armada. On the whole, the assistance of the English had as yet done little for the Netherlands: one or two towns had been taken, which advantages were more than compensated by losses in other directions. The Prince of Parma was pressing the Provinces hard everywhere except on the sea-board, where the Hollanders and Zealanders reigned supreme. But the most melancholy remembrance of the transaction were the crowds of returned soldiers clamouring before the gates of the Queen's palace, wounded, famished, miserable, yet dismissed with brutality and threats of the stocks.

In the meantime, the preparations for the invasion of England were slowly being completed. This was the chief aspiration of the whole Catholic world,—the dethronement or death of the Jezebel of England, and the consequent extinction of heresy in Europe. To join in producing these happy results, Henry III. had made almost suppliant offers to Philip. The Pope had prayed to be able to do the same thing, and offered a million of crowns in subsidy. Philip, however, kept his own counsel and put off

everybody with delusive replies. He accepted the Pope's money without exposing his project even to him: he would have no partner in his plan except Parma, of whose secrecy and fidelity he was as sure as of his own inflexible design. From before the fall of Antwerp that plot had been gradually ripening. The Grand Commander of Castile had, by Philip's orders, mapped out the whole enterprise early in 1586, in most elaborate detail. France was still, with Spanish money, to be kept in civil war, so that it could be no impediment in any direction. Troops for the invasion of England were to be collected in Flanders, as though for an enterprise against Holland and Zealand, while the Armada, which was to cover the passage over, was to be prepared in the ports of Spain, *ostensibly for an expedition to the Indies*. The Queen of Scotland being then alive, it was determined to marry her to Alexander Farnese immediately the country was conquered; and as they were not likely to have any children, various ulterior arrangements were contemplated. The ground plan of the whole scheme being thus magnificently laid in the Escorial, Parma was requested to examine it and put in the finishing strokes. The Prince, by a paper found among the archives of Simancas, reminded the King that, when, as a good Catholic —

‘Two or three years before he had sent his master an account of the coasts, anchoring-places, and harbours of England, he had then expressed the opinion that the conquest of England was an enterprise worthy of the grandeur and Christianity of his Majesty, and not so difficult as to be considered altogether impossible. To make himself absolutely master of the business, however, he had then thought that the king should have no associates in the scheme, and should make no account of the inhabitants of England. Since that time the project had become more difficult of accomplishment, because it was now a stale and common topic of conversation everywhere—in Italy, Germany, and France; so that there could be little doubt that rumours on the subject were daily reaching the ears of Queen Elizabeth and of every one in her kingdom. Hence she had made a strict alliance with Sweden, Denmark, the Protestant princes of Germany, and even with the Turks and the French. Nevertheless, in spite of these obstacles, the king, placing his royal hand to the work, might well accomplish the task; for the favour of the Lord, whose cause it was, would be sure to give him success.

‘Being so Christian and Catholic a king, Philip naturally desired to extend the area of the holy church, and to come to the relief of so many poor innocent martyrs in England, crying aloud before the Lord for help. Moreover, Elizabeth had fomented rebellion in the king's provinces for a long time secretly, and now, since the fall of Antwerp, and just as Holland and Zealand were falling into his grasp, openly.

‘Thus, in secret and in public, she had done the very worst she could do; and it was very clear that the Lord, for her sins, had deprived her of understanding, in order that his Majesty might be the instrument of that chastisement which she so fully deserved.’ (Vol. ii. p. 270.)

Three points, he said, were most vital to the invasion of England — secrecy, maintenance of the civil war in France, and a judicious arrangement of matters in the Provinces. After enlarging on each of these points, he then proceeded to enter into the details of the expedition, specifying the number of troops which would be required, describing the craft which he should have to provide, and descending to the smallest particulars.

The letter was written in April 1586. Philip steadily followed out the programme. Tremendous was the activity in all the dockyards of Naples, Sicily, Portugal, and Spain, but especially in Cadiz and Lisbon. For a year galleons, galeazas, caravels, brigantines, tenders, and warlike stores had been quietly accumulating in the vast harbours of these two cities, when Drake, who, like a true sea-king, was accustomed to carry on war on his own account, came to see how they were getting on; and it was then that he ‘singd the King of Spain’s ‘beard,’ as he termed it, by burning, scuttling, rifling, and sinking many thousands of tons of shipping, driving the Spanish galleys under their forts for shelter, and challenging Santa Cruz, who was to command the Armada, to come out and exchange bullets with him. Nevertheless he was not of opinion that he had materially damaged the Spaniards, so vast were their preparations. ‘Bpt,’ said Sir Francis, ‘I thank them much that they have staid so long, and when they come *they shall be but the sons of mortal men*.’ Yet we learn from the archives of Simancas, by a communication of the Spanish Ambassador, that when the Pope knew what *Dragues* had done at Cadiz, he declared that Philip was a poor fellow, and that the Queen of England’s distaff was worth more than his sword!

Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, was rapidly organising the military part of the expedition with all the patience, ingenuity, and genius which distinguish a consummate general. This Prince, with his unswerving fidelity to his master, his unalterable attachment to the cause of Catholicism, his chivalry in the field, his unquenchable ardour, dauntless vigour of character, and inexhaustible fertility in the most brilliant combinations and efforts of military skill, was worthy to have served in a better cause; but a scion of a Papal family, nursed in the school of morals of the Jesuits, it was hardly possible

for him to be other than he was, loyal to the last breath to the cause of Romanism and Philip as its chief, but capable of every violation of morals and right which might seem advantageous to the intolerant ambition of the Catholic Powers. A man born to command, with a spirit at once impetuous and patient, nursed in the traditions of the famous military schools of Italy, which produced great captains and Condottieri from the days of the Sforzas down to those of Spinola and Montecuculi, he now entered heart and soul into the plans for the subjugation of England. Mr. Motley's portrait of Alexander of Parma is one of the most striking passages in these volumes :—

‘Untiring, uncomplaining, thoughtful of others, prodigal of himself, generous, modest, brave; with so much intellect and so much devotion to what he considered his duty, he deserved to be a patriot and a champion of the right, rather than an instrument of despotism.

‘And thus he paused for a moment—with much work already accomplished, but his hardest life-task before him; still in the noon of manhood, a fine martial figure, standing, spear in hand, full in the sunlight, though all the scene around him was wrapped in gloom—a noble, commanding shape, entitled to the admiration which the energetic display of great powers, however unscrupulous, must always command. A dark, meridional physiognomy; a quick, alert, imposing head; jet black, close-clipped hair; a bold eagle's face, with full, bright, restless eye; a man rarely reposing, always ready, never alarmed; living in the saddle, with hafness on his back—such was the Prince of Parma; matured and mellowed, but still unharmed by time.’ (Vol. i. p. 138.)

This general, who was capable of draining whole districts for the sake of taking a town, was now cutting down forests in the land of Waes for the construction of transports and gun-boats; digging canals to bring them down to his seaports of Sluys, Newport, and Dunkirk; protecting his canals with artillery against the rebel Netherlands; providing portable bridges, stockades for entrenchments, rafts and oars; and superintending his engineering operations with the most unwearying activity. Besides the troops he already had under his flag, 3000 soldiers reached him from Northern and Central Italy, 4000 from Naples, 6000 from Castile, and 3000 from Aragon, 3000 from Austria, with four squadrons of Reiters, besides levies in Franche Comté and the Walloon districts. No preparation was omitted: to provide for these troops, there were hundreds of ships—flat-bottomed transports and river hoys—horses, mules, saddles, spurs, lances, mills for grinding corn, barrels of beer, and tons of salted beef and biscuit. Nothing was left unthought of down to the sumptuous equipment of the body-guard with which he was triumphantly to enter London.

But what was the attitude of England and its Queen in the

face of these sumptuous preparations? Walsingham was informed of everything. He had a full and correct inventory of the Prince of Parma's purchases. He knew precisely how many pairs of velvet shoes, how many silk roses, white and red, how many pieces of cramoisy velvet, how many hundred-weight of gold and silver embroidery the Prince had ordered, how all the lances were bravely painted with their colours as for a triumph, and how the litany was read in all the churches daily for the prosperity of the Prince in his enterprise. But the warnings of Walsingham against Spain were an old story. The Queen would not listen to them; she had shut her ears for the last sixteen years to Walsingham's advice, and could she believe him now when that gallant soldier, the Prince of Parma, told her, and Philip gave out, that these great preparations were for the Indies, or perhaps for the Netherlands, or perhaps for both? The counsellor who was her chief support in this view, and who taught her to hope for peace where there could be no peace, was the Lord Treasurer. Burleigh, in his flowing gown, white wand, and reverend aspect, was one of those respectable timid gentlewomen who appear from time to time as statesmen, wanting always to be on the safe side. Their fears make them warlike and audacious in time of peace; and importunate for peace when there is no hope but war. No one more than Burleigh had urged Elizabeth to the execution of the Queen of Scotland. While Mary lived he had been convinced that there was no hope of England's safety or of the Queen's. His fears were so unendurable on this subject, that any means were fair to get rid of them — he made two attempts to have the Scottish Queen assassinated with perfect security to himself, and failed. Nevertheless, Burleigh must or should have known that the execution of Mary was an act of mortal defiance to the whole Catholic world. No sooner, therefore, did the head of Mary fall in the hall of Fotheringay Castle, than a cry for vengeance arose throughout Europe. Not only did the Jesuits of Italy, Spain, and Austria clamour for the blood of Elizabeth, but all the preachers of the League thundered against the wicked Jezebel of England, and demanded her blood as an expiation for that of the Royal Martyr, the remembrance of whose beauty and youth, and whose relationship to the Guises, goaded the Parisian populace to madness. Philip was preparing his mighty armament against England, not only as the chief of the Catholic world, but as one who himself had a claim to avenge the death of Mary, inasmuch as she had appealed to him for protection, and by a solemn instrument, which he affected to consider valid, had con-

stituted him heir of all her rights and dominions. Burleigh knew very well that from north to south, from east to west, throughout Europe, for the last two years, the invasion of England had been the all-pervading dream of the Catholic mind; and that the subjugation of England was to be the steppingstone to that of Holland, and to the complete triumph of Romanism. It was not a matter about which there could be any doubt in the eyes of any sane person of that epoch; it was openly avowed and openly hoped for from Paris to Rome, and from Vienna to Madrid; and if Philip had succeeded, he would have been but the instrument of the public opinion of the greater portion of Europe. On every side the evidences of his designs were now patent. Ireland was kept by him in a chronic state of rebellion under Tyrone; in Scotland, James VI., still unappeased for the death of his mother, allowed the Jesuits free range over his kingdom, and the Earls of Huntley, Morton, and Crawford to concert measures with the Duke of Parma. From the Vatican the Pope launched forth his bulls of excommunication and deposition; and in France, Philip, true to his policy, kept the whole force of the nation writhing in civil war, and, as fit preparation for his great movement, ordered the chiefs of the League to Paris, who there brought about the day of the barricades, which drove the King from the capital, and gave Philip's creature, the Duke de Guise, supreme authority in the metropolis. The King of France was thus, to use the words of the Prince of Parma, reduced to a state of helplessness which did not permit him 'to assist the Queen of England 'even with his tears, of which he had need to weep his own 'misfortunes.' *Fifteen days after the day of barricades* the Spanish fleet sailed out of the Tagus on its way to England.

Such, besides Walsingham's constant intelligence of all the details of the destined invasion, were the general indications of the storm at hand; and yet Burleigh to the last contributed to lull his Queen and his country into a false security, and obstinately persisted in carrying on those secret negotiations for peace which were the disgrace and nearly the ruin of England, and a continued disloyalty to the Netherlands. The researches of Mr. Motley have brought to light for the first time a great many curious details of the deepest historical interest on these underhand transactions.

A Genoese merchant, named Grafigny, residing much in London and Antwerp, was the officious instrument of the negotiation. Having occasion to wait on the Prince of Parma for a passport, they began to talk about the distress of the country, the damage to trade, and matters which the man of commerce found



especially obnoxious to him. Parma gave out that all he wanted was peace; and spoke in terms of vast admiration of the Queen. Grafigny, acting on this hint, sought out Lord Cobham, in England. The peace party in England, Burleigh at their head, instantly caught at the bait thus hung out to them. Then ensued an active correspondence between persons more or less in the confidence of Elizabeth and Parma, and having direct access to each. Parma was informed that the Queen was most pacifically disposed; the Prince replied with an infinity of compliments that peace then was an easy matter, and in this underhand way negotiations were set on foot. Parma from the first informed Philip of what was going on, and told him he did it in order to gain time, to set the English to sleep about the invasion, and to slacken their defences. But the Queen and her advisers kept her share of the transaction a secret from her allies, the Netherlands, and when taxed about the matter denied it roundly. Parma at length himself wrote to Elizabeth letters full of effusion and cordiality. Burleigh replied for her to his Flemish correspondent in letters equally effusive and complimentary. During the whole of 1587, these negotiations dragged their slow length along; the Queen, with Burleigh and others, persisting in thinking something was to be got by them, Walsingham from the first setting his face against them. Leicester, when in the Netherlands, got at last sufficient information to enable him to speak out. 'Surely you shall find,' he wrote to Burleigh, 'the *Prince meaneth no peace*; I see *money doth undo all*, the care 'to keep it, and not upon just cause to spend it.' From every quarter the Queen received warnings; even the King of France was beginning to see the folly and weakness of his own conduct, and held a long conference with the English ambassador at Paris, on the hopelessness of settling any peace with Spain, whose designs he well knew. The States got wind of these transactions long before Leicester; and there is little cause to wonder that the brave Hollanders and Zealanders, who were prepared to retire to the last foot of sand and shed the last drop of their blood before they would submit to Spain, should, on hearing of these clandestine and disloyal efforts for peace, have lost all confidence in the Queen and in England, and grown infuriated when Deventer and Zutphen were lost by the treason of Englishmen. Yet, spite of all, Burleigh continued writing his interminable sentences to his correspondent, De Loo, wanting the Prince, before commissioners were really sent, 'to assure her Majesty by his writing that he would, upon his honour, with all expedition send to the king his advice to stay all hostile actions, or to have the king's answer, like a prince of honour, *whether he*

*'intendeth or no to employ these forces against her Majesty, and yet her Majesty will stand well by the Duke's answer if the army shall not be known to be actually prepared against England.'*

We should imagine that there is nothing in all history equal to the ineffable simplicity of this letter, when we consider that it came from Burleigh and was inspired by Elizabeth. Here was Burleigh, the statesman, who had counselled the surreptitious taking off by private hand of the Queen of Scots to avoid public scandal; here was Elizabeth, who certainly showed at several epochs in her life that she was a mistress in the arts of dissimulation, and who was now herself deceiving her allies, asking, in an age of universal chicane and intrigue, an Italian prince, taught in the school of the Jesuits that to deceive a heretic was the duty of a Romanist — to give them a straightforward avowal of what they knew, if true, it was his interest to conceal. What could the Duke reply, but in high-flown Italian compliment with pious asseverations, that he above all was desirous of the public welfare and tranquillity? Elizabeth and her advisers were sincere in their protestations for peace, for they wanted it. Parma was insincere because he did not want it. Parma, at least, with all his mendacity, was true to Philip and his creed; and the peace party in England were untrue to their allies, and to their creed in seeking for it in this disloyal manner. The conduct of Elizabeth and Burleigh on this success would be inexplicable, did not history show us, over and over again, the truth that persons capable of the deepest artifice and dissimulation, will at times, as in the case even of Cæsar Borgia, only believe what they want to believe. That which really deceived Elizabeth on this occasion was her avarice; this had made her haggle and procrastinate about assisting the Netherlands; the expense of that assistance had made her hate the war, and hate the name of the Netherlands; and now her avarice made her prefer these ignominious attempts to soldier up a peace, rather than expend money in putting the country in a proper state of defence. Parma, as Leicester told them, was using these negotiations as a blind to hurry on his preparations as fast as possible. Elizabeth was using them as an excuse to herself and her country for not drawing her purse-strings, and not doing that which the commonest prudence dictated.

The correspondence of Philip and Parma, which Mr. Motley has hunted up in the archives of Simancas, reveals the shameless mendacity with which they on their side continued to hold forth the tempting lure of negotiation; but it was a mendacity which ought to have deceived no one. At the very time that

Parma was writing affectionate letters to the Queen, he had before him Philip's last directions about the English invasion. Philip told him 100 ships, 12,000 trained infantry, with abundance of volunteers, were all ready. 'Nothing,' said the king, 'had been allowed to transpire in Spain, or at Rome: every thing must be done to keep the secret.' Parma told the king the course of the negotiations, but also begged to be informed whether there were any terms upon which the king would really conclude a peace.

'The condition of France,' he said, 'was growing more alarming every day. In part there seemed to be hopes of peace in that distracted country. The Queen of England was cementing a strong league for herself with the French king and the Huguenots, and matters were looking very serious. The impending peace in France would never do, and Philip should prevent it by giving Mucio (their cant name for the Duc de Guise) more money. Unless the French are entangled and at war among themselves, it is quite clear, said Alexander, that we can never think of carrying out our great scheme of invading England.'

'The king replied that he had *no intention of concluding a peace on any terms whatever, and therefore could name no conditions*; but he quite approved of a continuance of the negotiation. The English, he was convinced, were utterly false on their part, and the King of Denmark's proposition to mediate was part and parcel of the same fiction. (Guise was to have his money, and Farnese to go steadily on with his preparations.)' (Vol. ii. p. 307.)

On the same day Philip wrote another letter to the same purport. He refused to send Farnese full powers for treating, but the Prince was to say that he had had them for some time, and decline to show them till satisfaction had been made on certain points; he enlarged on the misdeeds of England, on the inhuman murder of the Queen of Scots, on the piracies at sea and in the Indies, and on Drake's late 'singeing of his beard' at Cadiz and Lisbon. Farnese was to express astonishment that the English should desire peace while committing such actions; but, in order to make use of the same arts employed by the enemy, the latter were not to be undeceived as to the negotiations, which were to be kept on foot with the strictest understanding that they should lead to nothing. The king's secretary, Don Juan de Idiaquez, wrote another letter to the same purport. This was on the 13th May, 1587.

At last commissioners were appointed on both sides; and when commissioners were appointed it was no longer possible for Philip to withhold the full powers. They were accordingly sent, but with the most distinct injunctions to Farnese that *they should be considered as of no authority at all*. The English envoys

arrived at Ostend, in March, 1588, and proceeded to meet Parma at Ghent. The embassy consisted of the Earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Valentine Dale, Doctor of Laws and former ambassador of Vienna, and Dr. Rogers. With them also came Robert Cecil, youngest son of Lord Treasurer Burleigh. It is of little consequence what they did, when we know beforehand that the whole business was a delusion. Suffice it to say that there were banquetings, meetings, cordialities of the most tender character, interchanges of amenities and presents of the most touching description, hares, pheasants, casts of hawks, couples of English greyhounds, and barrels of Ostend oysters. The Prince himself, when he had no more pressing occupation on hands, would confer with Dr. Rogers or Dr. Dale, listen to their pedantic harangues, smile with them, weep with them, hug them in his arms, speak in the most gallant manner of the Queen, and go through his part with all the graces of a consummate comic actor. Thus passed six months of time, months perhaps the most precious in the whole of modern history, months on which the fate of all civilisation depended, months in which the legions of Jesuitism and Papal darkness were arming themselves in invincible array to come forth and trample under foot the most sacred rights of humanity in their last refuge in England and Holland, and reduce the conscience of Europe into a degrading and hopeless state of bondage from which it might never have been enabled to liberate itself up to the present hour. For long after the very days on which the Spanish fleet sailed from the mouth of the Tagus, after the very hour in which the Spanish and English fleets were exchanging broadsides on the coast of Devonshire, did the English Commissioners remain protocolling, writing apostilles, and exchanging civilities with the representatives of Spain. Not even the bull of Sixtus V., in which Elizabeth was denounced as a bastard and usurper, and her kingdom solemnly conferred on Philip, published in Antwerp in the English tongue, nor the infamous libel of Cardinal Allen, were sufficient altogether to undeceive the Queen, for, on the 9th July, she commanded Dr. Dale to obtain explanations of the Prince about his contemplated conquest of her realm, and his share in the publication of the bull and pamphlet; and to 're-quire him, as he would be accounted a *prince of honour*, to let her plainly understand what she *might think thereof*.' It is true, in her letter to her Commissioners, she says that she has discovered that the treaty of peace was only entertained to abuse her; but still her envoy was to inform the Prince that she would trust to his word; and *this six weeks after the sailing of the Armada*, when, if it had not been for the unwieldy character of the vessels,

and a tempest which overtook them off Cape Finisterre, and compelled them to put into Corunna and other ports of Spain for more than a month to repair, the fate of England would already have been settled either one way or the other. It will have been seen by Philip's letter to Parma that it was imagined the negotiations were also illusory on the part of the Queen, but there is no proof of this; there is every proof that up to the last the Queen was the dupe of a strong delusion, and that Burleigh was the dupe of his own wish to be on good terms with her, and to take the cautious side.

Meanwhile there cannot be the smallest doubt, from abundant contemporary evidence, that the Queen had sacrificed the security of the country to her avarice and her obstinacy. The Armada left the Tagus on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May: damaged by the storm off Cape Finisterre, it arrived in Calais roads, where it was to effect a junction with Parma, on the 6th of August. Had there been no storm, and had the junction been effected with Parma, the Spaniards might have landed on English ground at least before the end of June. It is painful to think that at that time, with the exception of Howard's little squadron cruising about in the Channel, neither fleet nor army were in any way prepared for resistance. The country was burning with enthusiasm, but sinking with anxiety and delay, and loathing the very name of peace. From before the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, from near the commencement of the heroic struggle in the Netherlands, that is to say, for nearly twenty years, it had been felt by every Protestant heart in England that the death grapple with Spain must come at last. England, without Scotland and Ireland, then a little nation of barely 4,000,000 of inhabitants, was full of heroic souls, like the Sidneys, Fulke Greville, Howard, the Norrises, Sackville, Raleigh, Essex, Drake, Hawkins, and all her great sea captains, who had grown wild with desire to cope with the great colossus of Spain, swollen with the wealth of both Indies and of Europe, and outnumbering the English by many millions. Yet these had up to the present time been held back, fretting and foaming at the imperious curb of the Queen's obstinacy; all their patriotism and noble passion sacrificed either to her parsimony or her favouritism. When the Queen did give the word the nation rose, and rose *en masse*; but she gave the word too late.

Although this assertion is totally at variance with the received tradition of Elizabeth's spirit and forethought on this great occasion, the evidence collected by Mr. Motley from our own State Papers, and an accurate comparison of the dates places the

fact beyond all doubt, and throws an entirely new light on the history of the projected invasion. England's defenders were praying in vain up to the last for means to protect their country, and cursing in their hearts these negotiations.

Old Hawkins wrote to Walsingham in February, 1588:—

'We might have peace, but not with God; but rather than serve Baal let us die a thousand deaths. Let us have open war with these Jesuits, and every man will contribute, fight, devise, or do for the liberty of our country.'

The Lord High-Admiral Howard wrote in the same month to Walsingham:—

'Since England was England there never was such a stratagem and mask to deceive her as this treaty of peace. I pray God that we do not curse for this *a long grey-beard with a white head witless*, that will make all the world think us witless. You know whom I mean.'

The Lord Treasurer plain enough!

In March, Howard was complaining that the Queen was keeping 'those four great ships' to protect Chatnam church. Drake was not ready with his squadron, 'and yet,' said Howard, 'the fault is not with him.'

On the 17th of April, Howard again wrote, beseeching for one of 'those four great ships;' and ended his letter in despair.

'Well, well! I must pray for peace, for I see the support of an honourable war will never appear. Sparing and war have no affinity together. I am sorry that her Majesty is so careless at this most dangerous time.'

The Spanish fleet was reported by Drake *in April* as already numbering from 400 to 500 ships. '*By Midsummer*,' says Mr. Motley, 'there was ready in England a total force of 197 vessels manned and partially equipped, with an aggregate of 29,744 tons, and 15,785 seamen.' Of this fleet a very large number were mere coasters of less than 100 tons each; scarcely ten ships were above 500; and but one above 1000. The greater portion of these ships were furnished by the English merchants and private gentlemen in London and the sea-ports. The aggregate tonnage of the royal navy was 11,820. 'Not half so much as at the present moment,—in the case of one marvellous merchant steamer,' floats on a single keel. The preparations of the land forces were even more dilatory than those of the sea. Sir John Norris was the best soldier in England, and he was to be Marshal of the camp under the favourite Leicester, Commander-in-Chief. An army had been enrolled, but it existed principally on paper. Leices-

ter's force was to consist of 27,000 infantry, and 2000 horse; but by Midsummer they had not reached half that number. Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon was to protect the Queen's person with an imaginary army of 36,000. The Lord-Lieutenant of each county was expected to lead out his militia, and it was here that the real strength of the country lay, however ill-prepared. Leicester was just commencing his camp at Tilbury, with 4000 men, and Lord Hunsdon's force was *not assembled at all* on the 7th of August, when the Spanish army might have crossed over from Calais Roads in a night, and landed on the soil. The Queen's 'Bellona-like' appearance on her white palfrey, amid the ranks at Tilbury; and her heroic speech, which has excited the admiration of every English child, did not happen *till eleven days afterwards*,— 'not till the great Armada, shattered and 'tempest-tossed, had been a week long dashing itself against the 'cliffs of Norway and the Faroës, on its forlorn retreat to Spain.' To the last we have Leicester inveighing against the penuriousness of the Queen. On the 5th of August 'our soldiers do 'break away at Dover, or are not pleased. I assure you, with- 'out wages the people will not tarry, and contributions go hard 'with them. Surely I find that her Majesty must needs deal 'liberally, and be at charges to entertain her subjects that have 'chargeably and liberally used themselves to serve her.\*

It was fortunate for England that Philip on his side, as he pedantically directed the vast expedition from his cabinet in the Escorial, made blunders sufficient to preclude all hopes of success. The autocrat's plans had often been ruined by his irresolution and procrastination; they were now made fruitless by his angry precipitation. In the first place, the fleet was no longer commanded by the Marquess de Santa Cruz; that veteran seaman had died of grief and vexation at his master's insults and reproaches. Alonzo Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, the first grandee of Spain, but an officer without character or experience, was entrusted with an enterprise requiring the nicest union of courage and discretion. In the second place, the king gave instructions that the fleet was 'not to give battle until the junction with Parma; but there was no provision whatever how the junction with Parma, which was the very key-stone of the whole conception, was to be effected. And this was the real difficulty in the enterprise, for Alexander with his vast

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\* The penuriousness of the Queen was so extraordinary that it amounted to a monomania. When it was reported that the Spanish fleet had taken refuge in Gorunna, she ordered Effingham to lay up some of her largest ships and discharge the seamen. But Effingham begged leave to retain all in commission at his own expense.

preparations, and his splendid levies and reinforcements, with his light craft and flat-bottomed transports, was cooped up in his shallow harbours by the Dutch fleet; he was completely nailed to the side of Flanders—held in a vice by the Hollanders and Zealanders, with their large and small craft, until such time as his tormenting foes should be driven away. In vain had Alexander Farnese repeatedly assured Philip of the necessity of getting hold of one of the large ports of the Netherlands as a basis for his operations against England. Philip obstinately persisted in believing that Farnese could pass with his light flotilla through the Dutch fleet whenever he chose, or rather the king laid his plans as though the Dutch fleet was not in existence. In all human probability the sturdy occupation of the coast by those Dutch skippers saved England from invasion—a memorable example to all time of the vital importance of the Dutch and Belgian ports to the security of this country!

The Spanish fleet, after its first mishap, had got well under sail on the 22nd of July, and on the 29th they were off the Lizard; and the same night, throughout the length and breadth of England, mountain, cliff, and foreland threw up, one after another, their fiery signals that the foe was at last on the coast. Slowly in pompous array, like a floating city, the Armada, 136 sail, floated up the Channel. Its enormous galleons and galleasses, rowing galleys and tenders, arranged in the form of a crescent, the largest vessels castellated at stem and stern, with low waists, and shot-proof towers, were, however, with all their parade of gilded saints and bulwarks, pulpits, streamers, standards, and ostentatious pageantry, little match for the light-heeled cruisers of Hawkins, Drake, Winter, and Frobisher, who fell in with them on the 31st of July. The superiority of English seamanship was never more manifest than on that day. The great Spanish hulks, from the very beginning, found themselves out-manœuvred by their nimble adversaries, riddled with shot, and unable to get a blow in exchange. The English craft walked round and round them, and inflicted the most fearful punishment, so that on the very first day the flag-ships of the Guipuzcoan and of the Andalusian squadrons, with a general, admiral, 450 officers and men, and some 100,000 ducats of treasure, were lost to the Spaniards. On went the Spanish fleet, however, leisurely wafted up the Channel, followed by the English. On the 2nd of August there was, as Hawkins said, 'a sharp and long fight,' and volunteers of all ranks, like Cumberland, Northumberland, Oxford, Raleigh, Brooke and Dudley, Willoughby and others, came off to the Queen's ships from the coasts of Dorsetshire,



to take their share of the day's glory. The tactics day after day were of the same kind; the unwieldy Spanish hulks trying in vain to grapple with their light-winged antagonists, who poured in their broadsides and danced away. On the 4th of August both fleets were off Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight. Here Frobisher, in the 'Triumph,' got to close quarters with the Spaniards, and was in some danger; when Effingham, the Lord Admiral, in the 'Ark Royal,' with the 'Golden Lion,' the 'White Bear,' the 'Elizabeth,' the 'Victory,' and the 'Leicester,' bore down into the midst of the Spanish fleet, and laid himself within point-blank range of Medina's flag-ship, the 'St. Martin,' while his comrades were at equally close quarters with the 'St. Mark,' the 'St. Luke,' the 'St. Philip,' and the rest of the Apostolic squadron. As soon as Frobisher, however, had extricated himself, the Admiral gave the signal for retreat, and the English walked away from their gigantic adversaries, leaving behind them ghastly marks of punishment, while the enemy's fire went high over their heads. On the 6th of August, nevertheless, the Spanish fleet dropped anchor in Calais Roads, without having suffered any serious discomfiture.

The English fleet dropped anchor in front of them, at a mile and a half distance, and during that night and the next day, Sunday, the 7th of August, the fleets remained rising and falling at their anchors. The impatience on board the Spanish fleet increased from hour to hour, mixed with horrible suspicions of treachery. Where was Parma? Where were his invincible legions, seasoned in the smoke of a hundred battle-fields? Where was the famous *Terzio* of Naples, 3500 strong, the most splendid regiment ever known in the annals of war? Where the renowned columns of Spanish infantry, then the most terrible in the world, and celebrated by Bossuet a century later for being as solid as ramparts, but ramparts capable of repairing their breaches? Where were the Margraves, Princes, Arch-dukes, scions of Royal houses and noble English traitors, who had rushed to the camp of Farnese as to a tournament? Alas! the plot, like Hotspur's, was an excellent plot, but it was made up, unfortunately, of two halves which could not be got together. Farnese was, Drake said, 'raging like a bear robbed of her whelps.' Day after day he had told Philip that it was impossible to get out with his flotilla and transports — that the Armada must at least clear the way for him. With incredible labour and expense he had got his troops down to the sea coast; on the news of the arrival of the Armada before Calais he had packed his men like sacks of corn in his boats, in the hope of being able to get out to sea, but the Hollanders and

Zealanders guarded every outlet, braved him, taunted him, laughed him to scorn. Alexander, beside himself with rage, ordered a thousand musketeers to assault those insolent boatmen. 'With his own hand,' so it was related, 'he struck dead more than one of his own officers who remonstrated against these commands, and then the attack was made by his thousand musketeers upon the Hollanders, and every man of the thousand was slain!' And while he thus continued to wait, the Prince of Ascoli, who had gone ashore from the Spanish fleet off Calais, brought him news of the panic struck into the Armada by Effingham's fire-ships, and of their dispersion and flight.

'To the Queen's glorious naval commanders, to the dauntless mariners of England, with their well-handled vessels, their admirable seamanship, their tact and their courage, belonged the joys of the contest, the triumph, and the glorious pursuit; but to the patient Hollanders and Zealanders, who, with their hundred vessels, held Farnese, the chief of the great enterprise, at bay, a close prisoner with his whole army in his own ports, daring him to the issue, and ready—to the last plank of their fleet and to the last drop of their blood—to confront both him and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, an equal share of honour is due. The safety of the two free commonwealths of the world in that terrible contest was achieved by the people and the mariners of the two States combined.' (Vol. ii. p. 465.)

Meanwhile the fire-ships of Effingham, on the night of the 7th, had thrown a frightful panic among the crews of the Spanish fleet; many vessels were disabled, two fired, and the rest driven from their moorings. Nevertheless Medina Sidonia would have returned to take up his quarters, but in the six hours' fight of the following day, in which Winter especially distinguished himself, so many of his ships were disabled that he was compelled to order a retreat. Spanish sailors who had been in the battle of Lepanto said that that famous sea-fight was far outdone by this combat off Gravelines. The conduct of our great sea-captains, even after that event, was a union of the most consummate audacity and prudence. They kept close to the heels of the Spanish fleet, nearly drove them on to the fatal sands of Zealand; and when the enemy, by a change of wind, were enabled to stand out to sea, the English fleet followed them, although many ships were without ammunition or provisions. 'Though our powder and shot was well nigh spent,' said the Lord Admiral, 'we put on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we wanted nothing.'

Part of the fleet put back to cover the mouth of the Thames, and look after the Prince of Parma, but the Lord

Admiral dogged the flying Spaniards over the North Sea till the 12th of August, when he put back. It seems that Medina Sidonia was on the point of hanging out the white flag, so terrified was he at the prospect of having to weather the tempestuous passage round the Orkneys and the Hebrides. On the 14th came that tremendous storm which strewn the greater part of the shattered hulks in wrecks about the granite rocks of Norway and the Faroës. Out of 30,000 men scarce 10,000 returned to Spain. There was hardly a noble family in the country which was not in mourning—*afflavit Deus et dissipantur*. In the words of Drake, ‘Their invincible and dreadful navy, with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, or pinnace, or cockboat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land.’ Nevertheless it must be admitted that the penuriousness of the Queen exposed England to a frightful danger. The love of sparing—as her generals called it—was with her an infatuation, a monomania, carried to such an extent that it imperilled the existence of England, and subjected her noblest defenders to lamentable and cruel forgetfulness on the part of their obdurate mistress. Before the danger had even passed away, in the latter days of August, the sailors were dying by hundreds and thousands of ship fever—perishing in the ships, and in the streets of the naval ports, with no hospitals to take them in. ‘It would grieve any man’s heart,’ wrote the Lord Admiral, ‘to see men that have served so valiantly die so miserably. The crews had been eight months at sea, subject to excessive privation, and could not get their wages; so that,’ said Howard, ‘it breeds a marvellous alteration among them.’

Yet the spirited attitude of the Queen at Tilbury, and the annihilation of Philip’s great enterprise, raised the temper of the country to an heroic height. Then commenced that series of glorious enterprises which carried terror and destruction into every port where Spanish was spoken, which cut off every fleet, and ravaged their colonies one after another from Porto Rico and Nombre de Dios to the coasts of Chili and Peru. The Queen herself, on the accession of Henry IV., came liberally forward to his assistance; and the valour of Lord Willoughby, Norris, Williams, Baskerville, Borroughs, Umpton, Vere, and Essex contributed to secure the throne of France, in spite of the Duke of Parma and the League, for the monarch to whom Protestantism was to owe the glorious triumph of the edict of Nantes. For after the destruction of the Armada a rapid change took place in the affairs of France. In the same

year the Guise was murdered by Henry III., who himself was assassinated by Jacques Clement on the 1st of August, 1589: and with the victories of Henry IV. the dark cloud of Spanish ambition passed away from the face of Europe.

We have thus been enabled, with Mr. Motley's assistance, to pass in review one of the most famous episodes of English history, the ignominious defeat of the greatest conspiracy against the freedom and conscience of man which was ever attempted. It has been impossible in the limits of these pages to do justice to the noble spirit and achievements of our navy; for it must never be forgotten that the storm did no more than consummate the disaster of the enemy. Much as we value the new light which Mr. Motley has thrown on this famous passage of our history, we differ from him in his estimate of the results likely to follow, even had Parma effected a landing. When we consider not only the gallantry and seamanship of England's naval heroes on this occasion, but also that which Raleigh and Essex displayed soon after, as well as that eternally memorable action of Sir Richard Grenville, three years later, when with one ship and a crew of a hundred and three, he engaged the whole Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail and ten thousand men, from three in the afternoon to the break of day the next morning, during which engagement he destroyed four ships and a thousand men; it cannot be imagined that even had the Spaniards succeeded in effecting the junction with Parma, and in landing on the coast, that they could long have maintained a position in England. The English fleet, inferior as it was in point of size and number, showed itself even without the aid of the storm more than a match for the Great Armada. Whatever force had landed on the coast, whatever military position the genius of Parma might have taken up, the invading army would have found itself cut off by the indomitable courage of men like Drake, Howard, Frobisher, Winter, and Hawkins—men who could not only have got fitted out in English ports, but in the Netherlands.

Besides which, a country in arms, as the England of that day was, is nearly invincible. It must be remembered that every citizen was trained, as he ought indeed to be, to the use of arms. Our noblemen and gentlemen from earliest youth were practised not only in hunting, horsemanship, and the mimic warfare of the lists, but at the sword and dagger, wrestling, throwing, leaping, and every manly exercise. 'First, in any case, practice with the single sword, and then with the dagger: let no day pass without an hour or two of such exercise: the rest study and confer diligently.' So writes Sir Philip Sidney

to his brother Robert at the University of Strasbourg, after a great deal of advice about Aristotle and logic. No father wrote to his son at school in those days without telling him to play out his play lustily at weapons. Nor were the yeomen, peasants, and townsfolk less practised at singlestick, pike exercise, and every kind of athletic sport. An army of such men headed by the lord-lieutenants and the gentlemen of the county would have made short work with the invaders; and we know the Catholics themselves, as soon as the real danger appeared, volunteered to serve as soldiers in the ranks or as seamen in the ships.

Neither do we agree with Mr. Motley in esteeming Philip insincere in his Catholicism. In our opinion he has at least that excuse for his barbarity, if it be an excuse. We regard him with the same horror as an idolater who thinks to appease and worship his deity with the groans, torture, and unceasing anguish of innumerable victims. His God was the idol of bigotry, who turned a deaf ear to mercy, and whose delight was pain. We have no doubt he spoke the real feeling of his heart when he said to the victim, who was about to be burned at the stake: 'Perish thou, and all like thee; if my own son were a heretic, I would deliver him to the flames.' The very letters in these volumes are to us, in their cold, rigid, pietistic tone, a proof of the sincerity of his fanaticism. It is true that when he was a candidate for the Empire of Germany he offered beforehand to tolerate Protestantism in his dominions. But there can be no doubt that his confessors would, if he had succeeded there, instantly have relieved him from the obligation, and that to have arrived at such a dignity by means of a broken vow would have been regarded as a triumph for Romanism. He doubtless had not the most remote intention of keeping such a promise at the time he made it. Both he and Catherine de' Medici will long remain conspicuous in history, as examples of how completely a Jesuit education can extirpate the conscience, and leave nothing behind but superstition and cruelty. In the Catholic world, all greatness of character perished, and through the confessional the spirit of Loyola governed all. The conscience of all Catholic Europe passed through the alembic of the Jesuit, and the result has endured to this day. Italy is only now endeavouring to awaken from the pernicious effects of the deadly poison then infused into her system; and it would seem as though Spain, the land of the Inquisition of Philip II., in its feeble and frantic efforts at life, was yet long to remain as a warning and an example of the terrible past from which we have escaped.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Glaciers of the Alps; being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, an Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related.* By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. London: 1860.
2. *Occasional Papers on the Theory of Glaciers, now first collected and chronologically arranged: with a Prefatory Note on the recent Progress and present Aspect of the Theory.* By JAMES D. FORBES, D.C.L., F.R.S. Edinburgh: 1859.
3. *Reply to Professor Tyndall's Remarks in his work 'On the Glaciers of the Alps,' relating to Rendu's Theory of Glaciers.* By JAMES D. FORBES, D.C.L. Edinburgh: 1860.
4. *Théorie des Glaciers de la Savoie.* Par M. LE CHANOINE RENDU, &c. Chambéry: 1840.
5. *Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers. A Series of Excursions by Members of the Alpine Club.* Edited by JOHN BALL, M.R.I.A., F.L.S. London: 1859.

THE student of Nature has always been drawn towards high mountains. In the plains there is little to suggest those agencies that have fashioned, and are constantly remodelling, the surface of the globe. The crumbling away of the river bank is, indeed, an hour-glass that marks the progress of mighty changes, but so imperceptibly to the common eye, that only of late has it obtained the attention of men of science. Not so the mountains:—in their every aspect, and at every season, they speak of change, immediate, and palpable to the commonest observer. The masses of gravel and fine sand borne down after every fall of rain, till they form a thick coating round the flanks of every mountain range, tell of a time when the ridges were higher than they now are, and point to the period when they must be utterly worn down by the resistless action of the elements. The very forms of the mountains incite the curious spirit of man to question their origin: in their precipitous faces he finds the annals of his planet, sometimes legibly inscribed with the story of its past population, race after race entombed in successive layers of mineral matter, sometimes more obscurely hieroglyphed in laminated slates, or massive blocks of crystalline rock.

Besides that conscious effort of the intellect which displays itself in scientific research, there is another, but perhaps a kin-

dred, influence which mountains exercise on the ideas and the feelings. The mere shapes of the hills, fixed in the memory, and constantly appealing through a subtle network of association to past thoughts and emotions, create a link between the land and its inhabitants that is unknown to those that dwell in flat countries. To him who lives among the mountains, the presence of occult powers, transcending in their might his utmost conceptions, is constantly suggested; his fancy wanders to spots untouched, or rarely trodden, by human foot, where mystery may still find a refuge against the intrusive spirit of inquiry: and, in the sensible presence of the unknown, his mind is led, more or less directly, to that region of thought whence, as has been truly observed, all poetry and all religion take their rise.

There is another attraction in mountain countries, less exalted than those that appeal to the intellect and the higher sentiments, but, perhaps, productive of quite as considerable results. To reach the summits of high mountains is, generally speaking, no easy matter: the mere fatigue is often great; there are hardships to be borne; and, not seldom, danger, real or apparent, to be faced. Here then strength, endurance, and courage may be displayed in contests that offer many intrinsic sources of enjoyment. The keen delight, hard to define or to explain, derived from grand scenery — the pleasure of exploring spots unknown, or rarely reached before — a certain instinctive satisfaction in treading high ridges and peaks — not least, the vigour and health that usually accompany the pursuit — all these are so many inducements variously affecting men according to their natures. With so many impulses in its favour, it is not surprising that mountain travelling has become a favourite pursuit amongst the energetic population of these islands.

When once the taste was formed, there could be little doubt as to the region where it might be most easily and most completely gratified. The chain of the Alps from Dauphiny to Carniola, is vast enough in the countless ramifications of its valleys to afford employment to more than one generation of travellers: it is so easy of access that there are few spots which cannot be reached in three or four days from London: accommodation sufficient, and often comfortable, may usually be had throughout Switzerland and Tyrol, less commonly in Piedmont, and more rarely in the French Alps; but every year is adding new facilities, as the stream of travel, overflowing its old channels, seeks new outlets in comparatively unexplored districts. Although they attain but little more than half the absolute height of the giants of Central Asia, the Alps may

contend with the Himalayan chain, or with any other known mountains, for that combination of elements that makes up the grandeur and beauty of mountain scenery. It is not absolute height, but the combination of height with steepness, that produces the greatest scenic effect; and it may be doubted whether the east side of Monte Rosa, or the south side of Mont Blanc, each rising abruptly about 9000 feet above the valley at its base, can be matched in any other part of the globe. It is another advantage of the Alps that they are of manageable, though great, dimensions. The valleys are separated by lofty and steep ridges, yet the distance is scarcely ever so great but that a man may pass in the day from one adjoining valley to another. But there is one characteristic which, more than any other, draws towards the European Alps the man of science, the lover of natural scenery, and the adventurous pedestrian: this is due to the vast amount of perpetual snow that covers the greater portion of the chain, and especially to the glaciers through which the excess of snow in the higher regions is borne down to the warmer valleys, there to feed the chief rivers of our continent.

The scenery of snowy mountains defies description. What avails it to recall the shadowy outline of the distant peak—half-cloud, half-ghost—that gradually turns to reality as we approach it, and the sunbeams glance from its flanks as from burnished metal—the uncouth aspect of the glacier edge disguised with sand, and rubbish, and huge blocks, as if with the sweepings of some giant quarry—the ice-cataract, with its towers and glittering pinnacles, and its blue-green chasms—the frozen sea, where the glacier, nearly level, stretches leagues long between grim wall of bare rock—the deep stillness of the upper snow region, where the glacier rivulets have ceased to run, and no sound penetrates—the distant fall of the avalanche—the tint of the snow, passing, as evening creeps on, from white to an ethereal pink, and then to the cold bluish-grey hue of twilight, until lit up by the moon with magical gleams that seem as if they could not belong to our earth.

The words we write may revive in the memory of some readers impressions that can never be forgotten, but for those who have not seen for themselves, neither pen nor pencil can create them. Fortunately the number of this latter class is daily diminishing, as access to the Alps becomes easier, and the tide of fancy and fashion sets more strongly in the same direction.

Alpine travel, and Alpine adventure, have had their votaries among our countrymen ever since the opening of the Continent



in 1814. They form the great majority of those who reached the summit of Mont Blanc when that was still considered a dangerous and difficult feat ; and many a bold expedition in the less frequented parts of the chain, which, owing to want of good guides, involved more of real danger, was accomplished by men who had no thought of gaining distinction by indulging in a pursuit in which they found but few competitors. The publication of Forbes's 'Travels in the Alps' gave a powerful stimulus to the rising taste. Taking Saussure for his model, though not attempting to cover so wide a range of research, the eminent Principal of St. Andrew's, then a Professor in this University, produced a work which fascinated unlearned readers by the animated description of excursions through the highest and least accessible portion of the chain of the Alps, including much that at that time might fairly be called unknown country, while at the same time he brought the attainments of a master of physical science to bear upon the new problems of glacier motion, and glacier structure, that had then begun to engage attention. Since 1843 Alpine travelling has more and more become one of the favourite pastimes and pursuits of the English public. The majority of tourists were, of course, content to keep in the beaten track, but an increasing number were every year seen to strike out new paths for exploration, and to surprise the native guides and chamois hunters by the boldness of their enterprises. Several popular books appearing in rapid succession, gave proof of the general interest with which the public followed the adventures of Hudson and Kennedy, Wills, Hinchliff, and others of the new race of Alpine travellers. When it was first proposed to form a society of explorers of the High Alps, it must have seemed doubtful whether a sufficient number would be found with the required qualifications ; nor was it yet ascertained how many men there are who, unknown to each other, have been used to find their most intense enjoyment in an annual excursion to some little frequented mountain region, where relaxation for the brain, and healthful exercise, are combined with the enjoyment of grand natural scenery. The experiment made by the founders of the Alpine Club seems to have been a complete success. The Society, as we are informed, now numbers more than 160 members ; and it has given ample proof of vitality by the publication of a volume, made up of the contributions of its members, that has already passed through five editions. Mountain climbing has now become a recognised pursuit, in which men of serious and intellectual tastes enter as ardently as the adventurous youths who ascend peaks,

as they would ride at stiff fences, or charge at a breach, for the sake of excitement and distinction.

Meanwhile an observer might mark that the passion for mountain exploration had become divorced from the study of natural science with which it had once been united. But few of those who annually force their way to the summit of peaks before untrodden, or across passes once deemed impracticable, have acquired that knowledge of Nature's laws without which they can neither comprehend the phenomena that surround them, nor bring back observations that would be precious to the cultivator of science.

In this there lies a two-fold loss :—loss of intellectual enjoyment to the traveller—loss of valuable materials that might serve to increase the general stock of knowledge. Opportune, therefore, was the appearance, during the last summer, of the work whose title is prefixed to this article, from the pen of a man who unites all the needful qualifications for extending the knowledge and love of science amongst his fellow-travellers.

Professor Tyndall, who, at an early age, had taken an eminent position among the cultivators of physical science, was led, four years ago, by some fortunate accident, to pass a few weeks amidst the glaciers of the Bernese Oberland and the Tyrol. The scientific results of his visit must be further referred to in these pages; suffice it to say that a slight amount of practice and experience developed in him the qualities of a first-rate mountaineer, and in the eyes of enthusiastic Alpine travellers his achievements with the *alpenstock* and ice-axe are at least as remarkable as those that have given him his present place in the world of science. The first part of his book, which is chiefly narrative, tells the story of adventures as difficult and daring as any that his brother members of the Alpine Club have recorded in 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers;' while the second part is devoted to the explanation of the more striking phenomena that are encountered by a traveller in high mountain countries, and the discussion of the physical principles to which these are related. As the title of the book sufficiently intimates, the subject to which the author has given most attention, and which seems to have mainly urged him forward in his Alpine researches, is the physical explanation of the phenomena of glaciers, or, to use a comprehensive, but not quite correct expression, the theory of glaciers.

The subject is not new to our readers. Several years ago, in 1842, and again in 1844, we laid before them an outline of the facts then known, and the theoretical views entertained, both in regard to the internal economy, and the geological

agency, of glaciers. No one could at that time have foreseen how far the incipient stream of scientific inquiry was destined to flow, how many tributaries it was to receive into its current, nor into how many divergent branches it was to subdivide itself. The observations and speculations especially connected with geology, still supply matter for debate, but they need not now engage our attention. Confining ourselves to the topics which are treated by Professor Tyndall—those, namely, which are related to the motion and structure of glaciers, it will be remembered that for several years these furnished food for controversy—not always unimpassioned—among scientific men in this country and on the Continent. In the contests of that period the strongest arm was that of the writer who first introduced the subject to the British public in the pages of this journal, and their practical result was to obtain very general acquiescence in the theoretical views published by Dr., then Professor, J. D. Forbes. It is true that amongst many of those who had studied for themselves the phenomena of glaciers, this acquiescence was not complete or unqualified, but no one, apparently, was able to solve the difficulties which still hung about the subject. In the constantly increasing crowd of Alpine tourists, no one, whether learned professor or ignorant layman, brought forward a new fact, or cogent argument, until the appearance of a memoir, presented to the Royal Society in January, 1857, by Professor Tyndall, and his colleague Professor Huxley. This was followed by three other memoirs from the pen of Professor Tyndall, successively presented to the same Society, by lectures delivered at the Royal Institution, and finally, by the work which is now before us.

The appearance of a new combatant in the almost forgotten field of glacier controversy, excited immediate and lively interest, which has been testified by an unusual number of articles devoted to Professor Tyndall's publications, in periodicals of every class. It is not too much to say that many of the writers who have joined in the discussion have shown quite as much of personal predilection as of abstract love of science, and it is to be feared that the spirit of these over-zealous friends has in some measure infected the principals. It has thus become a matter of no small difficulty to disentangle the purely scientific results of the fresh inquiry which the glacier theory has undergone, from the comparatively unimportant questions of a personal character that have been mixed up with them; and a writer who has no desire to play the advocate may well hesitate before he undertakes the task.

A careful review, however, of all that has been written on the subject, establishes so distinctly the essential principles that are involved in the phenomena, that we think the time is come when we should attempt to lay before our readers a broad outline of the past progress and present condition of the theory of glaciers. We shall assume on their part some acquaintance with the subject. Very many of them have seen somewhat of the lower region, at least, of the ice-world; able writers have contended for the palm of vividness and accuracy in describing its wonders; exquisite photographs of scenes that a few years ago were known only to a few adventurous mountaineers are to be seen in every drawing-room; so that nothing short of positive aversion to the subject can have secured ordinary readers from knowing as much about glaciers as may be learned without actual study and careful observation. In selecting the points which appear to us most important, we shall be forced to omit many particulars that it might be desirable to notice, but our limited space imposes on us this necessity. In spite of the labour and ability that so many eminent men have bestowed on the inquiry, there remain some important questions which, as we think, need further research before they can be fully answered, and we shall claim permission to point these out to such persons as may have opportunities and enterprise to fit them for the undertaking. If it should be impossible to avoid all reference to recent controversies on topics of personal and secondary interest, it will be all for the better that they should be treated by one who cares more to acknowledge cordially the positive contributions which each labourer has brought to the treasury of science, than to count the slips he may have made by the way, or to note his slight infirmities of temper when weary with the road.

In attempting to trace the progress of our knowledge of the mechanism and the structure of glaciers, it is not necessary to detail the vague conjectures of early writers. The rude herdsmen who lead their cattle in summer to seek pasture on the banks of the greater ice-rivers, cannot have needed the authority of learned professors to assure them that these rivers flow downwards, however slowly, towards the valleys, as surely as the torrents that issue from the ice-caverns at their feet. To account for this movement of vast masses of seemingly solid materials, two explanations occurred to those who first attempted to reason on the subject. The earliest of these glacier theories was that of Scheuchzer of Zurich, the first scientific explorer of the Swiss Alps.

Water expands in the act of freezing. The surface of

glaciers is in summer constantly traversed by streamlets derived from the melting of the superficial ice or snow, and water is thus constantly infused into the fissures and minuter crevices of the glacier. When the temperature falls, this infiltrated water freezes, and in so doing, as it was thought, it must cause the glacier to expand. Unable to yield in other directions, this must advance towards the quarter which opposes the least resistance, that is, down the valley. Of the many objections to this theory, it is enough to mention two, which are conclusive.

The motion of glaciers is most rapid in warm weather, when the ice is melting, not in cold weather, when the water contained in the glacier is supposed to freeze; and, in point of fact, the infiltrated water *does not freeze*, even in winter, beyond a slight depth below the surface.

The next conjecture as to the cause of glacier motion was published nearly a century after Scheuchzer, by Gruner, the author of a bulky but not very clear-sighted work on the 'Snow Mountains of Switzerland.'\* This theory acquired some weight when adopted by Saussure, who enlarged and expounded Gruner's crude conception. All glaciers send forth from their lower end torrents that are seen to escape from under the ice. In the case of large glaciers, the volume of water that is poured out is very great†; it varies with the season, but does not disappear even in the depth of winter. It seemed natural to conclude that the larger portion of this water is supplied by the melting of the under surface of the glacier, owing to the heat of the earth with which it is in contact. As all glaciers rest upon slopes, or in mountain valleys that have a sensible inclination downwards, their immense weight must constantly urge them to descend; but this tendency is resisted by the roughness and the protuberances of their rocky bed, and the varying form of the channel through which they advance. So they might

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\* Die Eisgebirge des Schweizerlandes, beschrieben von Gruner, 3 vols. 8vo. Bern. 1760. Ten years later, a very ill-executed French translation of the same work appeared in Paris.

† Comparing Maury's careful calculations as to the drainage of the valley of the Mississippi, with the observations of Mr. Dollfuss on the torrent issuing from the lower glacier of the Aar, and Bohr's estimate of the melting of the Justedal Glacier in Norway, we learn that the single glacier of the Aar pours down as much water on a fine summer's day, as the average daily drainage of 1636 square miles, in one of the best watered districts of the globe. The Justedal Glacier, if we may trust the estimate, produces more than double the same quantity, and the Aletsch Glacier may probably much exceed that amount.

remain fixed, gravity being counterbalanced by friction, were it not for the constant melting of those portions of the ice which are in contact with the resisting surfaces of rock, the inevitable effect of which must be to cause them to slide forwards on their bed. To aid their advance Saussure imagined that the hydrostatic pressure of the water confined between the rocks and the ice might come into play.

It was easy enough to show that the last supposition is inconsistent with what we know of the structure of most glaciers, but many of the arguments that have been urged against Saussure's views are certainly fallacious. His own observations afforded the strongest argument that could be urged against his theory at a time when the true law of glacier motion was still unknown. In the second volume of his '*Voyages*,' Saussure describes the appearance of the glacier of Mont Dolent in the Val Ferret, which, in issuing from the great circus surrounded by granite cliffs where it originates, is first narrowed in descending through a gorge, and then expands as the bounding walls recede, till its lower part spreads out in the form of a fan. Such a change of form is so plainly inconsistent with the idea of a glacier advancing merely by sliding on its bed, that Professor Tyndall regards it as highly improbable that so clear-sighted an observer as Saussure should have failed to recognise in it the proof that glacier ice possesses the power of adapting itself to the form of the channel through which it progresses. Be this as it may, the world can only take a writer's opinions as he states them himself, and unquestionably there is no trace of any recognition of plasticity in Saussure's speculations as to the motion of glaciers. We apprehend that the apparent discrepancy between Saussure's theory and his observations may easily be accounted for. His explanation of the cause of glacier motion is contained in the first volume of the '*Voyages*,' published in 1779. He did not visit the Val Ferret until 1781\*, and though he may have *seen*, he seemingly did not before *observe*, similar instances of the contraction of the channel of a glacier when advancing through a narrow gorge. Amidst the vast variety of objects to which his attention was turned—embracing nearly the entire field of natural science as known in his day—Saussure appears to have devoted little attention to the subject of glacier motion. Had he reconsidered the views expressed in his first volume, it is probable that he would have enlarged them so as to in-

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\* See Saussure, '*Voyages dans les Alpes*,' vol. ii. chap. xxxi. § 858. The second volume was published in 1786, the third and fourth in 1796.

clude a wider range of facts, but on this question his opinions have come down to posterity without those corrections which larger experience and further reflection would have afforded. Professor Tyndall has justly remarked that in the final settlement of the controversy, Saussure's theory still holds a certain place amongst the speculations that have united to furnish a true interpretation of glacier motion. A glacier *does slide* upon its bed, and the melting of its lower surface is *one of the means* by which it is enabled to do so.\*

For a quarter of a century war and revolution almost completely put a stop to Alpine travel. Such scientific activity as then existed was engaged elsewhere, and upon every doubtful point of physics, or geology, Saussure's great work was appealed to as the last authority in regard to the region he had so indefatigably explored. In the lifetime of the great Genevese, however, geology, as a science, could scarcely be said to exist. Much attention was given to the mineral composition, and to the relative position of the rock formations that constitute mountain chains; but the attempts then made to explain the actual condition of the earth's surface were based upon agencies merely conjectural, as to whose intensity and mode of action no grounds could be laid for rational conclusions. Gradually the need for more exact knowledge forced men to observe and to measure the action of those forces with which experience made them directly acquainted, and geology, which at the same time was calling in the aid of many other auxiliaries, became forced to lean on physics, and to learn from the natural philosopher more accurate conceptions of the laws of mechanical and chemical action. Among the objects of inquiry that demanded their attention, geologists could not omit to notice agents, whose mechanical power exceeds that of any other which is in constant operation on the earth's surface.

Playfair was the first to apprehend the importance of the

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\* It is not equally correct to argue, as an ingenious critic has recently done, that, because the bottom of a glacier may move forward on its bed half as fast as the surface does, sliding and plasticity are equally instrumental in causing motion. Though all sliding were prevented, by the attachment of the bottom of the glacier to its bed, the surface would nevertheless move forward very much as it now does; but, if the glacier were to lose the power of moulding itself to its channel, the sliding motion would be immediately arrested, or reduced to a minute fraction of its actual amount. It is through plasticity that the upper portion of the glacier moves over the lower part of its own mass, and it is also through plasticity that it assumes the form which enables it to slide.

transporting power of glaciers. The idea, which was present to his mind long before he visited Switzerland, germinated in 1816 into the distinct announcement of a theory that, in other hands, was destined to excite long controversy, and even at the present day divides the opinions of geologists.

The study of glaciers as geological agents soon directed attention to the phenomena which they intrinsically present. Charpentier and Mr. Biselx, prior of the Hospice of the Great Saint Bernard, writing at the same time, and independently of each other, revived and developed the dilatation theory of glacier motion, first proposed by Scheuchzer. To these was soon added Agassiz whose European reputation as a naturalist helped to fix the minds of other men of science upon the controversies which, from its earliest beginnings, have attended the study of glacier phenomena. First attracted to the subject by the vast importance claimed for glaciers as geological agents, the eminent professor of Neufchatel went to Bex, the residence of M. de Charpentier, with the express object of overthrowing the new theory by new and more careful scrutiny of the evidence which his friend had adduced in its favour.

The facts proved stubborn. If they do not quite conclusively establish the entire case as stated by Charpentier, they fully sustain the main proposition that at a period geologically very recent the Swiss glaciers extended very far beyond their present limits. This was enough to secure the adhesion of M. Charpentier's candid opponent, and the new convert soon became the most zealous apostle of the doctrine that he set out to combat. With characteristic ardour he enlisted several friends in the cause, and proceeded to visit all the more important glaciers of the Swiss and Savoy Alps. As he and his companions gained familiarity with the life of the high Alps, they found objects of interest every day multiply around them; gradually the phenomena of the ice-region became sufficiently attractive in themselves, apart from all geological speculations, to absorb and retain their almost undivided attention.

Along with the new geological theory Agassiz had accepted the resuscitated doctrine of dilatation adopted and enforced by Charpentier. He was ready to believe, and when needful to assert, that the facts of glacier motion corresponded with that theory, but, fortunately, he felt the necessity of confirming his belief by direct evidence; and in 1840 he converted into reality the bold project formed the year before, of making a prolonged residence on the lower glacier of the Aar, and there carrying on a series of continuous observations upon the physical condition and phenomena of that great ice-stream. His previous studies had not prepared M. Agassiz to conduct with full effect the in-



vestigations which were then commenced, and an unprejudiced perusal of all that he has written on the subject, leaves us but little confidence in the soundness of his conclusions when he attempts to coordinate observed facts with established mechanical or physical principles; but it is impossible not to give hearty admiration to the zeal, energy, and perseverance with which he set about the fulfilment of his design. Associated with several friends, to whom he had communicated a share of his own enthusiasm, he held on for many successive seasons, at first, with no better shelter than could be had by crouching beneath a huge block on the medial moraine of the Aar Glacier; afterwards, in a less miserably uncomfortable dwelling on its northern bank. Multiplied observations on the temperature, composition, structure, and motion of the glacier were carried on during annual summer visits; and a winter journey was made in March, 1841, for the purpose of examining the condition of the glacier surface, and the glacier torrents, at that season of the year.

The first work of Agassiz, '*Etudes sur les Glaciers*,' was written before he had any adequate conception of the extent and difficulty of the task he had undertaken; the more important results of his long-continued labours were given to the public in his '*Nouvelles Etudes sur les Glaciers*.' Notwithstanding the defects to which we have adverted, this is a valuable book, that may still be consulted with advantage for many of the observations which it contains, and is certainly a remarkable monument of energetic devotion to science, deserving fuller and more cordial recognition than it has usually received in this country.

In one respect M. Agassiz may justly claim a share in the merit of what has been accomplished by most of those who followed him in the study of glacial phenomena; for he was the first to see the necessity for systematic observation of the facts on which a true theory must rest, and to attempt to obtain them by direct measurement, however imperfectly executed. His first attempt at observation of glacier motion was made in 1840 by planting stakes, placed so as to form right-angled triangles, in several places on the Aar Glacier. The mutual distances of the stakes forming each triangle were measured at the time, and remeasured after a short interval. M. Agassiz states that in one triangle, the hypotenuse was found to have increased in length, after an interval of two days, a fact which he considered favourable to the dilatation theory. But he seems to have felt little confidence in the accuracy of the measurements, as no further details are given. The process was defective in design, and necessarily rough in execution, and could not possibly lead to valuable results.

In July, 1841, the eminent Swiss geologist M. Escher von der Linth, made the first well-devised attempt at the direct observation of glacier motion. A series of stakes were planted by him in a direct line across the Aletsch Glacier, leaving an interval of 100 mètres between the adjoining stakes, and another series, separated by the same interval of 100 mètres, were also placed along the glacier, parallel to the direction of its motion. Having sunk his stakes to the depth of three feet into the ice, M. Escher departed, and after an absence of five weeks returned to measure their displacements. It is easy to conceive his disappointment at finding that scarcely a single stake remained standing. During his absence, the surface of the glacier had wasted away to a depth exceeding three feet, and no trace therefore remained of the holes that had been bored into the ice. Had he returned two or three weeks sooner, or had he sunk his signal posts to a greater depth in the ice, M. Escher von der Linth would have gained the distinction of being the first to establish the essential facts of glacier motion.

The prize for which the Swiss savans were contending was carried off by a more skilful and more fortunate competitor. In the month of August 1841, our distinguished countryman, Professor Forbes, accepted an invitation from M. Agassiz to visit the scene of his operations on the Aar Glacier. A man so thoroughly versed in the principles of physical science could not fail to be struck by the importance and novelty of the questions that were presented to him, and not less so by the insufficiency of the methods employed up to that time for investigating the laws of glacier motion. He justly reflected that if the ordinary estimates, which attributed an annual rate of advance of from 200 to 500 feet, were near to the truth, such a rate of progress might, by the use of sufficiently accurate instruments be measured from day to day; and that while the planting of a post in the glacier, whose position was to be compared after an interval of a year, or many months, might furnish a single fact of some importance, far more valuable results might be obtained by accurate observations carried on continuously throughout a comparatively short period. Early in the season of 1842, Professor Forbes repaired to the Montanvert over Chamouni. He had clearly perceived, and had indeed announced in lectures delivered at Edinburgh during the preceding winter, the nature of the observations best fitted to test the soundness of the two theories that alone at that time divided the opinions of scientific men, and to lead directly to a knowledge of the true law of glacier motion. Established at his head-quarters on the shore of the Mer de Glace, and armed with the necessary

instruments for enforcing his inquiry, Professor Forbes lost no time in propounding the queries which were to reveal the secret of glacier mechanism. When duly interrogated, Nature is not slow to reply. After the answer has been given men can scarcely comprehend how it happened that they did not sooner perceive what seems so plain a truth. The right question had not been put in the right way.

In the course of a single week Professor Forbes had measured accurately the motion of the surface of the Mer de Glace, at a number of different points, and had thereby laid secure grounds for inferring the law of glacier motion. In the course of the same summer, he surveyed and mapped the same glacier and its tributaries, extending his measurements of glacier motion to a number of additional points, and, during the intervals of his work, visited and examined most of the great glaciers in the chain of the Pennine Alps. In addition to the main inquiry respecting the law of glacier motion, he gave much attention to the structure of glacier ice, and was fortunate enough to bring to light an entirely new phenomenon which has since been known under the name of Dirt-Bands.

The following important consequences followed directly from Forbes's observations in 1842. 1. The motion of glaciers is *continuous*, and sensibly uniform during short periods. 2. The velocity is somewhat retarded at night and during cold weather. 3. The central part moves more rapidly than the sides in all parts of the glacier. 4. The rate of motion is not uniform throughout the length of the same glacier; but varies with the inclination of the bed and the width of the channel through which it moves. In the course of his subsequent researches Professor Forbes was enabled to establish three additional propositions. 5. The increase in the rate of motion in passing from the side towards the centre of a glacier is continuous; so that a series of points fixed in a straight line across the surface is gradually bent into a curved line by the onward motion of the glacier. 6. The surface of a glacier moves more rapidly than the middle, and the middle more rapidly than the bottom. 7. The advance of a glacier is not suspended, but only somewhat retarded, during winter.

From these propositions, demonstrated by accurate and multiplied observations, the inferences were unavoidable. A glacier *does not move* as a rigid body, whose parts retain their relative position during their onward progress; it *does not move* by dilatation, or the expansion of the substance of the ice in the direction of least resistance; it *does move* after the manner of semifluid or viscous substances, whose particles mutually yield to the

application of sufficient force, and when they have so yielded, do not strive to return to their former relative position. In 1843 the combined results of Forbes's explorations in the chain of the Pennine Alps, and of his glacier researches, were given to the public in a work which has enjoyed great and deserved celebrity. His theory of glacier motion was announced in 'Travels through the Alps,'\* in the following terms: '*a glacier is an imperfect fluid, or a viscous body, which is urged down slopes of a certain inclination by the mutual pressure of its parts.*' In his writings up to 1859, Professor Forbes usually called his own theory the *Viscous Theory* of glacier motion, but occasionally he spoke of it as the *Plastic or Viscous Theory*, and he displayed no small amount of skill and research in adducing evidence to establish what he termed the *virtual viscosity* of glacier ice. It is important to remark that the original definition of Forbes's theory, and a large portion of the writings in which he afterwards sought to sustain it, involve two different things — a mechanical theory, affirming the *law of glacier motion*; and a physical theory respecting the *nature of the substance of which the glacier is composed*. The mechanical theory, as asserted in the second passage above quoted, was conclusively established by its author, and of late years no one has been found to question it; the physical theory excited, and continues to excite, discussion amongst the most competent judges, and at no time obtained the unanimous assent of scientific men.

Whatever doubts, however, remained unsatisfied at the time of its first publication, the Viscous Theory held its ground without a competitor in the vacant field, from which it had driven its competitors, until the appearance of Tyndall and Huxley's memoir, read before the Royal Society in January 1857.

These authors were the first to point out the bearing upon glacier theories of a peculiar quality of ice which was unknown to Forbes at the time when he was laying the foundations of the glacier theory. When two surfaces of moist ice are brought into contact they become firmly cemented together by the freezing of the film of water between them. In this way, masses of broken ice when pressed together, are easily united into a single compact mass. The process had been going on for centuries in ice-houses and fishmongers' shops before the eyes of the whole world, yet no one saw it until Faraday drew the palpable fact from obscurity in 1850. When Professor Tyndall paid his first visit, to the Alps in 1856, it

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\* Page 365. First Edition. Edinburgh, 1843.

occurred to him that in this new property of ice rested the explanation of the seeming inconsistency between the law of glacier motion established by Forbes and the obvious physical qualities of ice. He proceeded to experiment upon ordinary compact ice, and found that under the hydraulic press he could mould it into any form that he pleased. Before a crowded audience at the Royal Institution, he squeezed a lump of ice into the form of a cup, which held water without leaking, and bent a straight bar into a half-ring of clear ice. If all these changes can be effected in compact ice by pressure causing *fracture* and *regelation*, the same process must take place still more easily on a great scale in the laboratory of Nature. Glacier ice is not compact, it is penetrated by air-bubbles, and traversed by cracks of various dimensions. The enormous weight of the mass causes the ice to yield at the points where the strain is greatest; new fissures are developed; but in the shifting of adjoining portions of the ice, the sides of previously existing fissures are brought into contact, and instantly freeze together, and thus, by the continued repetition of this process, the huge mass of the glacier is gradually moulded, like the ring in Professor Tyndall's experiment, to the form of the channel through which it advances. Here then, according to the writers of the 'Memoir' in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' we have a *vera causa*, in place of the viscosity which has been asserted, but not shown to exist. 'The choice rests,' say they, 'between a quality which ice is proved to possess, and one which, in opposition to general experience, it is assumed to possess.' Glacier ice is properly termed plastic, but though it simulates viscosity it cannot with propriety be called viscous.

Upon the question thus raised no small amount of controversy has since been waged. According to some writers the objection taken by Tyndall to the word 'viscous,' is a distinction without a difference. A substance which comports itself in the same manner as viscous bodies may properly be called, nay, ought to be called, viscous. According to others, Professor Forbes had virtually anticipated the new explanation of glacier motion, when in 1846 he spoke of a glacier recovering its continuity 'by re-attachment after its parts have suffered a bruise,' and of fissures 'reunited by time and cohesion.' It may be collected from the Preface to 'Occasional Papers' that this is the view taken by Professor Forbes himself, and he holds that the experiments and observations of Professor Tyndall, in respect to this branch of the subject, serve rather to confirm and illustrate, than to overthrow his theory.

On the other hand, an able writer, possessed with the value

and importance of the new facts brought to light by Professor Tyndall, declared \* the viscous theory to be 'not only in contradiction with itself but with known facts;' and others of less mark have still more strongly expressed the idea, that the glacier theory of Professor Forbes had been refuted and overthrown by the labours of his younger rival. Some touches of asperity that have from time to time been infused into the discussion, have increased the difficulty of giving an impartial award between litigants so well able to defend their own cause, and to convict the judge of error, should he swerve, but by the breadth of a hair, from the strictest accuracy. This notwithstanding, we shall not flinch from the attempt.

The verbal controversy respecting the terms Plastic and Viscous, need not detain us long, though it is not so entirely unimportant as some writers seem to imply. It is hopeless to attempt to reach a common conclusion so long as the disputants are not agreed as to the precise meaning of the terms they use. In this instance, it fortunately happens that etymology is in accordance with general usage. A *Plastic* substance is one which can be moulded to a *form* by pressure, or by its own weight. A *Viscous* substance is one that may be drawn asunder like *birdlime*, without breaking or striving by its elasticity to return to its first state; or, to express the same thing in scientific language, it is a substance which yields to tension by assuming new molecular connexions of its parts. Thus defined there is not much room for doubt as to the point in dispute. *Plastic* the ice of glaciers evidently is, *viscous* it has never yet been proved to be. It may not be certain whether Professor Forbes himself intended originally to use the words as synonymous or not, but since further discussion and experiment have thrown light on the subject, it was impossible for so eminent a natural philosopher to hesitate about admitting the distinction implied by the use of the one or the other term, and accordingly in his latest publication on the subject—the Preface to 'Occasional Papers on the Theory of Glaciers'—he shows a decided preference for the term plastic, as designating his own theory; thereby dissenting from those over-zealous supporters who have endeavoured to persuade themselves and the public that the two words mean the same thing, but, nevertheless, that 'viscous' is the better term of the two.

To ascertain how far Forbes can properly be said to have anticipated Tyndall's explanation of glacier motion, we have

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\* Westminster Review for April, 1857, p. 436.

carefully gone over all that he has written on the subject; and to lessen our own responsibility by enabling our readers to judge for themselves, we quote the entire of the two passages which bear most directly on the subject. The first of these is taken from Part III. of a memoir presented to the Royal Society, in January, 1846, entitled 'Illustrations of the Viscous 'Theory of Glacier Motion.'

'Now the water in the crevices does not constitute the glacier, but only the principal vehicle of the force which acts upon it, and the slow irresistible energy with which the icy mass moves onwards from hour to hour with a continuous march, bespeaks of itself the presence of a fluid pressure. But if the ice were not in some degree ductile or plastic, this pressure could never produce any, the least, forward motion of the mass. The pressure in the capillaries of the glacier can only tend to separate one particle from another, and thus produce tensions and compressions, *within the body of the glacier itself*, which yields, owing to its slightly ductile nature, in the direction of least resistance, retaining its continuity or recovering it by reattachment after its parts have suffered a bruise, according to the violence of the action to which it has been exposed.'

The next passage which it is necessary to cite is from the 'Thirteenth Letter on Glaciers,' addressed to Professor Jamieson, in December, 1846. In some remarkable sentences to which we shall further allude, Professor Forbes states his views as to the process by which the snow of the higher regions of the Alps is converted into glacier ice, and concludes a paragraph with the following lines:—

'Most evidently; also, the icy structure is first induced near the sides of the glacier where the pressure and working of the interior of the ice, accompanied by intense friction, comes into play, and the multitudinous incipient fissures occasioned by the intense strain, are re-united by the simple effects of time and cohesion.' (*Occasional Papers*, p. 201.)

Leaving aside the importance attached to water as the principal vehicle for the transmission of force through the glacier,—an opinion which Professor Forbes may possibly be disposed to modify at the present time,—we see that in the former of the two passages above quoted, he asserts that the glacier yields, in the first place, owing to the ductile nature of the ice, and that being thus set in motion it either retains its continuity, or recovers it by re-attachment, *according to the violence of the action to which it is exposed*. In the second passage, he again asserts that *where intense friction is at work* near the side of the

glacier, the 'multitudinous incipient fissures' caused by the 'intense strain' are re-united by the *effects of time and cohesion*.

We venture to assert that an unprejudiced reader who carefully considers these passages, cannot hesitate as to the inferences which he must draw from them. With a sagacity which never deserts him, Professor Forbes had perceived that some agency must necessarily exist, whereby the frequent dislocations arising from the advance of the glacier are repaired. In invoking 'time and cohesion' to cause the reunion of fissures, it is impossible not to see a presentiment, though necessarily incomplete, of the phenomenon of regelation. But it is not less evident that, in 1846 as in 1843, he continued to regard the ductility or viscosity of the ice as the primary cause, and the power of 'recovering continuity by re-attachment,' as a secondary and occasional accompaniment, of glacier motion; whereas, if the newer theory be true, 'fracture and regelation' are the essential concomitants of glacier progress; other agencies, if they are present at all, being subsidiary and unimportant.

We hold, then, that in his writings in 1846, Forbes showed a very remarkable *presentiment* of Faraday's discovery of regelation, but that he did not *anticipate* Tyndall's application of that discovery to explain the motion of glaciers, because he did not recognise in the unknown agency whose existence he divined, the essential importance which we now believe it to possess. If we are bound to sum up this long discussion, we must conclude that, in regard to the motion of glaciers, Tyndall has neither confirmed, nor overthrown, Forbes's theory—he has *completed* it. Forbes established the law of glacier motion; Tyndall showed how the glacier is enabled to obey that law. Whether they agree to do so, or not, they must share between them the honour of being the founders of the true Theory of Glacier Motion.

There is, indeed, one other name that will not be omitted by the future historian of this department of physics. As in many instances that might be cited from the annals of science, we find here a man of sagacious intellect who clearly perceived important truths, while they were yet unseen by those around him, but who lacked the opportunity or the industry to establish them on a secure basis of demonstration. Monseigneur Rendu, late Bishop of Annecy, stands in this relation to the discovery of the law of glacier motion. Being at the time Secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Savoy, he wrote a memoir entitled 'Théorie des Glaciers de la Savoie,' of which separate copies were printed in 1840, but which did not appear in the Transactions of the Academy until the following year. Considering

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the period at which it was written, this memoir is in every sense a remarkable production. It exhibits a clearness of thought in tracing the connexion between physical causes and their effect, a comprehensive insight into their mutual connexion, and a wholesome caution in deducing general conclusions, that fully justify Professor Tyndall's assertion, that science lost an ornament when the author devoted himself to the Church. M. Rendu's memoir, in which the complete analogy between the motion of glaciers and that of semifluid bodies was distinctly asserted, remained unnoticed on the Continent\*, and would probably have been equally little known in this country, were it not for the frequent references made to it in the writings of Professor Forbes.† Additional prominence has been given to

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\* We do not recollect a single quotation from Rendu's memoir in any of the numerous foreign works upon glaciers, which we have had occasion to consult. The brief references in Desor's 'Excursions et Séjours dans les Glaciers,' relate merely to Rendu's views on the condensation of vapour in the high Alps.

† A controversy, in every way to be regretted, has arisen since the publication of Professor Tyndall's book, which has attracted so much attention that we feel bound to state our opinion on the subject. As our space does not allow of a detailed examination of the various points involved in the discussion, we must refer those who are interested in the subject to Rendu's memoir, and to the recent publications of Tyndall and Forbes. Considering himself injured by the tone and substance of Tyndall's remarks upon Rendu's Memoir, Dr. Forbes has lately printed a 'Reply to Professor Tyndall's Remarks,' in which he repels with some warmth the charge which he holds to have been levelled against himself—of having wilfully suppressed the more important passages in Rendu's memoir, while quoting others less important—and at the same time makes various counter-charges of unfairness and misrepresentation against his opponent. After carefully reading the original memoir—an advantage, we may remark, which does not seem to have been enjoyed by several of those who have taken a part in the controversy—we have arrived at the conclusion that the numerous references to Rendu's memoir, contained in Forbes's writings, at a time when it was unknown to the scientific public, both in this country and on the Continent, abundantly disprove the imputation that he sought to deprive Rendu of whatever credit was justly due to his sagacious anticipations. But we also think that owing in part to the great caution with which Rendu has stated his conclusions, and in part also to the unusual phraseology which he has occasionally adopted, the force and accuracy of his thoughts are not fully apparent without a careful study of his memoir. Hence it has arisen that the references and quotations contained in Forbes's writings do not, in our judgment, convey an adequate or fully correct impression of

Rendu's merits by Professor Tyndall, who has devoted a chapter of his work to the analysis of this little-known memoir, to which he gives high and deserved praise; but we are unable to concur with him in attributing to Rendu anything more than a clear perception of the law of glacier motion. He made a few observations which helped to fix his own views, but he evidently did not regard them as sufficing to bring conviction to the minds of others. In point of fact it cannot be said that Rendu's memoir, however real its merit, had any direct effect in the final establishment of the theory of glacier motion.

In expressing our belief that, through the labours of the two eminent men whose names so constantly recur in this discussion, our knowledge of glacier motion may now be considered complete, we by no means intend to deny that many very interesting questions connected with that subject still await their answers. But these relate to the secondary and not to the essential elements of the problem. We venture, in all humility, to indicate to those who may be willing to pursue the remaining difficulties of the Glacier Theory into their last recesses, some of the points which appear to us especially to demand further investigation.

1. *Viscosity*.—Professor Tyndall has sufficiently proved that glacier ice is incapable of yielding to tension, or, in common parlance, of being stretched, to the extent that is required in the ordinary progress of the greater glaciers. Appealing to the numerical results of his own observations, he has shown that when the motion of the glacier is such as to require that a given portion of ice should yield as much as one-thousandth part of its own length in twenty-four hours, it is unable to do so, and a crevasse is formed which is the visible expression of the inability of the ice to bear so slight a strain. This fact amply justifies the objection which has been taken to the use of the word 'viscous,' to express a physical character of glacier ice, but it leaves us in doubt whether the ice may not be capable of yielding to an appreciable, though very small, amount. There are some facts which point towards an affirmative answer to that question. It has been urged with apparent justice that if there were not *some* power of yielding, the crevasses should penetrate the entire thickness of the glacier, which we have no

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Rendu's views. Our limits preclude us from entering on the minute details on which our opinion rests; but whilst we lament that any such difference should have arisen between two eminent labourers in the same field, we acquit them both of the slightest intentional misrepresentation or unfair dealing.

reason to believe generally true; and, further, that we sometimes find considerable tracts of glacier free from crevasses, where, nevertheless, the different rate of progress in different parts of the surface must cause a positive and measurable amount of *stretching* of the ice. Careful observations are still wanting to test this conclusion. It will not be sufficient to show that, in a given portion of glacier, points fixed on the surface are drawn asunder, while no crevasse is formed between them; it will be necessary to ascertain whether in such cases there is no evidence of lateral compression whereby the glacier is, as it were, squeezed into a new form like the lumps of ice in Professor Tyndall's laboratory experiments.

2. *Winter Motion of the Glaciers.*—There is strong reason to believe that the cold of winter in the Alps, however severe, penetrates only to a quite insignificant depth. This belief is strongly confirmed by observations made by Dr. Walker, Surgeon and Naturalist to Sir Francis McClintock's arctic expedition in the 'Fox.'\* At Port Kennedy, in 72° north latitude, a thermometer sunk to the depth of two feet two inches in the soil beneath the snow, was regularly compared with a thermometer exposed to the air; and during February and March another thermometer was also placed on the surface of the ground below the snow. During the four winter months from December to March the mean temperature of the underground thermometer was 5·3° Fahrenheit, or -14·8° cent.; while that of the air during the same period was 30·4° below zero of Fahrenheit, or -34·7° cent., showing a difference of very nearly 20° centigrade between the air and the soil. During the same time the mean depth of the snow was about five feet and a half; but the greatest difference was shown in December, with less than four and a half feet of snow, when the air was 26° centigrade colder than the soil. It is probable that observations made with M. Becquerel's electric thermometer would show still more forcibly the protective effect of snow, which covers the glaciers in winter nearly as completely as the circum-polar regions.

We are still in strange ignorance of the winter temperature of the Alps, but putting together the observations at the St. Bernard, those of Agassiz on the Aar Glacier, and those of Balmat at Chamouni, we may assume that the ordinary winter mean of the air on glaciers that have a considerable annual motion does not fall below -15° cent. If this be so, it seems probable that Professor Tyndall may have over-rated the degree

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\* Journal of the Proceedings of the Linnean Society, vol. 7 p. 89.

of cold attained by the superficial ice under the snow on the surface of the Mer de Glace, opposite to the Montanvert\*; for it must be remembered that an occasional fall of the air-temperature below the mean, is insensible at a moderate depth. It remains, however, highly probable that during winter the superficial crust of most glaciers remains constantly at a temperature somewhat below freezing-point. Professor Tyndall has used this fact as an argument against Mr. James Thompson's ingenious speculations on glacier motion; but it may fairly be asked whether the very same argument might not be turned against the theory of regelation. Fragments of ice kept at a temperature below freezing, will not unite together when their surfaces are brought into contact; must we not infer that regelation no longer takes place during winter throughout that portion of the glacier which is affected by the external temperature?

It appears to us that the most interesting results that remain to be achieved in the field of glacier inquiry, will reward the bold scientific adventurer, who will undertake a well-devised series of winter observations on some great glacier. If he be not pressed for time, as Professor Tyndall was during his short but brilliant campaign on the Mer de Glace, at Christmas, 1859, he may reasonably hope for better fortune in respect to weather. Intervals of clear settled weather, with little or no fall of snow, are not rare in the Alpine winter. Such an opportunity might be used to lay bare a few square yards of the surface of the glacier, and so to obtain an insight into its condition at that season. Whatever this may be, it seems sufficiently certain that the motion of the glacier, as a whole, must be determined by the internal condition of the mass. The upper crust can have little more effect than the scum upon a mill-stream has on the current by which it is carried along.

3. *Thompson's Theory.* — One of the most interesting of recent discoveries connected with ice is that of Mr. James Thompson of Belfast. In 1849 that gentleman published a paper, wherein he inferred from theoretical considerations that pressure applied to ice must lower its freezing point in a proportion depending directly on the amount of pressure applied. In the following year this conclusion was experimentally verified by his brother, Professor William Thompson. It has so important

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\* 'Considering the extreme coldness of the weather which preceded these measurements, it is a moderate estimate to set down the temperature of the ice in which my stakes were fixed at 5° cent. below zero.' (*Glaciers of the Alps*, p. 343.)

a bearing on some portions of the glacier theory that a few words of explanation appear desirable. If we compress ice when very near to its melting point, the degree of heat which before was not quite sufficient, will be adequate, without a change of temperature, to cause the liquefaction of the compressed ice; because, as ice *contracts* in liquefying, a smaller degree of heat suffices to melt it under pressure, since the pressure disposes its particles to enter into the new state. Mr. James Thompson has applied this fact to an explanation of glacier motion, certainly very ingenious, but not to our minds satisfactory. Without pretending to concur in all the objections taken by Professor Tyndall, we are persuaded that, in the more level parts of glaciers which move through a moderately uniform channel, there is no amount of pressure at work at all adequate to sustain Thompson's main proposition, that the plasticity of glacier ice is due to partial liquefaction under pressure. But there is every reason to admit that at certain points in its course, portions of every glacier must undergo very intense pressure, the evidence of which, as we shall see, is preserved in the very structure of the ice. Partial liquefaction is a necessary consequence of this intense pressure, and it is quite possible that it may thus have some effect upon the motion. It is to be regretted that the ingenious author of this theory has not been induced to pursue the subject, where alone it can be studied with effect, face to face with the phenomena that he has sought to unravel. It is only by testing every link in the chain of theory by observation and experiment that a true interpretation of Nature can be framed.

4. *Veined Structure of Glacier Ice.* — We now turn to another inquiry, more intricate perhaps than the first, because trenching still more nearly on the limits where our knowledge of physical laws is fragmentary and indistinct — the question, namely, of the origin of glacier structure. The peculiarities of glacier structure are, indeed, many; but there is one more frequent in its appearance, more exceptional in its character, and more difficult of explanation than the rest, to which in a special manner we must invite the attention of our readers. This, which is best known as the *Veined Structure of Glacier Ice*, has been the object of continued inquiry and discussion, which can scarcely be said to be yet brought to an end. It may be thus briefly described. Glacier ice is formed by the gradual consolidation of the snow which accumulates in the hollows, or on the *plateaux* of high mountains. The masses of minute crystals that form the upper beds become fused together into small grains of transparent ice, forming what is

called *névé*: as layer accumulates over layer, pressure begins to act, surfaces are brought into contact, and through the property of regelation, the grains of ice freeze together, until the entire mass passes into a solid condition.\* But the newly formed ice encloses a quantity of air that previously rested in the interstices of the *névé*; this consisted of grains of ice separated by spaces filled with air; while the glacier ice when first formed, may be said to consist of bubbles of air separated by spaces filled with ice. If we descend from the upper region along the course of a glacier, we shall not travel very far without encountering a new condition of the ice. The white ice—white because of the multitudinous air-bubbles it contains—is seen to be traversed by numerous parallel veins of clearer ice, more or less blue in colour, almost completely free from air-bubbles. Both the blue veins and the white intermediate spaces vary in breadth from a quarter of an inch to one or two inches. Though not everywhere present, this structure is seen on some glaciers throughout a large part of their entire extent, either on the upper surface, where this is washed clean by running water, or on the sides of newly opened crevasses. The surfaces whose exposed edges form the veins are usually nearly vertical; except near the edge, or the lower end of the glacier, where they dip at various angles towards its centre.

Like hundreds of facts that still remain unknown because, though seen every day, their significance escapes our apprehension, the veined structure was long unobserved by men of science whose attention was directed elsewhere. At length it was noticed in 1814 on the Glacier des Bois by Sir David Brewster, and described by him in the 'Edinburgh Cyclopædia' in 1817. After a long interval it attracted the attention of Professor Guyot of Neufchatel, when crossing the Gries Glacier, and a clear description of it was read by him before the Geological Society of France in 1838, but not published till

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\* We have been unable to admit that Tyndall's explanation of the cause of *glacier motion* had been anticipated by Forbes. With more justice it may be held that certain passages in Forbes's Thirteenth Letter amount to an anticipation of the true cause of *glacier consolidation*. He has frankly admitted that a verbal observation of Rendu's helped to fix his views, when he said that 'we often see, in the 'coldest weather, opaque snow converted into translucent ice by the 'sliding of boys on its surface;' and it is evident that similar ideas prompted several passages in the late Bishop's memoir. It is remarkable that in applying the principle of regelation to glacier motion, Tyndall did not at first allude to the part which it plays in transforming *névé* into ice. Possibly he had not then studied the phenomena in the higher regions of the Alps.

several years later. In 1841 it was again seen by General Sabine on the Grindelwald Glacier, and by Professor Forbes on the Glacier of the Aar. Of these eminent men the last was the only one who fully appreciated the interest and importance of the phenomenon. He at once proceeded to trace out the direction of the veins, and their possible relation to forces acting on the Aar Glacier, where he had first seen them, and he repeated the same inquiry a few weeks later on the Glacier of the Rhone. The conclusions derived from this brief inquiry were remarkably sagacious and correct. Writing in December, 1841, he said, 'the whole phenomenon has a good deal the air of being a structure induced *perpendicularly to the lines of greatest pressure*, though I do not assert that this statement is 'general.' Referring to his observations on the Rhone Glacier, he further observed, '*the lines of fissure, or crevasses, are always perpendicular to the conical surfaces of the veined structure*:'\* and finally, he remarked on the apparent analogy between the 'structure' and the cleavage of slaty rocks.

With the single exception of the word conical, most persons who have considered the subject would now subscribe to the statements thus early made by Forbes; but he did not advance further in the direction towards which his first impressions tended. In the following year, when struck by the important results of his first observations on the motion of the Mer de Glace, he, not unnaturally, sought for an explanation of glacier structure in the same facts which had already thrown so much light on glacier motion. Finding the onward motion of the glacier to be constantly retarded as he passed from the centre to the sides, he inferred that as one portion of the glacier advances past the adjoining one, fissures must be originated into which water from the surface might percolate, and to these supposed fissures he traced the origin of the structure. Accordingly, in his 'Travels through the Alps,' he concluded that there can be 'no reasonable doubt that the crevices formed by the forced separation of a half rigid mass, whose parts are compelled to move with different velocities, becoming infiltrated with water, and frozen during winter, produce the bands.'

In the course of his subsequent researches, Forbes appears to have gradually modified this hypothesis. He had learned to doubt the supposed effect of winter cold upon the interior of the glacier, and he had been led by other considerations to conjecture the existence of some means whereby internal changes in

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\* See Paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, December 6. 1841. The italics in our quotations are taken from the original paper.

the state of aggregation of snow and ice might occur without such variations of temperature as would cause the melting or freezing of the mass.\* It is not quite easy to ascertain from his published writings, the exact form which his views assumed at various periods after their original publication. Probably the most satisfactory source from which to obtain his latest opinions is an article published in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' in 1855, and republished in 'Occasional Papers.\*' In that article Professor Forbes evidently shows that the difficulties of the subject had increased, rather than diminished, during thirteen years in which it had been the frequent object of his thoughts. With less confidence than in 1843, he expresses the opinion that it may be possible to explain the phenomenon by showing that the tendency of the motion is to produce the structure, and he proceeds to develop his views in the following terms:—

'The fundamental idea is this, that the veined or ribboned structure of the ice is the result of internal forces, by which one portion of ice is dragged past another, in a manner so gradual as not necessarily to produce large fissures in the ice, and the consequent sliding of one detached part over another, but rather the effect of a *general bruise* over a considerable space of the sliding body. According to this view, the delicate veins sometimes seen in the glacier, often less than a quarter of an inch wide, have their course *parallel* to the direction of the sliding effort of one portion of the ice over another.'

He asserts in the same paper that the veined structure 'appears most vividly in a direction parallel to the sides of 'glaciers' because the friction of the rocky shore compels 'a forced molecular separation of the middle part from the side parts of the glacier.' The fact that the veined structure is not seldom developed in a direction transverse to the motion of the glacier, is accounted for, as in his earlier writings in 1843 and 1844, by the supposed tendency of the portions of the glaciers nearer the origin to slide upwards, in the direction of least resistance, when they encounter great frontal resistance by the retardation of the portion of the glacier which is immediately in front of them.

Neither in its earlier and definite form, nor in this modified and less distinct shape, did this hypothesis command general assent, although for a long time no rival was present to compete with it; for the views of Agassiz were too vague and inaccurate to attract any adherents, except the enthusiastic disciples who

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\* See p. 255.



accompanied him in his glacier observations. Whatever Forbes's hypothesis gained in correctness, by dispensing with the highly improbable supposition, that water freezes in winter throughout the thickness of the glacier, it lost in distinctness, by substituting for *fissures caused by differential motion, a sliding effort, or a bruise*, neither of them terms suggestive of any known physical effects.

Professor Tyndall tells his readers, in the first chapter of his book, how his attention was first directed in 1854 to the phenomena of slaty cleavage. In June, 1856, he delivered a lecture on that subject at the Royal Institution, printed in the appendix to his recent work, which is marked by the clearness of view, and large power of generalisation, for which all his writings are conspicuous. His colleague, Professor Huxley, being present at the lecture, was struck by the facts and arguments which were adduced to prove that intense pressure, when applied to bodies of the most various constitution, causes cleavage at right angles to the direction of pressure. Reverting to Forbes's first impression in 1841, he surmised that the veined structure might be no more than a particular case of cleavage, produced by pressure on glacier ice. A few weeks later the two friends started for a short tour in Switzerland, resolving to make use of the opportunity to study the glaciers with especial reference to the suggested origin of the veined structure. Nine days were actively passed among the Bernese Alps, and nine more by Professor Tyndall in the Tyrol. Upon the observations made during that short period, and upon subsequent experiments regarding the demeanour of ordinary ice under pressure, was founded the memoir presented to the Royal Society in January, 1857. Cautious persons might object that the amount of previous inquiry had been insufficient to justify this bold attempt to give a new explanation of all the chief phenomena of glaciers, which had so long remained stumbling-blocks to the student of Nature. Upon several points the views of Professor Tyndall, who must be held mainly responsible for the contents of that memoir, have since been materially altered; yet did its publication mark an epoch in our knowledge of glaciers. It not merely threw a completely new light, as we have already shown, upon the theory of glacier motion; but also led the way towards a truer knowledge of the cause of glacier structure.

The explanation of the structure then given was altogether in accordance with the surmise thrown out by Professor Huxley before they reached the Alps. Pressure, as Tyndall had shown, is capable of producing cleavage at right angles to its own

direction in a large number of bodies not strictly homogeneous. The veined structure is invariably produced in parts of the glacier where pressure is powerfully at work, and the veins appear to be at right angles to the direction of pressure; hence, it was inferred, the veins can be nothing else than a new form of cleavage. To use the language which an able critic has applied to Forbes's explanation of the veined structure, this was another shot from a strong archer, which just missed the white. No wonder, indeed, when the archers were partly aiming in the dark, for up to this time no attention had been given to the peculiar quality of ice which is mainly concerned in the production of the bands.

The conclusions announced in Tyndall and Huxley's memoir fortunately encountered enough of hostile criticism to induce the chief author of the new theory to continue his researches. A paper appeared in the 'Philosophical Magazine' for December, 1857\*, by Mr. John Ball, in which various objections were taken to the new explanation of the origin of the veined structure. The writer, in particular, denied that cleavage, or lamination, are generally characteristic of the veined structure throughout the interior of the glacier, and he contended that there is no evidence either in the blue or the white bands of that re-arrangement of the particles, whether of ice, air, or water, which, in the various instances cited by Tyndall, is the proximate cause of cleavage. In the same paper Mr. Ball attempted to give some consistent form to a theory, never before put forward with any confidence, which ascribed the origin of the structure to the processes that accompany the original formation and consolidation of the glacier. In his latest memoir, presented to the Royal Society in February, 1859, Professor Tyndall brought to the further discussion of this subject the ample results of numerous experiments and of two additional visits to the Alps, where with indomitable energy and perseverance he sought, and at length found in the very jaws of danger, the evidence which enabled him conclusively to overthrow the stratification theory, by showing that, in the very region where it is first produced, the surfaces of the veined structure intersect at a high angle the planes of stratification. He still maintained that the structure owes its origin to pressure, but he quite changed his conception of the *modus operandi*. His theory was no longer merely *mechanical*, involving a change in the form and arrangement of the constituent parts of the glacier ice; it became mainly a *physical theory*,

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\* Vol. xiv. 4th series, p. 481.

based upon that peculiar quality of ice which was brought to light by Mr. Thompson, and which we have already explained in these pages.

To make the conception clearer, let us suppose gradually increasing pressure, applied to a mass of ice filled with air-bubbles. The ice, as we know, is not of quite uniform composition; it contains some impurities, and the air-bubbles are not quite evenly distributed, nor are they similar in size and shape. At some point, therefore, pressure will operate in the mass most intensely; there liquefaction will begin; a cavity will be formed in the ice which from its origin will be flattened by the pressure, and therein a minute portion of ice will pass into water. But this water occupies less space than when it was ice. However trifling the difference, the effect is the same as if a slight crack had been formed: the edges of such a crack are weak places, where the pressure must act more intensely because it is not evenly sustained at the point where the water is already formed. For this reason, and also because molecular changes are most easily effected at surfaces where they have already begun, the crack will extend transversely, taking in its course a mass of air-bubbles before held apart by the surrounding ice, but now enabled to unite together by liquid connexion, and sooner or later to escape from their icy prison through some fissure communicating with the outer air. In this manner a vein partly liquid and freer from air than the surrounding ice, is formed, the immediate effect of which is to relieve from pressure the portion of ice at either side, which, therefore, remains unaltered. But, since the whole pressure is not diminished, the relief afforded to some portion of the mass implies an increase of pressure somewhere else, and there, in consequence, a new vein is formed, and so on, until the veins extend as far as the pressure suffices to liquefy portions of the ice. It must, however, be remembered that whatever water is formed in these incipient veins is colder than ordinary ice; the moment that the pressure is removed which alone enables it to maintain its fluid condition, it will return to the state of ice, and then constitute a true blue vein.

The foregoing is, we believe, a correct explanation in unscientific language of Tyndall's theory of the veined structure. If not entirely free from difficulties of its own, it so far accounts for the principal phenomena that we have no hesitation in admitting its substantial correctness. An apparent difficulty that occurs to us, though we have not seen it anywhere stated, is this—the air which previously existed in the ice has, in some way, been expelled from the blue veins, and to account for this,

it was necessary to assume the existence of fissures through which it might make its way; but the same channels would afford a passage to the water formed in the veins, which would escape, and could not therefore freeze again in the place where it was formed. It might be replied that the escape of the confined air, and perhaps of a portion of the water, would so far diminish the pressure on the water remaining in the vein as to cause it immediately to freeze, but we are disposed to think that the process of liquefaction, though essential to the production of the veined structure, is confined to a very small part of the ice. For reasons stated in Professor Tyndall's memoir 'On some Physical Properties of Ice,' it seems certain that in glacier ice exposed to pressure, melting will commence on the inner surface of an air-bubble, and as the minute fissures caused by the repetition of this process on neighbouring bubbles meet each other, fluid connexion will be established between them, and the separated portions of air will be enabled to unite, although the melting may have extended to a very trifling portion of the mass. Should the whole of the water thus formed escape along with the air, the contiguous portions of ice will cohere together in virtue of the property of regelation.

Although it has solved the main difficulties of the problem, Tyndall's theory of the origin of the veined structure is not so complete as to leave no room for further inquiry. The best proof of this is the fact that its distinguished author, usually so clear and definite in his language, evinces some hesitation and indistinctness in stating his opinion as to certain points. It is clear, for instance, that he still considers that a mechanical effect of pressure analogous to cleavage, has some share in the production of the structure; but he nowhere explains the precise nature of the changes which he attributes to this cause, nor the evidence of their presence which he has been able to detect in the ice of glaciers.

Well-contrived experiments on glacier ice may, doubtless, throw farther light on points that still remain obscure. Pressure, sufficiently great, may probably cause mechanical as well as physical changes\*, such as Professor Tyndall has pointed out; but if the pressure requisite for these changes should produce effects which are not traceable in glacier ice, as, for instance, in

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\* It will be understood that, though we use these terms to distinguish modes of action which do not visibly affect the molecular condition of bodies, from those that do so, we do not mean that they are separable by any sharp line of demarcation. They usually own a mutual and complex connexion.

the form and disposition of the air-bubbles, it must be inferred that such an amount of pressure has not acted in the glacier.

We have now performed the task which we had proposed to ourselves, by setting before our readers an outline of the successive efforts which have led to an understanding of the most important phenomena of glaciers. The subject is very far from being exhausted: even within the limits we have prescribed to ourselves, many details, interesting in themselves, have been omitted, and we have left altogether unnoticed several curious objects of inquiry. In the attempt to trace the progress of our real knowledge of glaciers, as distinguished from imperfect observation and unfertile speculation, it will have been seen that two names have constantly recurred in the preceding pages — those of Forbes and Tyndall. It would be unjust to assert that others are not entitled to some share of merit in the final achievement: Rendu, by just conceptions; Agassiz, by laborious observations; Faraday and Thompson in particular, by discoveries that did not at first appear to bear upon the inquiry; have each had some share in the final achievement. But it remains true that if any one should hereafter inquire by whose labours the knowledge of glacier phenomena and their causes has been gained, the answer must still be Forbes and Tyndall. We have shown, as accurately as we could, the share which each has had in the work; beyond this we decline to draw a comparison, which, if not invidious, would certainly be idle and impertinent. We deprecate that sort of criticism which seems to assume that the wreath that is placed on the brows of one eminent man, must be taken from the head of another who has worked in the same field. The merits of Forbes, and the honour which is his due, are not one whit increased or lessened by the applause that Tyndall may have earned for completing the work which his predecessor had so well begun. We sincerely trust that the differences that have arisen between men whose names are thus inseparably connected may be soon composed. The blows dealt on one side, even though misdirected, were dictated by a generous impulse; those struck in return were urged in self-defence; in such a case there should be no great difficulty in mutual forgiveness. The wisest man, and the truest philosopher, is he who is the first to retire from such a contest, leaving to time to decide the subject in dispute, and afterwards to efface all record of the strife.

ART. IX.—1. *L'Unité Nationale de l'Italie.* Par EMMANUEL MARLIANI, Député. Turin: 1860.

2. *Nota del Ministro dell' Interno sull' ordinamento amministrativo e finanziario del Regno.* Torino: 1860.

IT is the privilege of few generations to assist at so grand a spectacle as the resurrection of a people and the birth of a new state into the old commonwealth of nations. Such events happen rarely; and still more rarely are they foreseen or deliberately contrived beforehand. They are schemed for by statesmen through long years of anxious vigilance and thought; they are fought for by patriots through long years of defeat, discomfiture, and despair; they are suffered for by captives in squalid dungeons; they are sighed for by exiles in foreign garrets; they form the dream and the prophecy of poets. But time glides on, and brings no apparent approach to the desiderated end; wars pass over the land, and seem only to rivet still faster the chains of the oppressed; insurrections serve but to decimate the noblest votaries of the cause; revolutions give only bewildering gleams and intoxicating draughts of freedom, and servitude settles down again with a gloomier darkness than before;—till a sort of sick hopelessness takes possession even of the most sanguine and most daring spirits. Then, perhaps, comes a combination which no one could have anticipated or effected: events, which would have been powerless if single, become omnipotent when simultaneous and united; the ambition of one man, the restlessness of another, the demented obstinacy of a third, the heroic devotion of a fourth, the opportune advent of the needed statesman, the opportune removal of the insuperable obstacle, join to bring about the moment so long waited for in vain, when the pictured consummation becomes a possible achievement, and 'the desire of nations' is realised at last. The noblest and wisest of Italian patriots, Daniel Manin, not long before his death, expressed his conviction that another thirty years must pass before Italy could be independent and united, and that the best course for all friends to that great object would be to give up all early hopes and premature attempts, and devote themselves to the work of training the young generation for the task which would devolve upon it. Scarcely more than three years have passed away since Manin was laid in his grave in a foreign lap; and the object for which he lived and died is an actual and accomplished, if not yet wholly a *completed*, fact.

We have no intention of dragging our readers through thorny and profitless discussions as to the purity of the agencies and the merits of the agents by which this great result has been brought about. We are concerned with the fact,—not with its genesis. Whether the war between France and Austria was unjust or unavoidable; which party prepared, and which began, the conflict; whether Louis Napoleon originally designed, and whether he now relishes, that creation of a Kingdom of United Italy of which he was the undoubted instrument; whether the citizens of the new State ought to be grateful to him for their emancipation and re-union, or to Providence for having overruled his purposes; whether the cession of Savoy and Nice was a moderate and necessary, or a questionable and a needless, price; how far the duplicity and misstatements which undeniably discredited that transaction exceeded the recognised limits of diplomatic mystification; whether Victor Emmanuel and Count Cavour have throughout been actuated by genuine patriotism or by dynastic ambition; whether the invasion of the Neapolitan and Roman territories by the Sardinian army, which was unquestionably a violation of international law, was a violation of international morality as well; or whether the King of Italy, in taking that decided step, did not obey more sacred obligations than those which he transgressed; and, finally, what share in the magnificent success of the joint achievement the judgment of history will assign to the sagacious and compromising statesmanship of Cavour, and what to the lofty and single-souled enthusiasm of Garibaldi,—these are now purely speculative questions upon which we do not care to enter. We have a practical aim in view, and have to deal rather with the present and the future than with the past. We shall assume the consolidation of the various states of the Italian Peninsula into one homogeneous kingdom as a *fait accompli*, for the purpose of our present argument. It is as yet imperfect indeed, but it may be considered settled. Its completion, too, we may assume as certain, though the time and the mode are as yet buried in obscurity.

Two points—and these the only vitally important ones—we hold to be irrevocably determined, partly by diplomatic consent, partly by ‘the inexorable logic of facts’—to borrow a phrase from the imperial vocabulary. *First*, it is determined that (apart from the utterly anomalous and of necessity temporary occupation of Rome by a French garrison) there is to be no intervention beyond the Alps. England has urged this in the most pertinacious manner and on the strongest grounds of principle. Sardinia has pleaded for it; France professes to consent to it; Austria

has promised it. 'The Italians'—and it is important to notice how much meaning and how many consequences are implied in this expression when employed, as it has been, in diplomatic despatches and Imperial proclamations—the Italians are to be allowed to settle their own affairs and to decide their own future, undisturbed by any foreign interference. That is—the citizens of the several states into which Italy has hitherto been divided are at liberty to discard their former governments, and to select new sovereigns and new forms of polity according to their own judgment; and to do this, if need be, by mutual assistance and after mutual consultation. They have been, tacitly and by implication at least, recognised as one people, free to combine if it so please them into one nation. And, *secondly*, they have chosen thus to exercise the right conceded them. With a unanimity the more remarkable because it has manifested itself alike in every corner of the Peninsula and in every rank of the community, because it has expressed itself sometimes in spite of the priests, sometimes even by the priests, they have determined on unconditional union, and have elected Victor Emmanuel as their common King. Of all the provinces of Italy now owing allegiance to him, Lombardy alone fell to him by the fortune of war, and Lombardy made haste to ratify this result by the enthusiastic expression of the popular will. For the decisions of Universal Suffrage, to which it is now the fashion for democrats and despots to pay equal homage, we can never affect to feel submission or respect; but this was an instance in which, whatever had been the voting franchise, the result would have been the same,—in which the feelings of the mass of the people and those of the *élite* of the people differed not at all in their direction and scarcely at all in their intensity. It is settled, then, we hope, that the Italians are to be left to themselves, and that, as the inevitable result, Italy is to be no longer 'a geographical expression,' but a united Nation and a European Power.

Even while writing this sentence, however, the very expression reminds us of the limits and exceptions within which only it is true. Two of the most characteristic provinces of the Peninsula,—Venice, with its unique city and its impressive story; and Rome, with its imperial associations and its venerable monuments—are as yet unincorporated in the fusion. The subject is difficult and painful, but it is impossible to pass it by, and it would be worse than idle to attempt to blink its perplexities. The practical question of the hour for statesmen and men of action is, however, clear and simple enough. Without for one moment pretending to admit that the new organisation of Italy can be regarded as complete, or the work of liberation and



amalgamation as fully achieved, so long as Venetia groans under a foreign yoke and Rome languishes under priestly domination, it is obvious that nothing but the most ungovernable fanaticism, or the rashest and vainest policy, can dream of attempting, at once and by force, to incorporate these unattached portions of the Monarchy. It is about equally certain that a premature and violent attempt to seize them must end in disastrous failure, as that time and mediation—patience on one side, prudence on the other, calmness and policy on both—must insure their ultimate annexation. Nothing can so surely delay the wished-for consummation as an endeavour to hurry it on intemperately—nothing can forfeit the ripening prize, except the passion which would snatch it too fiercely and too soon. We understand and can sympathise to its very depth with the aggravated suffering which weighs down the enslaved as they listen to the rejoicings of their emancipated brethren around them; we share almost more vividly in the impatient longing which those who have won their liberty must feel to communicate its blessings without an hour's delay to the fellow citizens who are still captive and oppressed; we know, too, how these sentiments may be exasperated into almost intolerable fury when the foreign ruler—partly out of revenge, partly out of sinister and cruel craft—day by day lays on heavier burdens and inflicts severer outrages, in the hope of goading his victims into premature revolt. But we say deliberately, in no cold temper and in no Pharisaic spirit, that a people who, in such a crisis and with such a prospect, cannot control these bitter emotions and govern these generous sympathies and bear these calculated irritations, are not ripe for the stern requirements of a state of freedom, and have yet to win their spurs. That the *ultimate* absorption of both Rome and Venetia into the Italian Kingdom is inevitable, unless consummate folly mar the game, we think is clear. Let us picture to ourselves a state with a population of twenty-four millions; more homogeneous than any people except the French; with an extended coast, a happy climate, and a fertile soil; full of resources both material and moral; civilised, intellectual, and industrious; with healthy finances, and an army carefully organised and patiently and scientifically prepared for whatever work it may be called upon to do, with the clear consciousness that that work will, in all probability, be hard and perilous; and above all filled with citizens rich and prosperous because commercial and free, and enjoying a constitution moderate and wise, showing, at once, what marvels liberty can achieve, and what deep attachment it can aspire;—let us picture all this existing in the face of Europe. not as a

sudden creation — not merely as a meteor of a few months, so that malignant enemies or desponding friends might represent it as a passing revolutionary phase, and predict its speedy downfall — but for some years of progressive, tenacious, unflinching prosperity; — and then fancy two Provinces, lying in the heart of such a State, crushed under an alien and a hated domination, bound in the heaviest and rustiest chains of despotism, yet inhabited by people of the same race as the surrounding free land, speaking the same language, aspiring to the same fate, yearning even more for union than for liberation; and let us ask ourselves, is the situation one which is even *conceivable* as permanent? Is the contrast one which Europe — or Nature — *COULD* by possibility long endure or long maintain? Would it be practicable, or would it be worth while, for Despotism to wage so unequal, so unnatural, so objectless a struggle?

The difficulty about Rome and the small and barren slip of territory towards the Mediterranean, is complicated by the Papal question. We shall return to that subject by and bye. As to Venetia, we think the matter is clearer, if not easier, though fully prepared to admit that it is one on which opposing interests and different starting-points may well lead sincere and thoughtful politicians to antagonistic conclusions. But, in addition to the views suggested by the picture we have just drawn, there are several other weighty considerations to be borne in mind. In the first place, is it possible for Austria, under any circumstances, to retain her Italian provinces except at a cost wholly disproportioned to their value? Lombardy, up to the Mincio, is already ceded, and cannot be recovered unless under the contingency of an entire change of policy on the part of France, or a premature warlike movement on the part of Victor Emmanuel, or under the combination of the two misfortunes. Venice proper, or Venetia, became Austrian only in recent years — almost in the lifetime of the existing generation, — first by the gift of Napoleon in 1798, and again by the settlement of Europe in 1815. It is a case, too, in which there can be no compromise. Seldom in political history has there been so decided an instance of instinctive and ineradicable antipathy between the governors and the governed. A separate vicereignty under an Austrian prince, with an Italian Ministry and an Italian Chamber, or any other analogous contrivances, would go literally no way towards meeting the difficulty. We doubt whether it could be accepted even as a provisional arrangement, and we are sure it would be unwise to attempt it. Austria could not govern Venice mildly and constitutionally if she wished. What the Venetians want is not good government, but

self-government. What they detest is not so much oppression as subjection; not the cruel ruler, but the German ruler; not *Il tyranno*, but *Il Tedesco*. Light taxation, even-handed justice, a free press, a gentle and equitable police, are simple impossibilities to Austria as far as the Venetians are concerned; yet the lightest taxation, the justest tribunals, the freest press, the mildest police, would now do *nothing* towards reconciling the Venetians to the Austrian yoke. It is this that renders the difficulty so insuperable, the 'situation' so impossible, and all proposals of compromise so futile. Reigning among a hostile people, Austria must reign by hostile means. As long as Venice is retained by her, it must be retained by force. She must drain her other provinces of men to hold it in subjection, and she must expend its revenues in supporting and subsidising those men. How long can she continue to do this? and is it wise economy to do it at all?

It is becoming pretty clear that her power of retaining Venice and keeping down the Venetians must depend almost entirely on the success of her conciliatory policy with Hungary. We are among the least inclined to undervalue the Austrian army, or the singular tenacity of Austrian vitality. We believe that she will always be difficult to beat, impossible to kill; and it is probable that for years at least, if not for ever, she will be more than a match for any force, moral or material, that unaided Italy can bring into the field. But it is impossible to forget that Hungary is the largest and most warlike portion of the Austrian Empire: that the Hungarian troops have always constituted the flower of her army; that a systematic and well-organised insurrection in Hungary would paralyse her strength, and that the complete and final severance of Hungary would reduce her to comparative impotence, both for aggression and for European influence. It seems all but certain that she will not be able thoroughly to conciliate and re-possess Hungary by any means short of restoring her ancient Constitution, a distinct Ministry, and an independent Diet. Is it certain that such large concessions, even if the happiest thing for Hungary, would be the wisest thing for Austria? If this be really the price at which alone she can retain her grasp upon Venice and the Quadrilateral, is it not too high a price to pay?

But is it at all certain, or even probable, that this price would secure the endangered province? With a ministry and a legislative assembly of its own, Hungary would be free to give or to refuse her aid, to sanction or to veto the war taxes and war levies, to assist or to neutralise the enterprises of the imperial cabinet. And what are most likely to be her feelings and deci-

sions in reference to the Venetian question? We know that her sentiments in reference to Italy are greatly changed since 1848; we know that a revolution in Hungary was planned and arranged between Louis Napoleon and Kossuth, in conjunction with the Italian War of Independence, and would have broken out, if the Convention at Villafranca had not rendered it unnecessary for the purpose then in hand; we know that the leaders of Hungarian and of Italian patriots have been in frequent and close communication; we know that regiments of Hungarian refugees were embodied by the side of the Piedmontese army; and we know that an Hungarian legion formed a portion of the forces with which Garibaldi overran Sicily and Naples:—is it probable that Hungary will be selfish enough to purchase the recovery of her own independence by engaging to annihilate that of Italy, or ungenerous enough to allow the enslavement of Venetia and the reconquest of Lombardy to be the first use to which her new-born power of free volition shall be turned?

Again, we hear much loose declamation as to the necessity to Austria and even to Germany of the famous 'Quadrilateral,' as a defensive outwork against a possible invasion from the South. But is this necessity really as certain and as imperative as autocratic alarmists are fain to represent it? Germany, as every one knows who has either studied the map or journeyed over the country, is already protected against attack from the Italian side by a range of the most difficult and formidable mountains that ever guarded any land; and if she cannot defend such passes as those of the Eastern Alps, no outlying fortresses, however strong, will avail her long. We have no intention of trenching on the province of the strategists.\* We will not discuss whether a broad river or lofty Alps make the most desirable frontier. We may concede at once that a series of four contiguous and nearly impregnable strongholds and intrenched camps, which no scientific captain would like to leave

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\* We have been favoured with the perusal of a memoir drawn up by an able and scientific officer on the real strategic value of the Quadrilateral to Austria. We shall not attempt to reproduce his arguments, because we are anxious not to encumber our pages with any collateral details. But his conclusion, which appears to be grounded upon ample data, both historical and military, is that the possession of these provinces and their fortresses, though valuable to Austria *for aggressive purposes*, is in no sense needed for her defence, since the Italian Tyrol and the line of mountains which thence run eastward to the Julian Alps, would afford her an almost inexpugnable frontier—a far better frontier than most states are fortunate enough to possess.

in his rear, must prove a formidable impediment to the progress of an invading army. But this is not the question : we are called upon to admit that such a combination of fortresses in the plains of Lombardy is necessary to render Germany secure against an invasion from the South ; and it is impossible to make such an admission. The Quadrilateral, in fact, is just as necessary to the defence of Germany as the possession of similar fortifications on the borders of Biscay, Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia would be to that of France : and not one whit more.

It may perhaps be impossible to induce Austria to adopt this view, or to estimate at no more than its real value a military position which history has made so celebrated, and which used to be so enviable. But there are one or two considerations which we are entitled to ask her to weigh with calmness, and which appear to us nearly conclusive against the wisdom of her attempted retention of her Italian provinces, the Quadrilateral included. She needs them, it is argued, as a security against invasion from the South. What alone renders this invasion probable ? Her retention of those dependencies. What would reduce the chances of such invasion to the most remote, chimerical, and all but impossible contingency ? Her frank and full surrender of them — of course, for an adequate compensation — to a State anxious to unite them and able to defend them. A very few words will suffice to make our argument clear. From whom does Austria fear attack on the side of the Rhetian Alps ? From France. What, and what only, renders such an attack possible ? Nothing but the weakness or the hostility of Italy. As long as Italy is feeble and divided, she will continue to be, as she has always been, the favourite field of battle between the two great Continental rivals. As long as she is powerless to enforce respect to her neutrality, France will be sure to disregard it whenever her military exigencies dictate such a course ; but when she becomes as strong and influential as the events of this year when consummated will have made her, France will no longer be able to assault Austria through her territories except with her cordial good-will. The independence of Italy will insure the security of Austria on her southern frontier ; unless, indeed, independent Italy be hostile to her and friendly to her rival. But what reason has Austria to anticipate such hostility ? Italy, subdivided and oppressed, was necessarily the dependent ally of France and the bitter foe of Austria, because only through the aid of the former could she hope for deliverance from the latter. But of Italy fused, free, and elevated to the rank and means of a first-rate Power, the interests, the feelings,

and the fears would be all the other way. As long as Austria remains in the Peninsula, and retains in subjection any portion of its people, Italy is of necessity her irreconcilable and ferocious enemy. The instant she lets go her grasp and retires beyond the Alps, Italy becomes her best bulwark and her natural ally. In fact, Austria has now to choose between having France and Italy against her by the retention of Venetia, or purchasing the alliance of the Peninsula by its surrender.

This seems to us so plain that we wonder far more at German statesmen being blind to it than at French statesmen seeing it clearly. A few years ago, in the repose of a long peace and in the first flush of the millennial hopes which Free-trade doctrines raised in sanguine minds, it would have sounded like a barbarous anachronism to talk of natural enemies and natural allies in the simple language of our ancestors. But recent events have somewhat revived these old phrases, and the convictions which gave rise to them; and considering the matter from the ordinary ancient international point of view, it is assuredly France and not Austria that is the 'natural' rival — not to use the more unpleasant word — of the Italian kingdom. Italy and Germany need have no collision, and little competition: Austria is not a maritime Power, and has the smallest possible amount of seacoast; the Adriatic is the only spot in which the people or the commerce of the two nations would come in contact. Their tastes, their habits, their objects, lie apart. But France and Italy would have innumerable points of rivalry. Their purposes, their ambitions, if not their true interests, would often clash. France aspires to the command of the Mediterranean, and Italy will be a Power even more distinctly Mediterranean than herself. The Italians, like the French, are ingenious, and are fast becoming manufacturing. The native productions of the two countries are for the most part, identical, and would habitually compete in foreign markets,—corn, wine, silk, and oil. For obvious reasons we do not wish to press these remarks further, or to dwell upon them at any length. We will only observe that they partially explain and slightly palliate what in English eyes nothing can excuse,—namely, the unanimous, vehement, and ungenerous animosity expressed by all the politicians of France—the old parliamentary liberals just as much as others—to the emancipation and union of Italy. They look at the question from an exclusively national and narrowly selfish point of view: a powerless peninsula they could trample on and use—a prosperous and independent one they must respect and may have to dread. While wretched and divided, she was a tool—

when free and great, she will be a rival. 'Henceforth France ' will have to choose another field of battle.' That is reason enough with them for condemning the Sardinian policy, and deploring the consequences it has entailed. Even men who have fought and suffered in the cause of constitutional freedom, who have conducted, and who seemed to value, liberal institutions, who claimed and have received our sympathy for the deprivation of their political and civil rights, actually lament, as a national calamity, and resent as a personal affront, the deliverance of a neighbouring people from a galling yoke, and the extension to them of that rational and well-ordered parliamentary self-government which themselves have lost. They hate the Emperor with a reduplication of abhorrence, partly because he has undesignedly raised up a possible rival to France, but still more because he has been the means of conferring upon another country the blessings of which he has deprived his own. Now this is a temper which Englishmen find it hard to understand. We are too earnest and sincere in the cause of free institutions not to rejoice in the spread of them to other nations, whatever may be the possible reflex action on ourselves. We rejoiced in their establishment in France, and mourned over their extinction, without stopping to ask ourselves whether they might not make her more prosperous and more powerful; and it is with a kindred sympathy, in reference to the Italian question, that we feel ourselves far more in accordance with the policy which has contributed (from whatever motive) to restore the independence of Italy, than with the statesmen who would sacrifice it to a contracted view of their own national interest.

On the success of the grand enterprise now in hand—on the cordial union and thorough fusion of all the provinces of the Peninsula into one kingdom—must rest unquestionably the future greatness and even the real independence of Italy. Internal prosperity and civil freedom it is conceivable that she might attain under a different organisation; but self-supporting security and European influence can only be purchased at the price of unity. All who wish her ill—and unfortunately many also who wish her well—have long been in the habit—the first, in a tone of triumphant dogmatism, the second, in a tone of assenting despondency—of pronouncing this unity to be chimerical. The process of amalgamation, they say, is simply impossible: the experience of history absolutely negatives the notion; the internal dissensions and discrepancies of the Italians will

effectually prevent its realisation. We take leave to say that those who prophesy and argue thus must strangely misread the history of the past, and must almost equally distort or overlook the facts of that living history which is now before their eyes. The truth is, that the annals of no country present so marked and continuous a tendency towards aggregation and amalgamation; and that no people possess so many natural and powerful bonds of union, or labour under so few serious impediments in the way of fusion.

What *are* the great bonds between provinces and people—the original ties and indications of community, which create sympathy and suggest amalgamation? Are they not identity of religion, identity of language, and identity of laws? And where shall we find this threefold identity so clear or so inherent as among the inhabitants of the various subdivisions of the Italian Peninsula? In the first place, their *religion* is uniform. They are all Catholics; and they are Catholics by nature and by temperament. Even the residence of the Pope—even the swarming multitude of priests—even the perilous peep behind the curtain which their vicinity to the centre of the hierarchy has afforded them—have been unable to kill Romanism within them; or, at least, to substitute any other creed or form. Protestantism has never been able to make any way among them. The logical, critical, severe character of thought which has led northern nations to adopt other developments of Christianity, has no hold on the Italian mind, which is essentially imaginative, sensuous, and receptive. Those Italians who have abandoned Catholicism have, as a rule, abandoned Christianity as well. They have cast away their faith because they were disenchanted and disgusted—not because they were converted to any other. Unbelievers apart—who exist in every land—Romanism still reigns supreme over all Italy, from Reggio to the Alps. Compare this with the case of other countries. There are hundreds of thousands of sincere and earnest Calvinists in France. In Prussia there are millions who have embraced the new creed, and millions who adhere tenaciously to the old. Switzerland—one of the most patriotic and united of nations—is half Catholic and half Protestant. In Great Britain the discrepancy is still more striking, because here we are peculiarly in earnest, and enormously divided. Out of a population of thirty millions, probably seven millions are Catholics, three millions Scotch Presbyterians, and the remainder not very unequally divided into Churchmen and Dissenters of innumerable denominations. The fact is that, as far



as religion is concerned, the Italians are the most homogeneous of European nations. What facilities for administration are thereby afforded, and what ceaseless occasions of disturbance and perplexity are escaped, no one can appreciate so well as English statesmen.

As to *language*, the case for all practical purposes is almost as strong, though it is customary to draw a very different picture. It is true that the dialects of the lower classes in several parts of the Peninsula are very various, and sometimes not mutually comprehensible, or scarcely so. The peasant of Sicily, the artisan of Bari, the cultivator of Milan, might have great difficulty in understanding one another. But of what country or people is not the same thing true, and in an even more decided and inconvenient measure? Half the Swiss speak French, and half speak German. The Picardese and the Provençals have rather different languages than different *patois*. No Englishman understands Welsh, and few Welshmen speak English. Gaelic is still the mother tongue of the Scottish Highlanders and of the Western Irish, and the only tongue of thousands. The labourer of Yorkshire or of Essex would be puzzled by both the pronunciation and the vocabulary of the labourer of Somersetshire; and the genuine Lancastrian would be often unintelligible to the pure Devonian. If this does not signify in England, how should vernacular divergences far less marked signify in Italy? The peasantry of distant localities, who would find it difficult to hold intercourse with one another, are just those classes of the population *who never would meet*. Those who travel, those who must hold intercourse, those whom political and social life would throw together, can all speak the same tongue. The practice of conversing in the local dialects is already on the decline. The written language, too, is everywhere the same. Every man who reads at all can read every thing Italian. The literature is purely and entirely *national*: Dante and Tasso, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, Leopardi and Manzoni, are read by all with equal ease. They are the study and the pride alike of Neapolitan and Lombard, of Tuscan and Venetian. The pure Tuscan is the only language ever written by any cultivated Italian.

The *laws* of the several races of Italians are at least as identical as their religion and their language. Apart from local modifications — neither more special nor more important than our ‘bye-laws’ — they have all the same origin and the same basis. They are all grounded upon the Roman or ‘Civil Law,’ the Ecclesiastical or ‘Canon Law,’ and the mediæval customs. Wherever

political conflicts are not directly or indirectly involved, and wherever administrative despotism does not override or silence the tribunals, the jurisprudence of the various states of Italy, both in its spirit and its forms, is very good and almost precisely similar. No stronger exemplification can be adduced than that the same law books are used as authorities and for reference in every part of the Peninsula. The writings of a Neapolitan jurist are the 'Blackstone's Commentaries' of Italy. It is a noble characteristic of the stupendous fabric of the Roman Law that it may claim (and with more truth than the Romish Church) to be the most perfect exposition of the grand principles of universal jurisprudence: and to connect by a similarity of rights all the countries whose civil legislation is reared on this basis.

That a people thus bound and blended together by the triple chain of similar laws, language, and religious creed, should yearn for political unity and fusion, and should fret with an eternal restlessness against those historic accidents and foreign violences which have split them up into so many subdivisions, is no more than a natural and almost unavoidable result. Let us now see what the actual annals of the past teach us in reference to this national gravitation towards coherent unity. If we look back six or seven centuries, we find the Peninsula, on its recovery from the invasion of the Barbarians and the dissolution of the Roman Empire, subdivided into a vast number of perfectly independent states,—some of them republics, some of them marquisates or duchies, some of them fiefs under a nominal feudal superior,—consisting for the most part of a flourishing city as the nucleus, with a larger or smaller amount of territory which it had gradually gathered round it. From the 13th century, or even earlier, the process of aggregation commenced, and has continued to our own day. Sometimes by conquest, sometimes by marriage among the great families under whose rule the cities had gradually fallen, the smaller states succumbed to their inevitable fate of annexation and absorption. For example, how has Tuscany been formed? In the early portion of the middle ages, the territory which last year constituted this State was split up into at least seven distinct sovereignties, Florence being the most flourishing and powerful. In 1329, that republic conquered and annexed Pistoia; in 1361, it performed the same operation on Volterra; it absorbed Arezzo in 1384; and finally, after much warfare, established its dominion over Pisa in 1409. The conquest of Sienna, in 1557, completed the work and made Florence the capital of Tuscany, which was erected into a Grand Duchy

in 1569, and remained under the dominion of the Medici till the middle of the last century, when it was forcibly and most iniquitously handed over to Francis of Lorraine, whose marriage with Maria Theresa placed it thenceforth under the virtual rule of Austria. But it was only in 1847 that Tuscany reached its full development by the union of Lucca.

What is now called Lombardy was formed by much the same process of aggregation. Before the end of the 12th century, the commune of Milan had already absorbed Como, Lodi, and some other adjacent independent cities. Pavia, which had long resisted Milanese encroachment, was erected into a county by the Emperor Wenceslaus in 1395, and handed over to a younger branch of the Visconti family; but fifty years later it was conquered by Francis Sforza, and underwent the usual fate of annexation. Brescia retained her independence till 1426, when she was conquered and ceded to Venice by the Viscontis; Mantua for nearly four centuries (1328—1708), remained under the dominion of the Gonzaga family, first as a marquisate, and afterwards as a duchy, and only fell under the yoke of Austria, and helped to swell the state of Lombardy, at the commencement of the 18th century.—Venice also rose nearly in the same way. Her commerce and her maritime predominance made her great and rich; but she only became a territorial power by the successive absorptions of Treviso in 1388, of Padua in 1409, and of Brescia in 1426. How Venice fell, and how she became blended with Lombardy into an Austrian dependency, it is needless to recall.

We had occasion to trace in our last number the political formation of what is miscalled ‘the Patrimony of St. Peter,’ and to show that the ‘Estates of the Church’ were swollen to their recent size by the gradual annexation of the Duchy of Ferrara, which for three centuries had flourished in independence under the House of Este, of the Republics of Perugia and Bologna, and of many smaller cities.

It is useless to extend our retrospect in detail over the rest of the Peninsula. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies once, like other parts of Italy, comprised several republics. The Normans easily conquered Apulia and Calabria, and the free cities of Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and Salerno, and finally annexed Sicily to their dominion. Sicily has been united to the continent and severed from it at least half a dozen times in the course of her miserable annals. The last union, as we know, only took place in 1815. To conclude, we find in Piedmont a nearly similar history. In the 13th century Turin, Asti, Vercelli, Chieri, and other cities, with their surrounding territories, constituted independent republics and formed part of the celebrated Lombard

League. Gradually all grouped themselves, voluntarily or by conquest, round the House of Savoy. Vercelli was conquered in 1427; Asti and Ivrea gave themselves to the union about 1313; Fossano, Savigliano, Mondovì, Chieri, and Cherasco before the middle of the 14th century. Nice annexed herself of free will in 1388. The treaty of Utrecht erected the duchy into a kingdom; Sardinia was added in 1720; Novara and Tortona were obtained by war and treaty in 1738; and, finally, Genoa was embodied with the Monarchy by the arrangements of 1815.

It is not easy to conceive a history of more steady or prevailing aggregation, continued through a long course of centuries, and in every portion of the Peninsula. Nowhere the process of *morcellement*—everywhere the process of aggrandisement and amalgamation, the obliteration of barriers, the fusion of separate sovereignties, in short, a tendency towards union as marked as any country has displayed.

The whole course of Italian history, then, for many centuries showing this remarkable and ineradicable tendency towards unification, and so many natural and powerful bonds existing between the people of the different states to justify and explain it, it is not surprising that the great idea of Italian unity should have sprung up among them along with that of Italian independence, and should at length have taken even stronger hold on their enthusiastic minds. The grandeur of their common country, by means of its indivisibility, has become dearer to them even than their own individual liberties. The stirring conception of one single, prosperous, powerful State, which was many years since adopted by Mazzini as his revolutionary war-cry, in favour of which Manin was content to waive his long-cherished dream of federal freedom, and which Garibaldi has succeeded in erecting almost into a religion, is, however, no mere sudden *popular* chimera. It took its origin in the breasts of the most national poets and the most sagacious statesmen. It has been the imagination and the hope of all the noblest minds of Italy for centuries. Dante yearned for it in his earnest and pathetic language just after the close of the 13th century; Petrarch and Boccaccio repeat the aspiration in the 14th; Machiavelli in the 15th explained the difficulties which lay in the way of its realisation, and specified the Papacy as the most insurmountable one.\* That which

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\* The stirring exhortation to shake off the barbarian yoke with which Machiavelli concludes his *Prince*, for the concentrated detestation of foreign domination which it expresses, might almost have been written in 1860: — “Non si deve adunque lasciar passare questa

was formerly the idea of the *élite* has now become the passion of the multitude; and penetrating to the inmost hearts of those demoralised and servile masses, is rapidly working a regeneration and elevation of which a few years ago the most sanguine did not dare to dream. No one who has not been in Italy during the last year can have a conception of the change which has come over the temper and spirit of the people both of the north and of the south — a change due almost solely to the ennobling and purifying influence of this one idea, with which Garibaldi's language and conduct, more than any other cause, have succeeded in imbuing them. It has beaten down their local jealousies, it has soothed away their weak susceptibilities, it has subdued their selfish exigencies to a most hopeful and astonishing degree. It has almost obliterated those difficulties which the divergent tempers and systems of the Lombards and the Piedmontese threw in the way of their cordial amalgamation. It has created something like national life and unselfish aspiration even among the degraded populations of Sicily and Naples. So remarkable and salutary has been its influence, that those who know the Italians best and have watched them most closely in their recent phases, deprecate rather than desire the peaceable annexation of Venice. They feel that a year or two passed in developing and ingraining this aspiration after unity — above all, a year or two spent in patriotic efforts and sacrifices for it, and in perturbing doubts and fears about it — will do more both to elevate and to fuse the masses than a whole generation of security, ease, and material progress. Under cover of a severe struggle for national existence, if the first campaign were not *too* disastrous — in the internal calm which such a concentration of the passions on one objective aim would create — the process of administrative consolidation might proceed rapidly and with little interruption, so as to be complete and beyond disturbance by the time the conflict was ended by a victory. If the victory is given *to* them instead of being won *by* them, there is much reason to fear lest all their meaner passions and antipathic tempers should break out again, and mar and delay the work of amalgamation. If the Italians have not to fight for their independence and unity, they will neither ap-

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occasione acciochè la Italia vegga dopo tanto tempo apparire un suo redentore. Nè posso esprimere con quale amore ei fosse ricevuto in tutte queste provincie che hanno patito per queste illuvioni esterne, con qual sete di vendetta, con che ostinata fede, con che pietà, con che lacrime. Quali porte se gli serrerebbero? quali popoli gli negherebbero l'ubbidienza? quale invidia se gli opporrebbe? quale Italiano gli negherebbe l'ossequio? *Ad ognuno puzza questo barbaro dominio.*

prehend its true value nor realise its actual price: they will deem it an easy acquisition, and may be disposed to risk it carelessly by internal dissensions and disputes; and, unfortunately, as yet scarcely any one has fought in the national cause except Piedmontese and Lombards. For the largest and most effective portion of Garibaldi's liberating army consisted of Lombards: in the original expeditionary force of 1020 men, there were only two Piedmontese and forty-seven Genoese; a few were Hungarians, and nearly all the others were from Lombardy.

These considerations may serve to explain the apparent temerity of those Italian statesmen who are contemplating and even encouraging the notion of an early struggle with so great a Power as Austria for the redemption of Venice. They are well aware that, though the conception of Italian unity is an ancient as well as a popular idea; though it has taken astonishing hold of every class and rank of the nation; though the history of the Peninsula is one continuous narrative of its gradual translation into fact; and though religion, law, and language all lend their combined assistance towards its realisation,—yet the practical difficulties of detail in carrying it out are manifold and grave; arising in part from local discrepancies of temperament, but incomparably more from the petty passions and the childish ignorance inevitable among populations degraded at once by the vices and the incapacity generated by centuries of servitude; with no political experience to teach compromise and patience; grasping in their desires because irrational in their expectations; unknowing alike what they ought to endure and what it may be needful to forego; trained to habits of cowardly submission, but never instructed or ennobled by a willing and liberal obedience;—sometimes, as among the Neapolitans, with all manliness eaten out of them by a girlish vanity and a craven fear, and joining the fiercest passions of the savage with the meanest passions of the slave. Statesmen, who have all this hourly brought home to them by vexing and disheartening experience, may well believe that such a people can only be washed clean by the baptism of blood; can only be raised to the dignity of manhood by a hope which is almost fanaticism and a struggle which seems well-nigh desperate; and can, perhaps, only be moulded and organised into a nation while their attention is wholly engrossed in meeting the pressure from without. They are not wild enough, however, to fancy that they can cope with Austria single-handed: they count on combinations and contingencies which will either strengthen them or distract and paralyse their foes; and while not disguising from themselves the danger of defeat, they hold it to be less

formidable and less imminent than the danger which lurks behind security and inaction. The Peninsula, from one end to the other, is fermenting with all the wildest elements of disorder: the hot-headed enthusiasm of the young and poor is everywhere excited to the highest pitch; troops of disbanded volunteers, half patriots, half bandits, like the Klephts of Greece, have spread themselves over the land; criminals, hitherto scarcely kept in check, have now had their ranks swelled by the police formerly appointed to control them; whole populations, inured to the harshest tyranny, find themselves suddenly liberated from their old oppressors, but not yet replaced under any substituted rule:—no wonder that the statesmen entrusted with the work of administrative re-organisation, appalled with the task before them, are anxious to draft off all these materials of anarchy into one serviceable channel and to concentrate them on a common aim—to turn these sources of internal weakness into elements of aggressive strength. We cannot say that we approve their policy or should have the hardihood to adopt it—the hazard of the game is too tremendous; but we understand it easily, and are far from saying that it has not much to plead in justification of what appears to be its rashness and miscalculation.

If a work nobler, and more difficult was never assigned to European statesmen than is now entrusted to Victor Emmanuel and his ministers, in one sense perhaps there never was a simpler one. The task is hard, but the course is clear. It is easy to see what must be done, though it will be anything but easy to do it. An enslaved people has to be inured to freedom. A demoralised people has to be educated into patriotism and public virtue. A sensitive and unwarlike—and to a partial extent even a timid—people has to be disciplined to arms for the defence of its national existence. A people accustomed to do nothing for itself has to be trained gradually to do everything. A people, for generations forbidden to think or act on politics at all, has to be taught and practised to think moderately and to act soberly. Lastly, a subdivided people has to be harmonised and blended into unity. A people with six capitals and seats of government has to be persuaded henceforth to content itself with one. The key to the secret, or rather the solution of the problem, lies in two words—POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION and ADMINISTRATIVE DE-CENTRALISATION; and we rejoice to see by the memorial of Minghetti that the ministers of the king are fully alive to the necessity both of asserting and of uniting these two principles.

Few of our readers can have a conception of the extent to which the fatal system of government by a centralised bureaucracy was carried in many parts of Italy, and especially in the kingdom of Naples. Centralisation is extreme enough and bad enough in Germany and in France; but in *Il Regno* it was still more excessive and still more ruinous. It benumbed the capacity and paralysed the industry of the natives, and nearly maddened the few Englishmen who went to help them. There were municipalities—but they were absolutely powerless; there were prescribed forms of proceeding—but they were mere instruments of repression and delay; there were mayors and councillors—but these were either reduced to puppets or converted into tools. A few instances will illustrate the system far better than any description. Many years ago, Keppel Craven, an English gentleman, well known among other things by an interesting book of travels on Calabria and the Abruzzi, determined to settle in the southern portion of the Neapolitan dominions, and purchased a considerable property, with a ruinous old convent upon it. He repaired the house, and laid out large sums in improving the estate. After a while, finding the house ill supplied with water, he resolved on bringing a stream which lay at some distance in subterraneous pipes and distributing it over his residence. The stream itself and the channel through which it was thus proposed to divert a portion of it *lay entirely within his own property*; but it was intimated to him that he would not be allowed to take any steps towards carrying out his design without first obtaining the consent, not of the commune, but of the king. After many months' delay, a host of tedious formalities, and a previous survey by a government engineer, the necessary permission was granted; but even then the precise course to be followed was laid down for him in detail by the central authorities. To an Englishman all this seemed absurd and vexatious enough: but worse was behind. Mr. Craven found, after supplying his own demand, that there was much water still to spare, and he was desirous that the surplus should not be wasted. The adjoining village was ill provided; there was no public fountain, and the women had to carry the water needed for household purposes a considerable distance up a steep hill, and, as usual, on their heads. He offered the municipal authorities, therefore, to erect, at his own expense, a fountain in the market-place, and make a present of the water to the commune. They gratefully accepted his offer, and at once proceeded to lay down the pipes, never dreaming of any opposition. Scarcely, however, had they broken ground before an injunction came down from the governor of the district to cease operations;



*the mayor and two of the councillors were imprisoned and fined, for having dared to put a spade into the soil for an object of public beneficence without previous authorisation from the central administration; and a report upon the whole matter was directed to be prepared and forwarded to Naples. Then came a survey by the government engineer, references for further information, additional reports upon the scheme by various officials; until at last, after a year or two of vexatious delays, Mr. Craven was so irritated and disgusted that he withdrew his generous offer, and the village remains to this day unprovided with a public fountain.*

In a province not very far from the place where this occurred, lay two adjacent communes which had long suffered much inconvenience from the want of a decent road between them. There was no opposition and no difference of opinion among the inhabitants; they planned the line, obtained the consent of the proprietors, and collected the necessary funds; but they had to apply for permission to the King in council. After the usual amount of official postponements and formalities, the authorisation was granted; but the communes were not to be allowed to make the road themselves; a royal engineer surveyed the ground, decided the plan, and prepared to direct the contracts. Meanwhile, according to the legal routine prescribed in such cases, the money collected for the construction of the road had been deposited in the hands of the local treasurer. When he was applied to for it, it was not forthcoming: according to rule he had paid over the entire balances remaining in his chest at the end of the year, to the provincial treasurer. Application was made to this functionary by the subscribers. His answer was: ‘Gentlemen, your demand is perfectly just, but I have paid over the money, as directed, to the royal exchequer; here is the order on which I acted. You must apply to the minister of finance.’ The rest may easily be surmised; the state can never be made to disgorge, and the road is still a desideratum. Many such instances might be specified, but these will suffice.

It is evident that the process by which a people, long reduced to helplessness by a system such as this, is to be inured to habits of self-government and municipal activity, must be gradually administered and carefully supervised. As much freedom and local faculty of initiation as can be servicably used must be conceded by way of education; while the practice of it must, at first, be watched and assisted by the central or provincial authorities, in order to prevent the mistakes made in the course of this education from being too serious or discouraging. Happily the circumstances of Italy, in the actual conjuncture, all point in

the right direction, and tend to facilitate the right course. The passion for unity will find its expression and result in the formation of a strong central Government; and the love of autonomy and individuality natural to provinces that have long formed separate states, will be gratified by the independent exercise of all those functions which relate to municipal as distinct from imperial concerns. The king, with his ministers and his chambers, elected impartially from every part of the Peninsula, will have the sole and supreme control of all political and military matters, and of the national, apart from the local, finances. Nearly everything else will fall under provincial or parochial jurisdiction, subject to certain powers of supervision and appeal. In reference to the organisation of the new kingdom, the previous existence of a constitutional monarchy, like that of Piedmont, has proved an incalculable blessing. The actual creation of an entirely new State, by the amalgamation of a number of others, all hitherto under despots but all under different forms of despotism, would have been an almost unmanageable task. The aggregation of a number of adjacent states, whatever may have been their antecedents, around one central nucleus, — already trained and experienced in the path upon which they were about to enter, already practised in the working of those free institutions to which they aspired, having already, though still young, passed through the gravest perils of the new career, and having already succeeded, with wonderful sagacity and tact, in adapting Parliamentary institutions to the peculiarities and requirements of an Italian people, — is, in comparison, simple, natural, and almost easy. The one process is analogous to that of calling an exotic into existence, the other is the mere growth and development of an originally hardy tree. We should almost have despaired of the one; we can safely feel sanguine about the other. It is scarcely too much to say, that the existence of the Kingdom of Sardinia has alone rendered the Kingdom of Italy possible.

The principal features of the scheme for the future government of the Peninsula, on the principle of combining central vigour with local freedom, which Minghetti, as Minister of the Interior, has submitted to the Council of State, and which will, we presume, be adopted, with only slight modifications, are the following:—

Administrative decentralisation, Minghetti observes, may be effected in two ways: either ‘by delegating to representatives of the Central Government, in different parts of the kingdom, powers usually exercised by the ministers; or by the Govern-

'ment divesting itself of these functions in favour of the citizens themselves.' He proposes to operate in both ways at once, in such a manner as 'to give or to restore to the provinces the administration of those affairs which naturally belong to them, allowing them to act independently of the authority of Government, subject only to that ultimate vigilance which the State must exercise over every corporate body.' With these views the country is to be divided into *Regions*, *Provinces*, and *Communes*, 'each corresponding as far as possible with the divisions dictated by historical traditions, real identity of interests, and natural or ancient boundaries.' The *Regions*—combinations of several provinces, proposed rather as a sort of 'transitional compromise, to facilitate the change from the old state of division into the new condition of unity,' than with any fixed determination as to their permanent retention—are to have governors, who shall be both delegates from the king, and media of communication from the *Regions*. The Regional authorities are entrusted with the maintenance of the national roads, bridges, and rivers, subject to the decision of the Central Government, where the boundaries of the State, or differences between two or more regions are concerned; and subject also to the exception of railways, telegraphs, and postal communications, which are to be under the immediate control of the Ministry of the Interior. To the Regional authorities is also committed the supervision of educational institutions of the higher order, universities and academies of the fine arts.—The *Provinces* are to be presided over by prefects, nominated by the king, but are to exercise very extensive functions of local self-government and administration. They are to have the superintendence of all roads, bridges, and gates which are neither national nor parochial; of woods and forests and fisheries; of primary and technical instruction; of sanitary matters, &c., with some minor attributes. The Provincial Council is to decide upon and execute all measures relating to these functions; the Prefect having *non più la presidenza, ma solo la tutela et la vigilanza sovra gli atti del consiglio*. The Provinces, moreover, are empowered to provide funds for their expenditure, by the establishment of an external *octroi, gabelle*, or similar imposts, by a tax on beverages, or by a limited amount of 'additional centimes' to the direct taxes levied by order of the State.—The *Communal* authorities, who are to elect their own syndics or mayors, will manage all smaller local matters, parochial and district, subject to a certain control from the Government as far as regards the legality of their decisions, and from the Provinces as far as re-

lates to their convenience and utility.\* They will also be empowered to impose a town octroi, a tax on carriages, on weights and measures, on the temporary occupation of common lands or places, a tax on cattle and beasts of burden, and a poll-tax. The delegates and councillors of all these administrative bodies are to be chosen by the people, with the most perfect freedom, and according to a very liberal and popular franchise.

In this scheme, fairly carried out, there is ample scope for the development of every faculty of self-government which the Italian people may possess, and ample play also for the indulgence of those local and sectional idiosyncrasies which undoubtedly prevail, and which, if too strongly repressed or too little considered, might mar the harmonious working of the State machine. And when we add that the administration of justice, though at present reserved exclusively for the Central authorities, is intended at some early future to be committed, as with us, in its minor attributes to the Provincial authorities, and that all disputes and conflicts between individuals and Government functionaries *are to be judged by the ordinary tribunals*, we think our readers will agree that the framers of the new Italian Constitution have shown a rare degree of skill, both in what they have enacted and in what they have avoided; and that there is every ground for a sanguine hope that the result will do honour alike to their foresight and their confidence. It remains to be proved whether the Italian people are as rational as the Italian statesmen are competent and wise.

The controversy as to what shall be the capital of the new kingdom involves a much wider and more difficult problem than the mere decision as to the local seat of government. Other considerations than those of administrative convenience or strategic security come in to complicate the question: the Papal perplexity stands directly in the way. Italy is full of populous and famous cities, each of which can advance many pleas, each of which can boast of a brilliant history and endearing or dazzling associations, each of which has been, at one period or other, a centre of sovereignty and conquest and civilisation, — Milan, Turin, Florence, Venice, Rome, Naples, and Palermo. Practically, however, there can only be two competitors for the honour of becoming the metropolis of Italy —

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\* Minghetti proposes also, both as a measure wise in itself and indirectly provocative of union, the granting larger powers and greater freedom from tutelage to the several parishes in proportion to their size and population. .

Rome and Florence; and it is to be feared that Italian fancy will determine the matter in the way least advisable for Italian interests. We will endeavour to state the question in as rational and business-like a fashion as we can. And, in the first place, we may admit that feeling and imagination must enter largely into the discussion, for, as far as local advantages go, it is not easy to assign the preference to either rival. Both are splendid cities, full of magnificent buildings, already devoted or readily convertible to public purposes. Both are at about an equal distance from the sea, and both are reasonably central and secure. On the score of cheerfulness and health, Florence has decidedly the advantage. It has a better river, a better position, and a better climate. For four months in the year, from July till October, Rome is decidedly an unhealthy place, not, perhaps, for the mass of the population, but certainly for visitors and occasional residents. Foreigners and the upper classes of natives, as a rule, spend the autumn months among the hills or elsewhere, in *villeggiatura*; and the inconvenience of a seat of government which urges, if it does not actually compel, frequent non-residence of the officials, is not to be overlooked. We feel it seriously in Calcutta. Still, it will be said, even London is as much deserted in the autumn as Rome would ever be, and is by no means a sanatorium during the hot months. A graver objection, in our minds, is the state of the Campagna. It is not to be expected that if Rome became the metropolis of a great kingdom, it would not increase and extend as all other prosperous capitals inevitably do: it could only increase by the inclosure and cultivation of the Campagna; and, as experience and the example of Algeria has taught us, the first attempt to drain and bring under tillage those miasmatic plains would infallibly breed a malignant and spreading pestilence.

When we come to the chapter of associations—to such at least as are relevant to the question in hand—we venture to think that they preponderate vastly in favour of Florence. The historic glories of Rome are all imperial and despotic; her finest monuments—all her ancient ones, with scarcely an exception—belong to the era, recall the occurrence, are redolent of the sentiments, of servitude; what survives of the remote past breathes the atmosphere of dominion no doubt, but of thralldom and of shame as well; you read therein much of the grandeur, but little of the liberty of the ancient world. The palaces of the Renaissance, as well as the classic monuments, remind us always of the double empire or of Papal despotism—never of the old republic. It is well known that with the exception of the ‘*Cloaca maxima*’ and the Mamertine

prison, there is not a vestige of the Rome before the Cæsars; with the exception of the 'Torre dei Conti' and the house of Cola di Rienzi, Rome scarcely contains what can properly be termed a mediæval monument. Unlike the other cities of Italy, it never knew even the name of mediæval freedom. Rome has been the seat of the two most gorgeous and crushing and enduring tyrannies the world ever saw:—surely these are scarcely the associations which constitutional freedom in the nineteenth century should be most anxious to evoke; these are scarcely the memories which generous and healthy-minded patriots would gather round the shrine of their recovered country and their new-born rights.

On the other hand, what city is so vividly and inseparably connected in every cultivated mind with the fame and freedom and magnificence of modern Italy as Florence? Her monuments are those of the Medici; her history is that of the Republic; her glories are essentially popular. Every name great in literature, that wrote in the Italian language and stamped itself upon the Italian mind, and made Italy known and worshipped throughout the human universe,—every sublime intelligence that towered above the crowd,—belonged to Florence, sprung from her, or gravitated to her. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Galileo, Michael-Angelo: did Rome contribute *one* name to all that galaxy of grandeurs? Ariosto was born in Lombardy and spent most of his life at Ferrara. Even Tasso, though Tuscany cannot claim him, was no son of Rome. He was born at Sorrento, and flourished in Ferrara. It is a remarkable fact, that, even among the more modern Italian thinkers and poets, we do not find one single name of eminence that belongs to Rome. Alfieri was a Piedmontese, Vico and Genovesi were from Naples, Manzoni was a Lombard, Leopardi was a Tuscan. The specially *patriotic* men of Italy, too, were nearly all Florentines; and the epoch of Florentine greatness was the epoch of Florentine liberty; the glory of Florence was the offspring and the embodiment of her freedom: the glory of Rome culminated when her freedom died, and almost sprung out of its ashes.

But a far more practical consideration than all these is the connexion which exists between the choice of a metropolis and the disposal of the Pope. Of all questions with which statesmen in our days, or perhaps in any days, have been called upon to deal, this is the most surrounded with embarrassment and complications. Those who have thought upon it dispassionately, and those who will be called upon to solve it practically, have arrived at two conclusions with a general consent, which is

almost unanimity. The Pope must be *desecularized*, and he must still be the Bishop of Rome. He must cease to be a temporal sovereign, but he must reside in the capital of his old sovereignty. He must lay down his princely power, but he must continue to occupy his princely palaces. A more difficult arrangement could scarcely be conceived. That he should in future be restricted to his spiritual functions, as head of the great ecclesiastical hierarchy, is desired by statesmen and religious men alike. Earnest and sincere catholics feel that his authority would become at once loftier, purer, stronger, for the change,—that his action would be freer, his motives holier and simpler, and his decisions more influential, because less open to question or suspicion. Philosophical politicians see clearly that, in an age and in a land of constitutional freedom and parliamentary institutions, an infallible earthly potentate can have no place or function, and that a government dictated by the interests and moulded by the wishes of the people cannot be administered by a monarch supposed to draw his inspirations from above, claiming to be guided by supernal wisdom, and owning allegiance to a far different authority than that of elected chambers or national volition. Neither the Swiss nor the British form of freedom and self-rule can be grafted on to a Theocracy. Practical statesmen, too, have had experience enough of the evils and perplexities involved in the existence of a principality to which independence is at once essential and unattainable; and are weary of a government so inherently weak that it cannot maintain itself, yet so incurably bad that it cannot with justice or with decency be maintained by others. The thirteen years which have elapsed between 1847 and 1860 have opened many eyes.

It seems evident, then, that his Holiness must be at once compressed and elevated into a spiritual potentate. It seems almost equally evident, that when this process is accomplished his residence must still be Rome. Not only ought he to be there, but there seem to be nearly insurmountable difficulties in the way of conceiving him or establishing him elsewhere. He is Bishop of Rome; he is the head and incarnation of the Roman Church; the Vatican, the palace of his court, the place whence are dated his decrees, is within the walls of Rome; St. Peter's, the great basilica of universal Catholicism, the common shrine of the faithful, is the modern gem and wonder of the Eternal City. How could the Pope quit all these noble and distinctive possessions? What would he be — how would he feel — what hold would he retain over the devout and imaginative mind of Catholic Europe, if severed from all these endearing and im-

posing associations? Again, whither could he be transferred where he would not become, virtually at least, the subject of some European sovereign, where he would not be, or be believed to be, a dependent and perhaps a tool — most probably by the monarch who gave him an asylum — certainly by that monarch's enemies and rivals?

The Pope, then, must remain at Rome, and he must be neither a subject nor a sovereign. He must govern no temporal people, and he must obey no temporal prince. We may see at a glance how the difficulty of his residence at Rome and the anomalous nature of his position there would be aggravated by Rome becoming the capital of the new kingdom. The Pope might indeed have St. Peter's and the district round the Vatican as a sort of sacred *precinct* or sanctuary, over which he should have absolute control, and with which the civil power should not be allowed to interfere; but it is difficult to see how two such mutually independent jurisdictions could practically subsist side by side. A law forbidding asylum to criminals and fugitives might be enacted, but could hardly be enforced without daily collisions and disputes. Either the Pope must have no subjects (that is, no residents) but ecclesiastical ones, or his lay dependents, with a contrast and a refuge so close at hand, would be little patient under his clumsy oppressive rule. Moreover, how could two courts exist together with their respective pageants and palaces in sight? the one, too, sore and sad with all the bitterness of faded splendour and decimated power, — the other prompt to assert and jealous to maintain its new authority, smarting under the memory of ancient wrongs, and insolent with the conscious claims of recent emancipation; — the conqueror and the conquered seated on their several thrones — and both thrones set up in the heart of the conquered city. All these difficulties might be greatly smoothed down, if not removed, were Florence selected as the seat of government. Rome might then be made a free city, with institutions like those of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Frankfort — modified to meet the peculiarities of the case. The administration might be in the hands of a lay municipality; and the Pope — as seems but just, seeing that so large a proportion of the citizens must consist of ecclesiastics — might have a partial veto on the election of the chief magistrate and the judges, by having, on each vacancy, the choice between three candidates submitted to him for approval. Under a well-organised arrangement of this kind the city might be well governed, and the Papal court as splendid and as gorgeous as it pleased. As for the financial resources of the Papacy, relieved from the burdens of civil and military admit



nistration, if the Catholic world desires to maintain a Pope, the Catholic world is numerous and wealthy enough to maintain him in becoming splendour.

That this would be the wisest and smoothest solution of the problem we can entertain no doubt. But the *sentiment* of the Italians, however unreasoning, is, we fear, far too strong and too unanimous to leave much hope of its adoption. They have an unhealthy feeling, which writers, orators, demagogues, and even statesmen, have contributed to foster, that Rome contains the idea and the soul of Italy, and that without Rome as their centre they will never be a great people. The fancy of proclaiming unity 'from the Capitol,' of discussing European questions 'in the Forum,' seems to have a fascination for them which is not of hopeful augury for their political maturity or practical manliness of mind. But so it is. The claims of Rome, we are told, will silence all other aspirants. Every city in the land will bow to the claims of Rome, but every city would contest the claims of every other proposed metropolis. In the last Session, Count Cavour, who represents Turin in the Sardinian Parliament, announced that Rome was to be the future capital of the amalgamated monarchy, and not one of his constituents uttered a word of remonstrance. Those who are best acquainted with the state of feeling there, assure us that had he upheld the claims of Turin, he would have been coldly received even by the Piedmontese, and that had he ventured to suggest Florence, he would indisputably have forfeited his re-election. The difficulties we have endeavoured to explain, therefore, must be met, and the obstacles must be overcome, in the best mode that sagacious politicians can devise. In any attempt to solve the Papal problem we encounter the most embarrassing perplexities: our only choice lies between schemes, some one of which must be adopted, but all of which are open to grave and undeniable objections. Our comfort lies in the plain and notorious truth that the problem *must be solved*, and that no solution can be so imperfect, so full of mischief and danger, and so essentially and avowedly transient, as the maintenance of the Pope in a provisional existence, with a diminished territory, and behind the bayonets of France.

We need only add one or two words in conclusion, as to the other great pending embarrassment of the Italian question. The sooner the cession of Venetia, for a fair and honourable equivalent, can be completed, the better will it be for Europe, for Austria, and perhaps (though as we have seen not quite in all respects so certainly) for Italy likewise. Europe can hope for little steady tranquillity so long as an irritation like that lies open,

which cannot be cut out of the body politic, and can be healed in no way but one. It is, moreover, a wound which spreads and a peril which augments with every hour. No statesman, insular or continental, liberal or despotic, can be blind to the imminent convulsion and confusion, if not the ultimate mischief, which is preparing in the east of Europe among the Hungarian and southern Sclavonic populations. If something in the way of amicable prevention be not done, and done speedily, we shall see almost certainly before the year is over the outbreak of a war of singular virulence and complication. The safety of Turkey, the ambition of Russia, the existence of Austria, will all be compromised in the strife. If the principle of non-intervention be rigidly enforced, the case will be difficult and hazardous enough. If that principle be violated, and the conflicting—or the coinciding—arms of France and Russia once come upon the stage, who can foresee the issue, or the end? The forcible retention, or rather the military occupation, of Venetia by Austria is to no one more fatal than to Austria herself. It is still the doctrine of European diplomatists that a powerful empire is needed for European interests in the geographical position now occupied by Austria:—but Austria, as long as she clings to Venetia, cannot be that empire—cannot fulfil that necessity—cannot discharge those functions. The finances of Austria are in a desperate state: her first obligation, the very indispensable condition of her existence, is to restore those finances. Ruin stares her in the face: if she insist on retaining Venetia, that ruin is consummated; if she consent to cede it, that ruin is averted. The harsh severity of her rule in her Italian dependencies, and the partial cruelty with which the fiscal burdens of her subjects there are apportioned and exacted, in comparison with the other provinces of the empire (the per centage being nearly double), have operated to the injury of Austria in a two-fold manner:—in the first place, they have given her a bad name in Europe, perhaps even worse than she deserves, and have alienated from her the sympathies of humane and liberal men throughout the world; and in the second place, they have trained her officials, both military and bureaucratic, to habits of insolence and oppression, which accompany them when transferred elsewhere, and create in the citizens on whom they are exercised, that irritation and dislike of the government which is fast spreading even to those provinces which used to be comparatively placid and contented. Lombardy and Venetia have demoralised the whole body of Austrian functionaries; both for the sake of quiet and of character she would do well to relieve herself from the cause of

the infection. We believe that she might cede her Italian dependencies with safety and with credit; we are sure she cannot keep them with either. She will not be the first great Power that has surrendered territory at the dictate of policy, and with a profitable result. England ceded a continent in 1783, and France sold a province (Louisiana) in 1803, and neither Power has ever repented the transaction.

Amongst the signs of the times which appear to mark out the year on which we have just entered as an epoch of important changes in either hemisphere, there is none that we hail with more satisfaction than the radical alteration which appears to be in progress in the councils and policy of the Court of Vienna. If it be true that the determination to restore the constitution of Hungary on the basis of 1848 and to shake off the fetters of the Concordat is already taken, two most important steps are made. A third remains, which by the cession of Venetia on amicable terms would complete the structure of the Kingdom of Italy, remove a constant source of weakness and dissension, enable Austria and all the other Powers to reduce their military establishments, and give the best pledge of peace to Europe.

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ART. X. — *Admiralty Administration; its Faults and its Defaults.* 8vo. London: 1861.

A MODERN writer, to whom the world is indebted for a great deal of practical wisdom, conveyed in a very pleasing form, has recently directed his ingenious powers of analysis and illustration to the effects produced by Organisation on human affairs. ‘Half the labour,’ he says, ‘of the most laborious people in the world is wasted, or is of such an imperfect character as to require much further labour, which need not have been if there had existed considerable skill in organising. Moreover, the loss of life, the loss of comfort, the loss of enjoyment which take place from a want of this skill are incalculable.’ To suppose that things will go well, or indeed that they will go at all, without careful preparation and constant supervision, is a delusion which at once unfits a man for the exercise of authority. To organise the common affairs of life, from a dinner-party to a review in Hyde Park, is a task requiring forethought, quick apprehension, and judgment; but when it is requisite that the organisation be such as to meet extraordinary emergencies, and to provide against events of

which we have no previous experience, these qualities are demanded in a very high degree. A man endowed with them knows his course of action beforehand,—he has already reflected what he should do if the house were on fire, if he were wrecked at sea, or if an accident threatening life were suddenly to occur to him. He is never unprepared; he never attempts to extemporise an expedient; knowing the vicissitudes of life to be great, he is ready, as far as possible, to meet them: and in this respect mainly the wise man differs from the fool. Much more, however, do these duties of provision and prevention devolve on those who conduct the affairs of the commonwealth. The nation entrusts to them its vast resources, on condition that they are to provide for the national security, and that the State suffer no loss at their hands. In the rulers of a great empire, organisation is the first of duties; they have authority to establish it; they are responsible for enforcing it; and they have more ample means than private citizens of observing how often deficiencies and disorganisation in small things lead to disasters in great things.

The English character, and especially the character of modern English society, is not, we fear, favourable to a high degree of organisation, and this as much from our national virtues as from our national defects. The enjoyment of individual liberty of judgment and action to its fullest extent is not consistent with that respect for subordination and authority which complete organisation demands, though it tends eminently to develop the opposite principle of self-reliance. But although self-reliance and independence are great and noble gifts, it is a delusion, and a dangerous delusion, to suppose that in a sudden crisis of national peril any amount of individual energy can countervail or supply a thoroughly-organised force.\* It would not be difficult to show in many different ways that the want of organisation tells injuriously upon the strength, the health, the time,

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\* The people of England not unfrequently organise their own affairs, when they set about it, better than the Government could organise those affairs for them, probably because assent and obedience are more heartily and thoroughly given when they are not exacted in the name of authority. Of such organisations, the most remarkable is, without doubt, that of the Volunteers, in which, by spontaneous combination, a whole army of 120,000 men has been raised, drilled, equipped, and is administered with the smallest possible infusion of legal authority; indeed, it is hard to say where the authority which has organised the Volunteers is to be found, except in the universal determination of every man among them to serve the common object, and to sink the individual in the whole.

and general welfare of the British nation. We build without a plan; we legislate without method; our public offices are the product partly of tradition and partly of accident; the business of Parliament is conducted with incredible irregularity and confusion; and an immense amount of labour is wasted in all public and private affairs for want of precision, forethought, and contrivance. The result is that even in the arts of peace and of manufacturing industry, the competition of foreign nations which excel us in organisation is far more severe than it would otherwise be; but, if the same principle be applied to the art of war, in which nothing can be extemporised, and everything depends on the effective co-operation of all parts of a vast system, we are in danger of losing even that superiority which we owe to our natural resources and position.

To turn again for a moment to the essay from which we borrowed our opening remarks, the author goes on to say:—

‘England is arming now to prevent foreign invasion, yet few perhaps, even of governing people, have stated to themselves in writing (for I hold to writing) what they want — what they would like to have in the way of defences, if time and money were in abundance at their disposal, and have then seen how much of the essence of the best plan in theory can be obtained in practice by the means which they are likely to have at their command. As things go on in the world, great efforts will be made in a scattered, incomprehensive, and unbustness-like way; and probably one-third of the force brought to bear upon this object will be lost. At the present moment, what is wanted for England in her dealings with foreign nations, is to organise a policy, and then to prepare the moral and material forces necessary to sustain that policy. Doubtless this is a considerable difficulty for any country not despotically governed, since one of the drawbacks upon the representative form of government lies in the frequent changes which take place in the governing persons; changes, too, which often have their origin in very slight questions, and are not connected with any great change of policy, especially as regards foreign affairs. Still these changes in the governing persons may be very detrimental, if only in creating the idea abroad of a proneness to mutability in our foreign policy. If England ever undergoes any deplorable reverse, it will probably be for want of preparedness, from deficiency in organisation generally, and from the want of an organised plan of policy steadily pursued and prepared for. A further danger is that one kind of policy should be adopted in ordinary times, and then be suddenly changed at a crisis, when there are no preparations made to sustain and enforce the new policy, and when the old preparations are unserviceable. Indeed, a large part of our preparations, even in the most civilised countries, are like those which are made in Thibet for the Great Lama festival called the Feast of Flowers, held at the Lama-serai of Kounboun. There are colossal statues of men and women,

exquisitely wrought models of birds, animals, and even buildings; and, in fine, there are decorations of the most elaborate and artistic kind. But they are all made of butter; and, though they have been laboured at for months, they serve only for one day's festival, and are then thrown down into a ravine near the Lamaserai, to be devoured by crows.' (*Essay on Organisation.* Arthur Helps.)

Our readers will not be slow to anticipate the direct application of these observations to the most urgent political question of the day, and that which ought, in our opinion, most promptly to claim the attention of Parliament. But if any doubt exist on the subject, we refer them to the important book, quoted at the head of this article, which places it in the most forcible light before the country. Proceeding from the pen of a writer who is evidently familiar not only with the naval service in all its details, but with the innermost recesses of the naval administration, and who speaks with independence as well as authority, this small volume tells a tale which must command attention; and of such vital importance do we believe it to be at the present time, that we take the earliest opportunity of placing it prominently before the public.

We have already shown in more than one article of this Journal, the course of events which has brought the British navy to its present unprecedented position; — we say unprecedented, because although the naval estimates for the last two years are of enormous amount, and an effort has been made to launch and equip a fleet of unusual strength, yet our *relative* position with reference to foreign countries has not materially improved, and their progress in naval preparations has in some respects exceeded our own. In July, 1853 \*, we first called the attention of the public to the posthumous labours of the Committee on Naval Affairs appointed in 1849 by the National Assembly of France, — a work then almost entirely unknown, but which has been the fruitful mother of all that has since been done for and by the French navy. It appeared from the evidence taken by that Committee, that the *material* naval resources of the two countries were, ten years ago, in the proportion of three to one in favour of England over France, although even at that time the *personal* organisation of the maritime population was obviously superior in France to anything we possessed. The Committee were extremely dissatisfied with this state of things; they laid down a complete scheme for the reorganisation of the French navy; and although their existence was terminated by the *coup d'état* of December, 1851,

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\* Ed. Rev., vol. xcvi. p. 240.

the government of Louis Napoleon has not ceased, from that time to the present, to carry on and to extend their plan with the utmost energy, and with the most astonishing results. The purpose kept in view by this Commission is thus briefly stated in the work now before us:—

‘The question the Commissioners place before themselves as the one object and end of their labours is, how to prepare the navy of France to encounter with advantage that of England; for this they say is “the only question,” and “there is no other,” and the most sanguine expectations are entertained of obtaining a decided practical superiority, by organising with the utmost care, all those various elements, the union of which, in due proportion to each other, can alone constitute an efficient navy. The following are among the numberless subjects which occupied their attention:—1st. To train the whole maritime population to the duties of ships of war, by actual service in the fleet, thus making the navy in peace a grand training school for war. 2nd. To provide a fleet of screw ships sufficient to be able to call into action all the resources in trained men thus obtained. 3rd. To organise means of putting an effectively trained crew on board every ship thus provided, the moment war breaks out. 4th. To prepare the means necessary to insure the constant supply of the fleet, under all the exigencies of a great war, with coals, stores, and provisions, wherever it should be employed—whether in the Channel, in the Mediterranean, or in the Atlantic. 5th. To excavate vast basins and docks at Cherbourg, Toulon, and Brest, as the only possible means by which the fleet can be kept thus supplied and repaired, so as to be maintained in activity under all the accidents war would occasion.

‘On the other hand, the immense resources of England in every essential element of naval power are admitted; but the Commissioners observe that in England “*nothing is organised*,” and they add, also, “*at sea nothing can be extemporised.*”’

Such is the success which has attended the labours of the French Government and realised the intentions of the French Commission, that six years after the date of our first article, namely, in July, 1859, we had occasion to show from official documents\*, drawn up under the authority of the Prime Minister himself, that in spite of the very serious increase which has taken place of late years in the navy estimates, the naval force of the country was still inferior to what it ought to be with reference to that of other Powers, and especially of France. It was proved, and acknowledged by Ministers in Parliament, that the French had afloat the same number of steam line-of-battle ships as we have, and a larger number of steam frigates: it was shown that in the power of manning

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\* Ed. Rev., vol. cx. p. 1.

those ships for any sudden emergency, France greatly surpasses us; and that for the purpose of equipping ships, coaling, &c., any one of the dockyards of Brest, Toulon, and Cherbourg exceeds the whole area of our dockyard basins put together. On this declaration, which took Parliament and the country by surprise, additional estimates were voted, immense activity prevailed in the dockyards, twenty-one steam line-of-battle ships were launched, an unusually large squadron was kept in commission. All these facts are familiar to most of our readers, and to all persons at all conversant with naval affairs. It is not our intention to revert to them. We wish on the present occasion to carry the question further. We ask, and the British public may well ask, how it comes to pass that whilst our resources in seamen and ships are allowed to be the greatest in the world, and whilst we are spending on the navy in peace sums not much inferior to the largest war estimates, we should, nevertheless, be told that the grand object of maintaining the fleet on a scale of undoubted superiority to foreign countries, has *not been accomplished*, and that we are therefore still liable to panics and apprehensions quite unworthy of the character and station of England?

The answer to this question—a peremptory answer, and we believe a true one—is to be found in the volume before us. In a word, it is ORGANISATION—the superior organisation of other countries—which has enabled them, with inferior natural and numerical resources, to raise a fleet equal to our own: and if we seek the true cause of our lamentable inferiority in this essential condition, the pivot on which the naval system of the country rests, it will be found mainly in the weak and vicious constitution of the directing power—that is, of the Board of Admiralty itself. The object of the writer whose pages we are now examining, is to prove that the cause of the shortcomings of the navy, of the discontent pervading several branches of the service, of the lavish expenditure in the dockyards, and of the inadequate results in the fleet, is all to be traced to that which is or ought to be the central spring of naval administration. In short, that the navy will never have fair play, until the Admiralty be reformed—and that whatever complaints may be made of the state of things in the dockyards or the squadrons, the remedy can only be applied with effect at Wallingford House. We think that the writer has proved his case; but if this be so, it must be observed that to this species of weakness the Admiralty itself will never apply an effectual remedy. The same imperfections which prevent it from effectually organising the naval service, prevent it *à fortiori* from reorganising itself.



The remedy must come from without: it may be found in Parliament, or in the enlightened action of public opinion. But we are fully satisfied that no greater service could be rendered by a minister to the service and safety of the country, than to reorganise *in toto* the department of naval affairs.

One of the peculiarities of an office, constituted as the Admiralty still is, consists in the amazing power of assimilation which it exerts over every member of it. Men of energetic character and various capacities have entered upon the performance of their duties within its walls, fresh from the benches of opposition, and full of schemes of reform. Sir Maurice Berkeley, a most able Sea Lord, never ceased to protest against its abuses while in office, but he had not the power to correct them. The present noble Secretary of the Board was, till he took that office, as loud an assailant of the system as any man; yet once within those walls—one after another,—from the stalwart Baronet of Netherby to the slender Baronet of Westwood—all have yielded to the spell, and we have the evils of incessant change of persons without any sensible improvement or change in the system.

It is, therefore, scarcely necessary to add that although we believe the Admiralty to be obnoxious to severe stricture, and to be responsible for the mismanagement of the navy, these strictures are addressed altogether to this system, and not to the men by whom the office happens to be filled. On the contrary, both under Lord Derby's administration, and under the present Government, we have seen First Lords struggling with earnestness to surmount the difficulties of their position—but struggling in vain. Changes of organisation in the higher branches of the department and of the profession it has not been in the power of Sir John Pakington or of the Duke of Somerset to effect. The same state of things existed in the army before the Crimean war. It was notorious that the authority over the army, divided as it then was between seven different branches of the administration, was highly unsatisfactory. Yet nothing was done. The hour of trial came, and then, amidst the clamour of an indignant people, and the horrible and heartrending sufferings of the army in the field, the peremptory necessity of placing the military administration of the Empire on a new footing was recognised and partially accomplished.\* We say 'partially

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\* The conduct of the Chinese war, now happily ended, deserves to be cited as a satisfactory proof of the progress made in the art of organisation by the War Department, and the prudent adaptation of means to ends. No army ever took the field in more brilliant

‘accomplished’ because the organisation of the War Office is still by no means what it ought to be. Several offices have in fact been thrown together and accumulated, without being combined; the system of a Secretary of State’s office and the system of the Board of Ordnance have been mixed without being united; the distribution of business is still determined by no rational system; and the heads of the department, men of great energy and exemplary devotion to the public service, are breaking down under the weight of ill-regulated labour. But whatever may be the condition of our military administration, that of our naval administration is ten times worse. The Admiralty system was not put to any severe trial during the Russian war, from which it is possible to form the least opinion whether or no it would stand the test of a great naval contest (though it by no means exhibited a high degree of efficiency even in the Baltic); but as the failure of our naval administration against a powerful maritime antagonist, would involve the imminent peril of all that Englishmen hold dear, the question of its efficiency is of an importance it is impossible to over-estimate. The fact that our military administration, when tested, did actually break down, and that the efficiency of our naval system has not been brought to any real test for half a century, renders an inquiry into the real merits and true condition of the administration of the navy one of the utmost interest, especially when the subject is viewed in relation to the strenuous efforts and extraordinary progress of the French marine.

‘The navy of France is powerful, and it occupies, in a most remarkable degree, the constant interest of the Emperor. The striking efficiency attained has been under a system of administration ably conducted on the principle of direct personal responsibility to the minister and with the minister for every branch of the service. The Minister of Marine has absolute authority under the Emperor. He is assisted by a “Conseil d’Amirauté” which he consults, whose opinions are recorded; but the minister acts on his own responsibility, and when he thinks fit, disregards its advice. Each of those elements, which in the aggregate constitute a navy, is placed under a responsible head, who manages all the details of his department, and is answerable for its efficiency. The counsels of the Commission

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condition, or better provided with all necessary supplies. The six batteries of Royal Artillery more especially, which turned out, at 3000 miles from home, just as they would have done on Woolwich Common, excited the terror of the enemy and the admiration of our allies.

of Enquiry have been vigorously followed out, and France has now to boast of a splendid fleet in commission, carefully trained to a complete system of manœuvres, necessary to the development of the new powers afforded by steam; and has also fulfilled its most important functions as a great training school for the officers of the navy, and for the maritime population at large. The ships not in active service can be ready at a very few days' notice, and from the *Inscription Maritime* can at once be manned with crews trained to every duty. At Toulon, at Brest, and at Cherbourg, vast basins and numerous docks have been prepared, or are in progress, affording ample facilities for coaling, supplying, and repairing fleets, to an extent proportioned to the exigencies which modern warfare would create. If France does possess any advantage over us, however, it can only be in the superiority of her administrative powers, shown in the organisation of very inferior resources, for England possesses every element of naval strength in far greater abundance, and in much higher perfection, and every demand for the means of cultivating them has been granted by the Legislature with a lavish hand. Never was a country so powerful in the spirit and loyalty of its people, in its boundless material resources, in the unequalled skill and energy of its engineers and shipbuilders. Never were our officers and seamen worthier of their ancient fame. Peel in the Crimea, or with his 32-pounder advancing with the first line of skirmishers in Central India; the heroic Hope, wounded again and again at the Peiho Forts—found by their sides the same hearts of oak that won the great battles of former days. The country, through its dearest interests, demands the safeguard of a sufficient navy. The officers and men, ready to risk their lives in its defence, claim in the name of justice that adequate numbers of comrades trained to arms shall be forthcoming in the hour of need, and that all those various material resources and facilities necessary to enable them to take and keep the sea, and to defeat the enemy, shall be prepared beforehand with due foresight, and to an adequate extent. All true-hearted Englishmen are agreed that the navy shall be maintained in full efficiency, and Parliament has responded to the general conviction, by the unhesitating liberality with which it has satisfied every demand; nor is there reason to doubt that the sums so generously voted have been amply sufficient to fulfil the national expectation, and to provide all the resources to meet any possible emergency; but if it could be shown that the sums, vast as they are, have yet fallen short of what was necessary, the blame must rest with the administration, for Parliament has proved its readiness to grant all that might be asked. To the question—Are we or are we not prepared to meet the results of the admirable organisation of the navy of France? It is no answer to point to the millions upon millions voted by the House of Commons without stint, more especially as a bad system is certain to be an expensive one, and no mere expenditure of money, however great, can afford the least security that the affairs of the navy are conducted with that foresight, ability, and persistent energy which have marked the measures of France, and by which alone

great things could be accomplished. It is absurd not to face the question—Are we, or are we not, in a condition to maintain our naval supremacy? Are the great elements which constitute naval power vigorously and wisely dealt with, and are they so organised as to justify the confidence we place on the navy as the inviolable safeguard of the dearest interests of the country?’

What, then, is the constitution of the British Admiralty, which stands thus contrasted with the simple and effective system of France? The office of Lord High Admiral has been in commission for nearly a century and a half, except during the short naval administration of the Duke of Clarence. The Board consists of six Commissioners and two Secretaries: the First Lord of the Admiralty being a civilian connected with the party in power, and a member of the Cabinet; the Junior Lord being generally a youthful aspirant in political life; the four intervening Commissioners, or Sea Lords, being naval officers, of whom the senior is considered to be the special adviser of the Minister on professional matters. Two Lords and a Secretary constitute a Board. All the Commissioners and the First or Parliamentary Secretary change with every change of Government. Hence it has occurred that—

‘In a period of not much more than thirty years, up to 1859, there were seventeen changes in the First Lord of the Admiralty, giving an average tenure of office of about one year, ten months, two weeks; and during the same period the total number of changes in those who have managed the affairs of the navy as Members of the Board, and Secretaries of the Admiralty, amounted to 103. The changes have occurred recently in a yet more rapid succession, for within the last eight years there have been four general changes of the Board with that of the Government, and there have been five First Lords, with thirty-four changes in all of members of the Board and Secretaries. Suppose it should happen, by the chronic neglect of some important element of naval strength, that a serious calamity occurred, who of the 103 gentlemen who have shared in the management of naval affairs would be held responsible? Or it may be asked, which of the many Boards of Admiralty which have so quickly succeeded each other in office? The country, aroused to the astounding fact that the right arm of her defence, in which she had so implicitly trusted, was, notwithstanding a boundless expenditure, in a very critical condition, would put a sudden end to that practical irresponsibility which prevails under ordinary circumstances. There can be no doubt that the brunt of public indignation would fall on the actual occupants of office, but with singular injustice; for, with respect to any deep-seated and long-existing deficiency, they would be less to blame than their predecessors, who have not only held, but quitted office with full experience of the want of organisation of our resources and of the evils of our system, and yet neither in office nor

out of office, have devoted themselves to provide a remedy ; and if each successive Admiralty finds increasing difficulties, and naval affairs appear to be more and more inefficiently conducted, it is not necessarily that those whose misfortune it is to be called to their administration are more in fault than those who have gone before them ; but it is rather owing to the accumulated, and still accumulating defects and shortcomings inseparable from the system which has defeated the earnest efforts of so many able and honest men. 'That any Admiralty, consisting of statesmen unacquainted with maritime affairs, or the habits and feelings of seamen,—of naval officers probably all holding different opinions,—should, after a few months' tenure of office, not only arrive at sound conclusions, but should be able to establish a system on a firm basis for manning the navy, is all but impossible, for even should such a scheme be devised, there could be no hope of those who originated it remaining long enough in office to carry it out themselves, and we know too well by sad experience how perfectly the management of the navy resembles a rope of sand, and how little each succeeding Board is disposed to take up and continue the measures of their predecessors. The whole plan of naval administration manifests such an amount of absurdity that if a perverse ingenuity were employed to suggest the most inefficient possible system for managing a navy, it might fairly be defied to produce anything worse.'

The structure and composition of the public departments of this country are (as we have already said) more commonly the result of tradition or of accident than of design, and they bear numerous marks of their cumbrous formation and incoherent origin. The best that can be said for them is that they have shown a greater aptitude than might have been anticipated for adapting themselves to circumstances, and performing, in one way or another, their duty to the State. In many of these departments the old system of governing by Boards long prevailed,—a system, we do not hesitate to assert, absolutely mischievous where it is not fictitious, and tending in practice to results diametrically opposed to the theory of such institutions. The theory is that greater wisdom and efficiency may be obtained from the conjoint action of several heads than from any one of them : but, in practice, it is the responsibility which is thrown into the common stock, whilst the power of action is limited and often defeated by divided councils. Archbishop Whately remarks, in one of his notes on Bacon's Essays, with his usual sagacity : ' In human affairs it will often happen that there may be a considerable majority in favour of taking some step, or making some enactment, yet a disagreement as to some details will give a preponderance to a smaller party who are against any such steps. Accordingly, it is a matter of common remark that a council

‘ of war rarely ends in a resolution to finish a battle.’ In other words, boards and committees are more apt to discover the objections to any given course of action, than the necessity of adopting it; hence, though they are excellent checks, they are very bad instruments: and they weaken that sense of individual responsibility which is the grand incentive of action. The mainspring of efficient service is on the contrary *responsible subdivision*. Let each man have charge of that branch which he is capable of conducting, and let him be made directly answerable for its efficiency. But it is equally preposterous to make a subordinate officer answerable for abuses which he has not the power to correct, and to make a minister responsible for mechanical or purely nautical arrangements which he probably does not understand. Of all the executive departments of Government the Board of Admiralty is that which has undergone least change or improvement. What it was in the days of Samuel Pepys it is now. It is a genuine antique,—a fossil washed down from the pre-reforming ages. Other Boards, such as those of the Lords of the Treasury, or the Lords of Trade, have gradually resolved themselves into their natural elements, *i. e.* their presidents or chief officers, and their secretaries. But the Admiralty still remains unregenerate, an ill-compounded mixture of sea and land—of political influence and professional prejudice; mutually thwarting each other, yet exercising no effective control; wasting an infinity of time and money on details which would be far better executed by subordinate officers, yet incapable of taking those prompt and energetic resolutions which are absolutely required by the naval service of the country.

Let us endeavour to point out some of the results of this system, as they are explained by the writer before us; and first, as to the distribution of business,—an arrangement made between the several members of the Board, not for the purpose of rendering their action and responsibility more direct, but apparently for the purpose of evading it. Indeed, an air of mystery is purposely thrown over this part of the subject, as if each member of the department reserved to himself the right, when necessary, of merging his own identity in the corporate dignity of ‘ my Lords Commissioners.’

‘ It is most important to remember that this distribution of business is an internal arrangement by which the Board delegates to its several members a portion of its own duties; that each member is responsible to the Board, and to the Board alone, for his performance of those duties; and that for each and all these duties the responsibility before Parliament and the country, is that of the

Board, in its collective capacity. The several members of the Board are not in the least degree identified in the eyes of the public with the branches entrusted to them; so that this want of individual connexion with the subjects they individually administer, and this collective responsibility of the Board for everything, is equivalent, practically, to a complete absence of that essential corrective and safeguard, a direct personal responsibility for each branch of the public service.'

This absurdity is not at all diminished by the nature of the arrangements. The First Lord, not content with being the political head of the navy, and a member of the Cabinet, who in that capacity acts on grounds which he cannot always impart to his naval colleagues, is charged with an infinite variety of subjects, of which he can have little or no previous knowledge. The Senior Sea Lord has to superintend the distribution of the fleet, the discipline of the fleet, the dockyards as relates to the Surveyor's department, the manning the fleet, and a multiplicity of other matters. The Junior Lord, who is usually a civilian connected with the party in power, and sitting in the House of Commons, is charged with the supervision of the Accountant-General's department, and with the superintendence of the Director of Works, which includes that of the docks, basins, and other works in the arsenals. This pretended supervision of men of the greatest eminence; in their respective departments, such as the Accountant-General of the Navy, the Director of Works, the Storekeeper-General, and the Comptroller of the Victualling, by men scarcely equal in experience to one of their own junior clerks, is doubly mischievous, for it places the more competent officer under the less competent; and thus it lessens the proper responsibility of the former, without obtaining an equal guarantee from the latter.

Let us see how the system works in reference to one of the most important departments of the service — the construction of ships. The Surveyor of the Navy is responsible to the First Sea Lord; so that the whole detail of the work of the dockyards has been brought under the direct control of the Admiralty, ever since the abolition of the Navy Board in 1833. The First Sea Lord may be, and generally is, a gallant officer, but it does not follow that he is an infallible authority in naval architecture, or that he possesses those numerous scientific qualifications which a thorough comprehension of that subject requires. Nevertheless, down to a very recent period, the entire authority over this essential matter was solely vested in the Senior Lord of the Admiralty, and not in the Surveyor, *who had not power to give a single order to any workman in the dockyards.* Whatever

was to be done, went to the Admiralty in the form of a 'sub-mission' from the Surveyor, and it could only be executed upon an order from the Admiralty.

'With respect to the department of the Surveyor, the Senior Sea Lord superintends the Dockyards, so far as relates to the Surveyor's Department, and this has for a long course of years been acted upon so as to bring the whole details of the work of the dockyards under the orders of the Admiralty, and to deprive the Surveyor of due authority over the department for which he is nominally responsible. For many years previously as well as during the whole Russian war, and down to the year 1859, the Surveyor had no power to give a single order to any person employed in the dockyards on any subject whatever. Things necessary to be done went to the Admiralty in the form of a "submission," from him, and if approved, could only be executed by order from the Admiralty. The Surveyor has been reproached for not personally superintending to a greater extent the work in the dockyards; but what a mockery would be such an attempt on the part of a public officer, who was so utterly deprived of authority, that had he witnessed the wholesale destruction of the public property, he could have taken no step to arrest it except by a "submission" to the Admiralty. Thus the authority of the only person who by himself or his assistants could exercise a real practical general superintendence was almost extinguished, and any one who considers the position and the necessity of effective control over such establishments, may well be astonished that under such a system the dockyards should have been maintained in a state of efficiency. The interference of the Admiralty with these details of dockyard work which had so long prevailed was modified by the present Admiralty in 1859, and the Surveyor has since been allowed to give orders direct to the dockyards on various matters of importance; but in many respects the position still requires further great change, before he can occupy his proper ground, as the responsible head of a department; the recent change does great credit to the present Admiralty, but it might be any day reversed if there was a change of government. Objectionable as this system has been with respect to the Surveyor's department, there has still been some security for the public interest, inasmuch as there was a permanent officer connected with it, whose influence would be necessarily great with every Board of Admiralty, and would operate consistently and in the same direction.'

What has been the result? That the progress of naval construction depended not on the judgment or abilities of the Surveyor, but on his finding at the Board of Admiralty a man who could understand his plans. Thus, to our certain knowledge, the late eminent Surveyor did for years urge on the Admiralty the necessity of elongated ships, finer lines, and greater steam power, to obtain the all-important element of speed, before he could get leave to put his own theory to the



proof. Yet, whilst the Admiralty have practically paralysed and defeated the action of the Surveyor, who had no real authority, they allowed him to have the responsibility of their blunders; and to such length was this carried, that a First Lord of the Admiralty declared, in his place in Parliament, that he could not be expected to defend the Surveyor of the Navy!

‘It is beyond dispute that the governing power of the navy should, as one of its first duties, decide on the general amount of force and the description of ships to be maintained according to the existing state of science; and though it may not be our policy to strike out new discoveries in naval warfare, a heavy responsibility rests upon the Admiralty when we are seriously behindhand after such discoveries are made. On the other hand, while the governing power is generally responsible for the efficiency of the dockyards, and for the proper expenditure of the public money devoted to them, it abandons its high position, and must leave unfulfilled the great concerns of the navy, if it descends to the management of the small details of the various departments; and this fritters away its time, for no Admiralty can ever superintend these efficiently, and this interference only deprives the heads of departments of that authority and practical individual responsibility essential to all security for the effective management of any great branch of the public service. These obvious principles have been reversed. The Admiralty *has not* exercised its supreme authority either in maintaining adequate forces, or in the timely adoption of new types of vessels. In 1854 and 1855 we had no gun-boats, when most urgently required for the public service; in 1858, when the subject was delegated from the Commissioners for executing the office of the Lord High Admiral to a Commission of the Treasury, it was found that our force of screw ships of the line and frigates had fallen very far below the necessary amount; and now in 1861, France has been allowed to obtain a great superiority in iron ships. The joint action of the seaman, the ship-builder, the engine-builder, is secured by the superintendence of an Admiral over the several branches which must be combined in harmonious action to produce good results, and it would be difficult to improve the existing system in this respect. It would be well to try in the first instance the plan of giving the new Surveyor the proper control over his own department, limiting that interference of the Admiralty to a general superintendence, but specially taking on itself its proper responsibility in keeping up an adequate navy, and taking care that the ships built to keep up our forces are of the latest types in conformity with the progress of science and discovery, and giving the fullest attention to the plans the Surveyor is directed to submit, before they are adopted; but whatever course may be pursued, the proposal of forming a Board of construction ought not to find much favour with those who have had such long experience and so many opportunities of witnessing the evils of divided responsibility and conflicting councils.’

In general terms, it may be said that the true secret of having work well performed is to select the man best qualified to perform it; to restrict him to the sphere of his own operations, but in that sphere to give him unlimited power, and to make him directly responsible for its failure or success. In a system of defective organisation, these conditions are reversed; and then, as a last expedient of official debility and inaptitude, the whole subject is turned over to a 'Commission of Inquiry,' 'Dock-yard Inquiry,' 'Inquiry into the Manning of the Navy,' 'Inquiry into Marine Engines,' &c., by persons eminent perhaps in their own professions, but very imperfectly acquainted with these topics. An able minister, assisted by permanent heads of departments thoroughly up to their work, would have far greater facilities for framing comprehensive and effectual plans of improvement and reform, and for obtaining the assent of Parliament, when necessary, to those plans, than Commissions which can only report and recommend without the slightest power of giving effect to their own proposals. This separation between the deliberative and the active faculty in statesmanship is the destruction of good government; and it is of a piece with that imperfect organisation which is the opprobrium of our executive administration.

Again, although as we have seen, each of the great departments of the naval administration is absolutely dependent on the Board of Admiralty, yet these officers have frequently no direct communication with each other. Thus, for example, there ought to be the closest connexion between the Director of Works in the dockyards, who is a colonel of engineers, under the control of the two nonprofessional Lords of the Admiralty, and the Surveyor of the Navy, who is under the control of the Senior Sea Lord; because it is evident that the construction of docks, basins, and quays depends mainly on the size of the ships which are to use them, and these involve also a multitude of nautical questions, as to tides, &c.; yet there is, in fact, no connexion between these departments. The consequence is an astonishing deficiency in dock and basin accommodation. The following remarks well deserve attention:—

'The power of sustaining our ships in activity and efficiency during a great naval struggle must entirely depend upon the means previously organised and prepared for supplying and repairing them. The immense strain on our resources in these respects to be expected, and the vast extent of the preparations required, may be in some measure estimated if we suppose thirty sail of ships to arrive at Portsmouth, each requiring three or four hundred tons of coals; as none of our large ships can carry more than a few days' coal, this may

often happen, and the urgent necessity of being able to keep them continually supplied is obvious, for without fuel their movements are paralysed, since a fleet without coal would be incapable either of attack or defence, and would be exposed to certain destruction. With respect also to repairs, there are immense new demands on our dock-yard resources arising from the general adoption of the screw, now indispensable to every ship of war, not only from the accidents to which the propeller itself and the screw shafting is liable, but from the great weakness the screw aperture causes in the after-part of the ship, more especially in the sternpost and rudder; while this great power, working in the extremity, and driving a great ship ten or twelve miles an hour, cannot fail to occasion an excessive strain on the frame. From these circumstances frequent defects arise (and they will be greatly increased in time of war), by which ships may be completely disabled from defects often capable of repair in one day in a dry dock, but by no other means; so that the maintenance of the fleet in readiness for action will depend on the number of docks always ready to receive ships for repairs.

‘With the foresight which has marked the naval policy of France she has made preparations for the supply and repair of her fleet proportioned to her other efforts, not only at Cherbourg, where the basins and docks are on a scale which excite the wonder of those accustomed only to our own dockyards, but even greater works of the same kind are in progress at Brest and Toulon. The basins of Cherbourg alone include forty-eight acres of deep water, which the largest ships, armed, and ready for battle, can enter or depart from every day of the year, and six great docks (two capable each of receiving two ships) open out of the basin, and are at all times accessible. The basins of Toulon will, when finished, comprise upwards of eighty acres. The harbour of Brest forms one great natural basin, having quays of immense extent on its shores, alongside of which the largest ships can lie; but, in addition to these great natural resources, no less than five artificial basins are in course of excavation. The two basins of Portsmouth, on the other hand, comprise nine and a half acres or less than one fifth part of the area of the basins at Cherbourg; but their value, in comparison, is far less than a fifth, for from their shallowness they cannot be opened except during spring tides, and are even then only to be entered by our largest ships after they have been lightened of coals, stores, and the principal part of their armaments: supposing them to be available during one half of each tide, or, in other words, for one half of the days of the year,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  acres for  $182\frac{1}{2}$  days, compared with 48 acres for 365 days, is as 1738 to 17,528, and these numbers may be taken as expressing the relative accommodation of the basins of Portsmouth and Cherbourg. The docks at Portsmouth are entered through the basins, and are accessible therefore only at the same time as the basins. There is, however, one deep dock just completed, which will admit the largest ships armed and ready for service every day, and another dock within the deep dock will soon be rendered also capable of receiving a ship with all her weights on board at all times; but when this second dock is

completed the docking power at Portsmouth, for large ships will still be very inferior when compared with that of Cherbourg. The inaccessibility of basins and docks at Portsmouth during the greater part of every tide is common to all those at our other dockyards, excepting Keyham; and the whole aggregate basin accommodation of all our dockyards put together (when the new basin at Keyham is completed) will be thirty-seven and a half acres.

‘The importance of the accessibility of docks may be estimated by the possible case of an action in the Channel, without decisive result, when each party would have a large number of ships requiring repair in dock, and it is apparent that enormous advantages would belong to that combatant which could most rapidly repair its damaged ships and take the sea again. The resources of Plymouth and Keyham in docks, daily accessible, are about on a par with those of Brest; but if ships were to be sent there for repairs from Portsmouth, which is the necessary base of naval operations, the danger of dividing the fleet under such circumstances is too obvious to require comment. The importance of quays with deep water alongside them, in affording means of coaling and of executing minor repairs, is incalculable; and the disadvantages we should labour under in case of war from the want of such accommodation would be very serious; for not only have we no basins available for such purposes, but no deep water quays to any considerable extent have been provided at any of our ports alongside of which large ships can lie to coal, or for minor repairs. The space in Portsmouth harbour for large ships is so limited, that even during the Crimean war the duties were often at a stand-still for want of room; and though a very useful addition is now being made by extending a quay alongside which three ships of the line will be able to lie, still the accommodation is very insufficient, and a serious necessity exists for a large increase of this species of accommodation.’

It is evident that, in time of war, our very existence as a maritime Power may, and probably would, depend on the means we possess of repairing and equipping vessels with greater rapidity than the enemy: yet in this respect France has acquired an indisputable superiority by the deep rock-hewn basins of Cherbourg, almost within sight of our coasts.

It must be acknowledged, in justice to the present and the late Board of Admiralty, that no men could have a more arduous and delicate task to perform than to hit upon the exact line of policy which the interests of the service prescribe, with reference to the amazing novelties recently introduced into naval warfare. On the one hand, it is absolutely necessary that this country should arm its seamen with the latest and most perfect weapons which science has devised; but, on the other hand, it is equally necessary not to plunge headlong into changes of a doubtful character, at a vast expenditure and possible waste of the true

resources of the navy. Hundreds of schemes and inventions are perpetually urged upon the attention of the Government,—many of them are ridiculous, some plausible but fallacious, a few of infinite value; to discern and adopt these is, no doubt, a great duty, but it is a great difficulty. Moreover, as nothing is extemporised in naval affairs, so neither can these innovations be adopted in a day. Works of great magnitude have been going on for years on a particular system: are they to be abandoned altogether, because a better system may have sprung up? Thus the Admiralty has been accused of continuing to launch wooden first-rates, for some months after serious doubts had been cast on the efficiency of wooden ships. But these wooden line-of-battle ships are the result of years of labour in the dockyards. They were in an advanced stage of construction, or we could not have launched twenty of them in a year. We believe we are correct in stating that this powerful fleet being now afloat, no new vessels of the same character have been commenced.

The truth is that the controversy between 'iron sides and 'wooden walls' is as yet by no means conclusively determined, either by argument or by experiment. Our eminent contemporary, the 'Quarterly Review,' has given a most positive opinion on the subject. According to him, the success of iron or iron-plated ships is so absolute and complete, that we have nothing to do but to build the British navy *de novo*,—to employ all our money and means on this new class of vessels, and to throw the whole work of naval construction into the private yards of our chief engineers, as has been done for the 'Warrior,' and the 'Black Prince.' Sir Howard Douglas, on the contrary, in an answer to the 'Quarterly Review,' which does honour to the spirit and patriotism of that gallant and accomplished veteran, stakes his reputation on the assertion that 'vessels formed wholly of iron are utterly unfit for all the purposes and contingencies of war,' and that no ship has yet been produced capable of 'resisting the penetrations and impacts of 'heavy shot, fulfilling at the same time all the requirements 'which a sea-going vessel must possess.' To which Sir Howard adds his conviction that 'the "Gloire" is a failure as a sea-going ship, and that she is so burdened with the weight of 'armament and with 820 tons of armour plates, as not to be 'capable of ocean service.'\*

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\* We cannot transcribe these remarks of Sir Howard Douglas, without paying our humble tribute of admiration, respect, and gratitude to the indomitable perseverance, and vast scientific resources, with which he continues — being now, he says, far advanced in his

The author of the work before us has also expressed his opinion on the celebrated French frigate; and, as he has discussed the merits of the question with impartiality, we shall quote his observations on this most important subject.

‘In the course of 1859 twenty-one screw ships of the line were added to the fleet, but whether this number raised our fleet to its due proportion it is now unnecessary to inquire, for Louis Napoleon’s invention of iron-cased ships has already forced us to adopt a new type of vessel. France will have six iron-cased frigates, with 300 or 400 guns, ready long before the four we are building can be fit for sea. The papers inform us that the Emperor is following out the principle with great eagerness, and has begun measures for increasing his ‘*frégates blindées*’ to nineteen. The importance of these new ships has not yet been generally appreciated, but it is of a nature it would be difficult to exaggerate. From the moment discoveries in gunnery enabled a ship to fire a broadside of shells, it was apparent that mutual destruction must almost inevitably attend an engagement between wooden ships of equal force, and the great problem to solve has been how to resist these terrible missiles. The French invention has solved the problem; for shells break perfectly innocuously against the sides of these iron ships, and if this were their sole distinction it would be enough to give them a decided superiority. It constitutes, however, but a small part of their advantages; for while the wooden ship is wounded by every shot or shell which strikes her from a distance of 2000 yards, the iron ship, secure from shell fired close to her, is also shot proof, unless approached within 400 yards, and all shot fired even within that distance glance off, unless they strike the iron plate directly at a right angle. It may be supposed that shot will rarely strike a ship 2000 yards off, but our 3-deckers are immense targets, and improvements and discoveries are hourly being made in the new arms of precision, so that in moderately smooth water 2000 yards is by no means beyond the effective range of an enemy who, perfectly shielded himself, can with the utmost deliberation point his artillery. The distance between 2000 and 400 yards is nearly a mile, at which the iron ship continues impregnable, except where a shot may enter her ports; while every shell from her carries havoc, confusion, and often fire. But the wooden ship, we are told, is to destroy her antagonist by a concentrated broadside. Now a concentrated broad-

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eighty-fifth year — to labour for the improvement of the service. The fifth edition of his ‘Naval Gunnery,’ of which the first edition was published forty-one years ago, includes by far the ablest and most instructive account of all the modern inventions in gunnery which has appeared in any language. The Lords of the Admiralty have very properly ordered 300 copies of the book for the use of the navy, and it ought to be in the hands of every one who seeks to form an opinion on naval affairs.

side requires a ship to be without motion to be fired with effect; even in smooth water, a distance of about 500 yards is the outside limit of its application; the fire must be reserved until the exact point of bearing on which all the guns are concentrated is attained: the smallest roll of the ship will then throw it over the object or into the sea; and it is, in truth, only useful when very deliberately prepared, and when directed against an immoveable object, or one forced to pass a particular spot, as in the case of a ship entering a narrow harbour in the face of an enemy.

‘But the “Gloire” is said to go thirteen knots, a speed equal to that of any ship in the English navy. Is it probable she will lie motionless, in order to let her opponent slowly range up within 400 or 500 yards, reserving her fire until the midship gun, and with it the concentrated broadside, bears upon her and is delivered? The idea is worthy of the advice to little boys, to catch birds by putting salt on their tails; more especially as the ship which has suffered under a constant fire while traversing the distance of 1600 yards, would be in a condition little suited to a manœuvre dependent on mathematical precision for success. It is by far the wisest and the safest course to look the danger boldly in the face — to admit the immense advantage our supineness has given to France, which there is the most anxious desire not to forfeit by allowing us any chance of profiting by the practical experiments she has made, for while Englishmen are allowed to see the French dockyards, and ships in general, the strictest precautions are observed to exclude them from the “Gloire.” We may be perfectly certain that the subject has been most fully considered in all its bearings on the other side of the Channel, and that we can tell them nothing they do not thoroughly well know already. Means may be found, in the courage and resource of British seamen, to struggle successfully against even this great element of material superiority; but with one voice the country demands, in justice to its seamen as to its own dearest interests, that not another hour should be lost in turning our vast resources to account; for neither iron in the ore, nor drawings of iron ships at the Admiralty, will provide us with the means of meeting the “Gloire” and the other vessels of her class on terms of equality. It is said the “Gloire” is wet in a heavy sea when steaming at full speed, a quality in which she resembles all other fast ships; but since she is only intended for the narrow seas, she would very rarely be out in bad weather, and consequently this fact would not greatly deteriorate her value, neither would the lowness of the ports, in fine weather and smooth water, in the least degree detract from her powers of mischief. If the conduct of affairs generally in the preparation of our fleet of ships, from these examples, does not appear satisfactory, the continued delay and hesitation in building iron ships is still more extraordinary, for at the very time we resolved to add twenty-one sail of ships of the line to the fleet, so far back as in December 1858, the French had completed all their experiments, and the “Gloire,” with three similar ships, had been already commenced.’

In this concluding remark we do not fully concur, any more than we concur in the extreme opinions of the 'Quarterly Review,' or of Sir Howard Douglas, for and against iron ships. It must be obvious to every one who will calmly consider the subject, that the question of the uses of iron ships is *adhuc sub judice*, not being yet experimentally determined, since only one vessel of the kind as yet exists at sea, and her performances are imperfectly known in this country. Nor is it by any means clear, admitting that iron-plated ships have been made as invulnerable as the 'Quarterly Review' seems to think, that some further improvement will not shortly be introduced in naval artillery which may send them all to the bottom, — the more easily as they are of iron. But, on the other hand, we are not prepared to accept Sir Howard Douglas' assurance that the 'Gloire' is a failure as a sea-going ship. On the contrary, we have the most positive and exact information, from competent witnesses who were on board her during her experimental cruise, that her speed has risen to more than twelve knots, and that her behaviour in the gale which drove the Emperor Napoleon into Port Vendre last autumn, was at least equal to that of any other vessel in the squadron.\* We hold her to be *under certain circumstances and for certain purposes* the most formidable vessel now in commission, although for many other naval purposes such a vessel may be of no use at all. As a battery, capable of being moved with great celerity in action, 'within two or three days' sail of a friendly port, nothing can be more powerful. If she were to fight an action off the Hogue with the 'Royal Albert,' or the 'Duke of Marlborough,' she could destroy those majestic vessels by her shells, and she could baffle them by her

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\* As great curiosity has been expressed, and great ignorance shown on the subject of the 'Gloire,' we give the following technical details of her performances, on which reliance may be placed: — Working for several hours at full speed, her engines give out a mean indication power of about 2500 horses, and her consumption of coal is from four to four and a half tons of coal per hour, with a speed of twelve and a half knots. Under these circumstances the mean number of revolutions of the screw would be forty-seven or forty-eight per minute, and this may be taken to be the true rate of speed of the vessel, though for a short time and distance a higher rate of speed has been obtained. No doubt, her ports being only six feet above the water, it would be impossible to work her guns in a heavy cross sea, and in a head sea the forward ports must be closed, as she is liable to ship water by them; but it must be borne in mind that the very essence of these iron vessels is, that they are line-of-battle ships *with the upper decks removed*: they are consequently brought down as low as possible.



speed. But her power of locomotion is necessarily very limited. She carries three or four days' coal; when that is exhausted she becomes comparatively useless. Her sailing qualities are small, and indeed are incompatible with her efficiency as a battery. To send her out on a cruise, even of a single month, on the high seas, would be difficult. Such a vessel could not cross the Atlantic. She must always be within reach of a friendly port. She is certainly not calculated to encounter the indefinite delays, the uncertain position, and the endless chances of navigating the globe in time of war. The conclusion we arrive at is, that although a certain number of these iron-plated ships may be of great use for the defence of the Channel, or in the Mediterranean, and although they would be extremely formidable in action, yet they are incapable of performing a vast variety of services which wooden ships of the line and frigates do render, and which are at all times indispensable to the public service. We hold it, therefore, to be a gross exaggeration to assert that vessels of this description, which are still so imperfectly known, have already superseded, or are likely to supersede, the existing British fleet. There is also some exaggeration as to the number of the vessels the French navy possesses. Knowing as we do that the 'Gloire' is in many respects highly successful, we also know that the sister ship, called, we think, the 'Normandie,' constructed at Brest, failed in her engines, which were made at La Creusot. The Admiralty appear to us to have done what was reasonable in this matter. Without committing themselves to an enormous expenditure and a sweeping change in the whole British navy on the faith of a problem still imperfectly solved, they ordered some of these prodigious vessels to be constructed in private yards; and if the 'Warrior,' which has just been successfully launched at Blackwall, the 'Black Prince' and the 'Defence' fulfil the expectations confidently entertained of them, they will certainly not be inferior to any vessels built in France or in any other part of the world.

The fact is that, as has been historically shown by Sir Howard Douglas, this question of the possibility of rendering ships invulnerable by iron plates has long been under the consideration of professional men. Experiments on iron targets, lined and not lined, were made at Metz as long ago as 1836, and the introduction of iron was then formally condemned by the French Comité Consultatif de la Marine. Similar experiments were repeated and continued at Portsmouth in 1840, 1849, 1851, and 1854, at Woolwich in 1856, and at Portsmouth again on the 'Alfred,' in 1858; the particulars of which are to be

found in great detail in the fifth edition of Sir Howard Douglas' invaluable work on 'Naval Gunnery' (Art. 167, *et seq.*, and Art. 381). The proposal was also considered, but finally rejected by the United States' Government in 1852. It is not therefore from any want of attention to the subject, or from any puerile aversion to iron, that the Admiralty hesitated to adopt the new system of construction; but simply because throughout the long series of experiments which have been made, *no iron-plate has yet been manufactured which effectually resists the impact of a 68-pounder fired with a charge of sixteen pounds of powder.* At the same time, for the reasons above given, though we do not believe the 'Gloire' or any other iron-plated ship to be *invulnerable*, (and it is well known in France that the inventor of the new artillery will undertake to make a gun and a projectile capable of piercing whatever can be built by the inventors of new ships); yet such ships are clearly *less vulnerable* than any others. They are not liable to be destroyed by hollow shot; and they may resist to a considerable extent the fire of land batteries, and of all smooth-bored ordnance.

The novelty and peculiar interest of this topic, and the vehemence with which it has been discussed on both sides, have induced us to dwell upon it more than we had intended, and to depart in some measure from the principal subject of the remarks. Our limits forbid us on the present occasion to advert to the important chapter in which this writer has shown, by a multitude of facts hitherto unknown, the deplorable waste of public money injudiciously spent on batteries that cannot mount guns, and harbours that cannot float ships; and also the actual state of our naval reserve, and the failure of the scheme hitherto proposed for manning the fleet. But we earnestly commend the work to the most serious consideration of all our readers. The question is one of incomparable moment to the country, and we are confident that the author of this book has touched the very seat of the disease. The fact that such books are written, shows as much as any thing, how deeply the mal-organisation of the Admiralty has shaken the confidence of the naval profession and of the country in its administration. That in itself is a very great evil. Either the Admiralty is the most cruelly ill-used department in the State, or it is the most unsatisfactory. There is hardly one of its own officers, except those who are waiting upon the favour of the First Lord, or who tremble at the frown of a secretary, who does not denounce it; and the more a man knows by actual experience of the mode in which the business of the Admiralty is conducted, of the waste of money and labour in the dockyards, of the present

state of discipline in ships' companies, and of the prospects of promotion in the navy list, the more disposed he is to regard this state of things as injurious, and even dangerous. This fact alone constitutes a case of grave suspicion. The publication which has elicited these remarks is evidently the work of a seaman, ardently attached to his profession,—probably of a man who has filled, or may fill, high commands, — not hostile to the present Government,—devoted to the honour and safety of his country. He expresses, we will venture to say, the convictions of five-sixths of the independent members of his profession. When such men come forward to state such opinions of the system of administration under which they are serving, and of the probable results of the system, it is time for those who are responsible for the naval traditions of the country, and for Parliament itself, to look closely into the matter.

## NOTE

ON MR. FERGUSSON'S THEORY OF THE SITE OF THE CHURCH  
OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM.

It is due to Mr. Fergusson to state that he has just published a pamphlet in answer to the criticism on his Essay on the 'Topography of Ancient Jerusalem,' contained in the last number of this Journal; and we invite those who may be desirous of seeing an able but intemperate recapitulation of Mr. Fergusson's peculiar opinions on this subject to peruse this production. For ourselves, having nothing to add to what we have already said, and nothing to alter in the opinion we then formed on the evidence before us, we shall not tax the patience of our readers by re-opening a topographical controversy; and we are content to leave the case where we placed it in October last. Mr. Fergusson, for whom and for whose other works we entertain the most sincere respect, appears to us to labour on this subject under a twofold delusion: he imagines that he made in 1846 a discovery so unquestionable, that no man can fail to agree with him who admits the evidence of his senses; and although this discovery has hitherto failed to convince most of those who have dispassionately examined the whole matter, he appears also to imagine that Dr. Robinson, Mr. Williams, Professor Willis, Count Vogué, the Puseyites, and the Edinburgh Reviewers, have all combined in a conspiracy against him, and have some sinister motive for rejecting his arguments. We assure him with perfect good humour that he is on both points equally mistaken. He acknowledges himself that his book on the 'Topography of Jerusalem' fell still-born from the press for fourteen years; and it is probable that if we had not recently directed public attention to his theory, it might still have failed to command the attention which in his own opinion it deserves. We are content, like Mr. Fergusson, to refer the final solution of the problem to time, and to a more accurate investigation of the buildings themselves.



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VOL. 113 (Pt. 142)  
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THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1861.

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No. CCXXX.

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ART. I. — *The Personal History of Lord Bacon.* From unpublished MSS. By WM. HEPWORTH DIXON. London: 1861.

IT is not the first time that the pages of this Journal have been devoted to an examination of the charges which weigh upon the character of Lord Bacon, and compel us to believe that the man who stands forth to all ages as the noblest representative of England's intellect, is not the noblest representative of her noble virtue. The cause was argued at our assize long ago, when — less a man than Basil Montagu was the advocate of the great Chancellor, and no less a judge of historical evidence than Lord Macaulay rejected and refuted the defence of that enthusiastic biographer. It may well be that this great problem of the union of the highest intellectual powers with acts of incredible moral meanness and baseness, still exercises an irresistible attraction over the mind of many a student of history and of mankind; another generation has sprung up in the interval, and more accurate and extensive researches into the State Papers and the Council Registers of Elizabeth and James, have somewhat augmented the evidence bearing upon Bacon's life. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, with this evidence in his hands, calls upon the world to reject its former conclusions, and to reverse our former sentence. It would be an idle and a presumptuous attempt to rewrite those brilliant pages of our late illustrious contributor, which stand recorded in English literature as the most complete summary extant of the grandeur of Bacon's genius, and of the deplorable failings of his character. But in justice to Bacon himself, and to his most recent champion, we have carefully re-examined the whole of the evidence, both old

and new ; and though we can find in this volume no sufficient reasons to alter our former convictions, we think our readers will not be unwilling to receive at our hands a more fresh and full account of the facts by which that conviction is sustained.

That Bacon should find another advocate among the men of letters of this day, is not a matter of surprise to us. Nor—although we object on many grounds to the indiscriminating eulogy before us—do we doubt that the real Bacon of History was very different from the harsh caricature which Pope originally gave to the world, and which several modern writers have amplified. It is evident from his letters and speeches, and from the testimony of most of his contemporaries, that Bacon not only was a statesman of deep insight and broad views, but that he had that large and humane ambition to accomplish social and political good which occasionally blends with the philosophic temper. His ideas respecting church government and toleration; his project of making the Law of England ‘the structure of a sacred temple of justice;’ his admirable plan ‘of reducing Ireland to civility and right, to obedience and peace;’ his thorough perception of the numerous mischiefs which a lingering feudalism was inflicting on England; and his full appreciation of the happy consequences which a union with Scotland was likely to produce, attest at once the comprehensiveness of his wisdom and the general kindliness of his disposition. If we measure him, too, by the standard of his age, reflect upon the circumstances of his life, and consider the various influences and temptations which operated on his acts and character, we believe that even those parts of his career which appear most worthy of blame and contempt admit of at least a partial vindication. That tame servility which shocks us so much, because so unworthy of his splendid powers, seemed probably only a graceful pliancy to the bishops and nobles of James and Elizabeth. His holding a brief for the Crown against Essex, and pleading against his unfortunate friend, we characterise as the blackest of treasons; but a lawyer trained in the courts of the Tudors, who had heard from the lips of living witnesses how Somerset had done his brother to death and Norfolk had sate in judgment on his niece, would certainly have been of a different opinion. Even the least defensible act of Bacon, his writing a posthumous libel on Essex, may, in some degree, be excused on the grounds that Elizabeth positively ordered the composition, and that disobedience to the Crown in those days would probably have been followed by punishment. So too, precedent, usage, and reasonable authority sustain some passages in Bacon’s Attorney-generalship which we now condemn as cruel and iniquitous; and this defence may be

partly urged to palliate the charge of judicial corruption of which we cannot believe him innocent. Notwithstanding all these allowances, however, the moral and intellectual nature of Bacon will still present a marked antithesis; and this, in fact, was his main characteristic. With his splendid energy and boldness in speculation, he was evidently timid and hesitating in action, with a natural tendency to yield to power, and not entirely superior to temptation. To use his own language, he had two sympathies, the sympathy for perfection and the sympathy for advancement; and to gain advancement he has told us plainly that he had no objection to creeping and obsequiousness. Place such a man, a giant in intellect and rich in every endowment of genius, yet weak, irresolute, and full of ambition, in the court and closet of James and Elizabeth, and would the corrupting currents of the world be likely to leave him unsoiled by their contact?

That this was the real character of Bacon, and the only vindication it admits of, we think we shall prove to our readers' satisfaction. Mr. Dixon, however, proclaims the contrary; and insists that Bacon, the lawyer and politician, is, on the whole, as worthy of our reverence as Bacon the author of the 'De Augmentis.' He maintains that, even when tried by the test of modern social and political ethics, the conduct of Bacon can always be justified, and that certainly none of his public acts deserved blame in the seventeenth century. He contends that Bacon was nearly as conspicuous for dignity, rectitude, and disinterested patriotism, as he was for keen ability and wisdom, and that the man whom many have portrayed as a cowardly flatterer, libeller, and timeserver, was really one of the heroes of statesmanship. Impressed with this view, he not only brings out into much more than their fit prominence the fairer passages in the life of his subject, but he vindicates Bacon's conduct to Essex, applauds him throughout his career in Parliament, insists on his excellence as an officer of the Crown, and struggles to prove that his judicial integrity was as undoubted as his judicial ability.

Notwithstanding all these assertions, however, we decline to reject the former evidence on this subject; and, indeed, 'demonstration' in the face of fact is, as Bacon has told us, 'empty and futile.' Our judgment upon this volume is, that it is throughout an unprofitable paradox, the ideal of a vaporous fancy, as Bacon probably would have termed it. Nor do we think much the better of it because in this eccentric rhapsody Mr. Dixon has shown considerable diligence, and a true appreciation of some of the characters who rose to eminence in the history of



the period. The Sophist in the 'Clouds' was not always in the wrong, though his aim was to trifle with common sense; and Pangloss was often ingenious and learned in proving the ills of the world delightful. When the main idea of a work is unsound, it is little to the purpose that here and there it contains some new and original matter, and now and then some acute observations; but, even in these subordinate respects, Mr. Dixon can claim but little commendation. While we have no doubt that his theory is false, and that all he has said will not shake in the least the general opinion of Bacon's character; and while he has used all the artifices of an advocate in embellishing facts that tell on his side, and making enormous omissions and misstatements, we must also add that his original researches have not been fruitful of much new matter, on points at least of paramount importance. As for the manner, design, and style of this book, they appear to us to be in the worst possible taste. A biography should be a portrait executed with manliness, simplicity, and truth, not a display of spasmodic rhetoric, tawdry ornament, and false effect; and we regret to have so soon to notice another distressing example of those extravagances and deformities of style with which Mr. Carlyle has infected the English language.

Before, however, we deal with the case which Mr. Dixon has here put forward, we would call attention to those parts of this volume which seem to us worthy of commendation. Mr. Dixon has given us some information upon the social relations of Bacon; and the letters of Anne Lady Bacon to her sons, which appear for the first time in his Appendix, are very characteristic and amusing. He has also collected a number of facts respecting the youth and the marriage of Bacon, which fill several agreeable pages; while, as regards more important points, he has thrown some new light on the Villiers' match, and on the combination of parties which led to the fall of the great Chancellor. We are also obliged to Mr. Dixon for his account of the early career of Bacon in the last four parliaments of Elizabeth. He observes, justly, that Bacon's biographers have passed over his life in the House of Commons between 1580 and 1593, and only notice him in 1593, in reference to his opposition to Burleigh when bringing forward the double subsidy, and claiming the votes of the Peers upon it. Even a cursory study of D'Ewes's Journal would convince any one that in these years the position of Bacon in Parliament was eminent; and it was only proper to dwell at some length upon this interesting phase in his history. The account of Mr. Dixon contains some facts which hitherto have not been generally made public. It appears certain that,

even from youth, the mind of Bacon had matured plans at once bold, comprehensive and practical, for 'ministering to the welfare of England;' and that he seldom spoke in the House of Commons without commanding respect and attention. At this distance of time it is difficult to guess how far his scheme of resisting the change which was passing over the England of the Tudors—the conversion of arable land into pasture, and the slow decline of the able-bodied yeomanry—would have been capable of being carried out; but, although the scheme seems useless to us, and we smile at the mischiefs it aimed at removing, we should not forget that these mischiefs appeared most perilous to the statesmen of the day, and that Bacon down to the end of his life approved of his early efforts to redress them. We can better appreciate his youthful wisdom, by a reference to his noble designs, enunciated before he was thirty, of amending and consolidating our municipal law, and of doing away with the evils of purveyance, the most galling and ruinous incident of feudalism. In these respects we see plainly not only that he was far in advance of his time, but that his aims were thoroughly fixed and practical; and we feel amazed at the depth and power of a genius which so largely anticipated the future, and could shape out such magnificent improvements. In reference to the hackneyed charge, so often urged against Bacon at this time,—we mean that, in 1593 he opposed Burleigh from interested motives, and objected to the levy of a subsidy which in after years he warmly supported,—we fully admit that Mr. Dixon has done something to vindicate his hero; and in fact we think that until we know much more of the state of the England of Elizabeth, at the troubled close of the sixteenth century, than our actual means of knowledge disclose, we have little right to denounce a politician for a change of opinion on a matter of taxation.

This portion of Mr. Dixon's narrative is, however, open to several exceptions. It is overloaded with panegyric, and passes by some important matters which certainly should have received attention. As regards the grant of the subsidy in 1589, Mr. Dixon seizes a small opportunity of praising Bacon beyond his merits. He tells us that 'Bacon's soul was in the patriotic tug, and that he moved to insert in the bill that the grant was 'extraordinary and exceptional.' If we turn, however, to D'Ewes's Journal, we find that this was the act of 'divers who were of opinion that meet words to that effect should be inserted in the Preamble,' and that Bacon only 'noted it in writing.' This slip, perhaps, is of slight importance, except to show Mr. Dixon's tendencies; but other and graver errors occur in reference to what followed afterwards.

Let us waive the question whether Bacon was right in denouncing in 1593 the means by which the subsidy was levied, and in advocating in 1597 and 1601 an equal or greater amount of taxation. We will assume that the change of judgment was patriotic, that it was not caused by interested motives, and that it really may be attributed to events of which the clue is now lost to us. But why did Mr. Dixon omit to state that Bacon in 1595 apologised humbly for the speech of 1593, comparing it 'to a variety in counsel as a discord in music to make it more perfect;' and taking care to remind Burleigh that 'he had been the first to speak for the subsidy'? And is it fair in dealing with this subject to avoid alluding to the significant fact that Raleigh evidently in 1597 was sceptical as to Bacon's motives for having abandoned the opposition, and twitted him with some sharpness on his conduct? It is obvious, too, why Mr. Dixon takes care not to draw attention to the part which Bacon played in the Parliament of 1601, a part, we fear, expressive of his character. The question of the day was that of the monopolies, and the opposition contended strenuously, not only for the mischief of monopolies, but also for their absolute illegality. It is perfectly certain that Bacon was alive to the evils of this mode of traffic; and as a lawyer he must have known from D'Arcy's case, then actually decided, not to speak of a pregnant passage from Fortescue, that such restrictions were not lawful. What, however, did he say on the question? 'He struck himself on the breast,' writes D'Ewes, 'and declared, that for his part he allowed the prerogative of the prince, and hoped it never would be discussed, and that men should take care how they meddled in this business.' Mr. Dixon of course rejects our solution of Bacon's conduct on this occasion,—that by this time he had made up his mind to take up the side of the court party; but, be the solution what it may, the scene should certainly have been noticed.

But our chief complaint against Mr. Dixon, so far as regards this part of his narrative, concerns his treatment of Bacon's relations with Burleigh, Cecil, Essex, and Elizabeth. To uphold the position that, in his career, every act of Bacon may be justified, that he had a lofty and generous spirit, and that such words as treachery and ingratitude can never be associated with his conduct, it was necessary to present a view of these relations very different from that in common acceptance. Mr. Dixon has elaborated a view of his own on this important subject, respecting which we shall only say, that if it displays some skill and cleverness, it is nevertheless essentially unfair, and cannot bear the test of inquiry. In order to lessen the weight of obligation which was certainly due from Bacon to Essex, we are told that

Burleigh upon the whole was 'a leal friend' to Bacon from the first; that Burleigh and Cecil pleaded 'warmly' the claim of Bacon to the Solicitor-generalship; that the Queen was a gracious patron to him on all occasions, and in every instance; that she gave him a full remuneration for his services, in the shape of estates, fines, and places; and that Bacon, therefore, was pledged to her by every tie of duty and affection. With the same object Mr. Dixon informs us, that although Essex doubtless exerted himself to obtain office for Bacon from the Queen, he did so in such an unfortunate way, that he caused his friend to lose the Solicitor-generalship; that if he made Bacon a present of an estate and endeavoured to gain him a wealthy bride, these acts were more than adequately returned by Bacon's legal advice and kindness; that the connexion of Bacon with Essex ceased for two years before the trial of the latter; and that Bacon, therefore, at the time of the trial, was not under any obligation to him. Having thus completely inverted the relations which are usually supposed to have existed between the parties, Mr. Dixon paints in the blackest colours the treasonable acts imputed to Essex, contends that he entertained the design of murdering Elizabeth and restoring 'popery,' and maintains that, when made acquainted with these acts, Bacon only did what was perfectly right in making his celebrated speech against him. As for the trial of Essex, 'there never 'was a fairer one:' 'to have done more,' says Mr. Dixon, 'than 'Bacon did in the conduct of this bad drama, might have been 'noble and patriotic, to have done less would have been to act 'like a weak girl, not like a great man.' However, before the treason of Essex had been completely disclosed to Elizabeth, we are told 'that Bacon went to the extreme lengths of chivalry' to induce the Queen to forgive his friend; that 'an offender 'never had such an advocate;' and that even then 'any man 'but Francis Bacon would have left the Earl to his fate' — on the scaffold. In a word, Mr. Dixon's statement of the case is that Bacon, in his relations with Essex, was free from any obligations towards the Earl; that he acted throughout with the finest feeling; and that in his conduct before and at the trial of Essex, 'he took the only course open to an honest man.'

Let us now compare this statement of the case with evidence from contemporary sources, supplied in the main from Bacon's own writings. We will grant that Burleigh secured for his nephew a place in reversion in the Star Chamber, and that after Bacon's humble apology respecting the speech of 1593, he made 'constant and serious endeavours' to raise the apologist to the office of Solicitor-general. We will also grant that on this latter occasion Cecil seems to have seconded his father and

cousin; and that possibly Bacon may have wronged him in suspecting 'that he wrought in a contrary spirit.' But that Burleigh was 'a leal friend' to Bacon, or that Cecil ever supported him 'warmly' in the sense of real and affectionate kindness that would bind Bacon to lasting gratitude, is, we think, disproved by the fullest testimony. 'The time is yet to 'come,' wrote Bacon bitterly, when as yet a young though rising barrister, 'that your lordship did ever use or command or 'employ me in my profession in any services or occasions of 'your lordship's own;' and the whole tone of his letters to Burleigh is that of a distant and suspicious suitor. As for Cecil, nothing can be more certain than that Bacon never acknowledged his friendship; and that Bacon thought himself wronged and neglected by both the Cecils, father and son, is clear from his deliberate statement 'that they purposely suppressed all men of ability.' And did Bacon in fact feel that Elizabeth had dealt kindly to him, had recompensed him according to his deserts, or had placed him under any real obligations? It is certain that in 1595 she had scorned his claim for the Solicitor-generalship, although recognised fully by his profession, having told Essex, that 'although Bacon had a great wit 'and an excellent gift of speech, yet in law he was rather 'showy' than otherwise. It is equally certain that Bacon suspected her of having thrown upon him the blame of 'making her 'incensed against Essex,' and thus of having charged him with treachery alike disgraceful and ruinous to his prospects. These facts are against the supposition that Bacon felt any gratitude towards her, or had any good grounds to do so; and, as for his obligations to the Queen, he says in a letter to James, before he had obtained any office from the King, 'that he was bound to 'his majesty for trust and favour, and to his old mistress for 'trust only.' Will Mr. Dixon deny that Bacon was able to estimate the kindness of the Cecils, or the measure of the generosity of Elizabeth?

On the other hand, what were the obligations under which Bacon lay towards Essex, and did Bacon ever repudiate them? Mr. Dixon himself is forced to admit that Essex made the strongest efforts to procure the Solicitor-generalship for Bacon, that he gave his friend a valuable estate, worth about 8000*l.* in our money, and that he seconded his suit to Lady Hatton with the most generous and honourable fervour. Did Bacon himself, at any time, even when it was his highest interest to do so, insinuate that 'he owed to Essex the loss' of the legal promotion he was seeking; that the gift of Essex was merely a payment resembling the fee of a counsel or doctor; that his warm and

gracious offices of friendship were 'only the cheap generosity of words'; and that 'the connexion of Bacon and Essex was one of business and politics merely,' that 'imposed on Bacon no obligations'?

We shall not refer, as regards this question, to the mass of letters of Bacon and Burleigh respecting the interest Essex took in seeking the Solicitor-generalship for Bacon, though these letters prove, as clearly as possible, that 'the kind and wise' solicitations of the patron received the grateful acknowledgments of the client. But what did Bacon deliberately write several years after these passages were over, when he was striving to answer the bitter accusation of having betrayed and ruined his friend, and when, therefore, he would gladly have tried to relieve himself from the sense of obligation? 'I must and will ever acknowledge,' he writes in his *Apology*, 'my lord's love, trust and favour to me, and last of all his liberality. . . . After the Queen had denied me the Solicitor's place for the which his lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park. . . . "I die," these were his words, "if I do not somewhat for your fortune, you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow on you."' And what was the 'cheap generosity of words,' which Essex lavished on Lady Hatton when pressing her to accept Bacon? 'My dear and worthy friend, Mr. Francis Bacon, is a suitor to my Lady Hatton, your daughter. What his virtues and excellent parts are you are not ignorant. If she were my sister or daughter, I would as confidently resolve to further it as I now persuade you.' It is tolerably plain that Bacon, at least, never knew that Essex injured his prospects, never dreamed that his connexion with him was only one of 'business and politics,' never sought to disclaim the obligations created 'by love, favour, and liberality'. And will Mr. Dixon venture to say that he knows more than Bacon on the subject?

We think it, therefore, clearly established that Bacon owed almost everything to Essex, and little or nothing to the Cecils and Elizabeth. Such, therefore, being the state of the case, had Bacon 'no other course as an honest man' but to prosecute Essex as counsel for the Crown, to go out of his way to speak against him—the reply ought properly to have fallen to Fleming,—and to quicken the wrath of the jealous Queen against his ruined and defenceless friend, by likening him to the Athenian tyrant, or to the destroyer of a contemporary sovereign? We will grant the truth of all the circumstances which Mr. Dixon sets round the subject; that for two years preceding

the trial the intimate relations of Bacon and Essex had terminated 'by the Earl's own acts'; that after the expedition to Ireland 'their prospects and affections lay widely apart'; that Essex did, in fact, conspire to kill the Queen, and 'restore the 'Smithfield fires'; that his trial was a fair and proper one, and that Bacon 'received the Queen's commands' to appear as a counsel against the culprit. We contend, even on these assumptions, not one of which can be sustained in fact, that the conduct of Bacon cannot be justified, and that if it can be partly palliated, this must be done by other arguments.

Are two years a period of limitation, to bar the rights of friendship and kindness, and to cancel the weight of immense obligations? If Essex were the most dangerous of rebels, was there any necessity to magnify his crimes by the most artful and cruel allusions, when he and every one of his associates lay already within the gripe of the executioner? If, in fact, according to Tudor rules, his trial was not conducted improperly, was Bacon bound as a prosecuting counsel to close the door of mercy against him by language far more deadly in meaning than any of Coke's intemperate effusions? And if Bacon received a retainer from the Crown, was he forced to thrust himself forward on this occasion, and to 'prove how widely his prospects and affections lay' from those of his old benefactor and friend, by taking the place of the Solicitor-general who, he knew well, was incapable of invective? We will put a case to Mr. Dixon which we think will show the flimsiness of the excuses which his zeal for Bacon induces him to make, and which, but for our sympathy with his client, would never mislead the most credulous person. It cannot be denied that the attempt of Monmouth against the life and crown of James the Second was at least as complete an act of treason as anything done or thought of by Essex. Had Monmouth been brought before the High Steward, and one of his oldest and nearest friends and followers had lent his tongue to denounce his patron, as a plotter against the liberties of England, and bent on overthrowing the monarchy, would not Jeffreys himself have been surprised, and Sawyer and Williams whispered of conscience? Would any writer in this generation set up in behalf of such a man the defence Mr. Dixon has pleaded for Bacon? Would he say, respecting such an advocate, 'that he followed the course of an honest man'?

Let us see, however, how the qualifying facts which Mr. Dixon puts confidently forward will bear the test of a strict examination. It is true that between 1597 and 1599 the friendship of Bacon and Essex had cooled, and possibly we may attribute this to Bacon having advised his patron not to under-

take the government of Ireland. But from a letter, dated 1599, it is certain that Bacon wrote to the Earl, referring to the splendour of the appointment, and that too in the most cordial language. It is also certain, when Essex had returned, that Bacon wrote affectionately to him; that he resumed his office of counsel to the Earl; and that he sought to excuse himself from appearing at the investigation at York House, on the plea of his obligations to his benefactor. Is this consistent with the assertion that 'for two whole years' the Earl and Bacon 'had met but once,' to part in difference, and that the connexion of the friends had ceased before by the Earl's own conduct?

Again, where are the proofs of that black design of slaying the Queen and reviving 'popery' which Mr. Dixon makes the apology for Bacon's behaviour at the Essex trial? It is all very well to rake together confessions made by such men as Blunt, reported hearsays of third persons with whom the prisoner had no connexion, and loose inferences from doubtful acts which fairly bear a different construction, and to bid us, upon this kind of testimony, to convict Essex of deeds of crime which were never laid to his charge when living, and certainly are extremely improbable. But why did Mr. Dixon forget the reasons for an opposite conclusion, or did he choose advisedly to suppress them? If Essex were guilty of the conspiracy, the proofs of which Mr. Dixon informs us were in the hands of the Privy Council as early as January, 1600, why was the inquiry at York House, which took place in June, five months afterwards, entirely confined to different accusations? Are we to suppose, if Elizabeth knew that the Earl was plotting against her life, or for the subversion of Church and State, that she would have studiously limited that inquiry 'ad reparationem non ad ruinam,' and not have sent him at once to trial? And when, in February, 1601, the Earl really committed an act which made him technically guilty of high treason — it would now-a-days probably be treated as a riot — we ask why none of the counsel for the crown attempted to charge the prisoner with the crime of seeking the natural death of the sovereign, or of overthrowing the established faith, and carefully rested their case on the grounds of treason by implication and construction? It may be said that Coke, Fleming, and Bacon believed that they had sufficient proofs to convict Essex without such allegations, and chose to rely on the minor accusation; and Bacon in fact asserted this in his tract subsequently written on the subject; but such a proceeding would be so inconsistent with every precedent of Tudor state trials that we cannot think such a motive suggested it. Nor should we forget, in judging of this



case, that Essex throughout his trial and at his death expressly disclaimed any guilty purpose against the Queen and the constitution, while he fully admitted his 'legal transgression'; that at the accession of James I. the attainder against him was reversed; and that Bacon towards the close of his life, wrote in terms of high commendation about him. Such facts surely disprove the theory that Essex was a Fawkes or a Catesby.

As for the trial of Essex, the 'fairness' of which Mr. Dixon thinks was a pattern for all ages, it was quite as fair as most instances of Tudor inquisitions for treason,—that is, the prisoner had no chance of escape, not having any legal assistance, and the rules of evidence being what they were. When we are told of its special 'fairness,' we wonder if Mr. Dixon remembers that two of the Earl's most bitter enemies sat in judgment on him despite his protestations; that the evidence of one of the witnesses was suppressed; that Coke inveighed against the accused with more than his wonted brutal irrelevance; and that, according to a contemporary writer, the verdict of the Peers was given under the inspiration of 'beer and tobacco,' most admirable aids for a 'true deliverance'! As for any special command from the Queen to Bacon to prosecute Essex, which Mr. Dixon seems to insinuate, we defy him to prove that it ever was given; and we think that Bacon's own words on this point, 'the service was merely laid upon me with the rest of 'my fellows,' should satisfy any reasonable person.

We think, therefore, that the point of view which Mr. Dixon asks us to take in judging of Bacon's conduct to Essex, is certainly set aside by the evidence. We are told, however, that between the time when Essex returned to England from Ireland and actually committed the crime he suffered for, Bacon 'went the extremest lengths of chivalry in his efforts to save him,' and that 'one voice alone dared to breathe to Elizabeth' excuses for the guilt of her favourite. Now we gladly admit, so long as the Queen was not averse to expostulation, that is while Essex remained at large, though in half captivity at Essex House, that Bacon did exert himself honourably to revive Elizabeth's affection for his friend, and to win him again a place in her favour. We do not credit a hint of Cecil to which Bacon himself adverted, that the advocacy was all hypocrisy; nor shall we suggest that it might have been an interested speculation on the chance that Essex might regain his former ascendancy. We think it certain that during this time Bacon did, in Mr. Dixon's language, 'lavish 'wit, eloquence, and persuasion on this cause;' and, bearing in mind the character of the Queen, we feel assured that his mode of pleading, though somewhat evasive, was exactly that most

calculated to move her.' But it is equally clear from Bacon's admissions, that when the mood of Elizabeth had changed into fixed hostility towards Essex—that is, after the inquiry at York House, but before the final act of treason, and when Bacon had satisfied his mind that his earnest pleading might injure himself,—he resolved to forego an arduous task, which possibly might involve danger, and certainly would contravene his interests. 'Madam,' he tells us were his words to the Queen, in reference to her alienation from him, 'for his speeches and courses on the 'side of my lord,'—'if I do break my neck I shall do it in a 'manner as Mr. Dorrington did it, which walked on the battlements of the church many days, and took a view and survey of 'where he should fall.' . . . 'Whereupon I departed 'resting then determined to meddle no more in the matter, as that 'that I saw would overthrow me and do him no good.' Was this a proof of that noble chivalry which sacrifices itself for the sake of others, and is most conspicuous in the hour of peril, or was it a sign of prudent timorousness overcoming the sense of obligation, and the voice of a real yet selfish friendship? Besides, what was the conduct of Bacon in reference to the inquiry at York House, which Mr. Dixon conveniently suppresses? He begged, it is true, to excuse himself from attacking Essex before the Privy Council, but he wrote to the Queen 'that he knew 'the degrees of duties, and that no particular obligation could 'supplant or weaken the entireness of obligation which he owed 'to her and to her service;' and he added that, after he could not 'avoid the fact which had been laid upon him, he did not 'handle it tenderly in delivery.' These 'extreme lengths of 'chivalry' we think—the mock reluctance to prosecute a friend, and doing the task with decorous harshness—approach the confines of cunning treachery, and are only the more to be condemned when they are purposely confused with the boundaries of duty.

How Essex died, and the pitying nation, who were not in the secret of his 'popish' practices, made Elizabeth feel their indignation, and assailed his accusers 'in common speech,' is attested by every writer of the period. It is also well known to what the proud Queen was compelled to resort on this occasion: to stay the ferment of the general ill-will, she caused 'the treasons of 'the Earl of Essex' to be set forth in a public document, and chose Bacon to prepare the composition. Let us give him freely the benefit of his pleas that he had 'express directions on 'every point,' and that 'many alterations' were made in his draught; but the fact remains that, whether from fear or from the pressure of royal urgency, he stooped to become the hired libeller of his slaughtered friend and benefactor.

How Mr. Dixon has dealt with this act, the most unworthy of Bacon's life, may be expressed in three words—he has not written a syllable on the subject—and, therefore, on this as on other charges, he has allowed judgment to pass against his client. As fair writers we cannot avoid to dwell for an instant on this conduct as an illustration of Bacon's character. Considering the time, the circumstances of the case, and the tone and contents of Bacon's 'Declaration,' we are bound to say that so cruel a publication was scarcely ever given to the world. Was it decent, exactly at the crisis when Ireland was up in fanatical rebellion, and the fleets of Spain were menacing Kinsale, to invoke the wrath of England on the dead, by a long detail of his Irish 'treasons,' not one of which can be proved against him? Was it honest, when the attainder of Essex had left his children destitute outcasts, to wage war against youthful innocence by exaggerating guilt which had been expiated on the scaffold? Was this the tribute of chivalrous 'friendship'—to write an epitaph on a friend in a grave prepared for him by the writer's hands—which would probably sentence his House to ruin, and blacken him with perpetual infamy? Nothing more unjust, too, can well be conceived, than the statements and charges made in this document. Every act and turn of Essex in Ireland is tortured into a proof of treason. The most ingenious rhetoric is used to represent equivocal conduct in the colours which the Queen and Cecil wished to affix to it. The inferences drawn from the slightest events, and all pointed in the same direction, are quite shameless from their perversion; and every kind of evidence is treated as certain truth to sustain the accusation. All the varied tricks and graces of phrase, exaggeration, metaphorical terms, and the different glosses of cunning sophistry are also used in full abundance; and nothing that skill can achieve is omitted to give effect and piquancy to the picture. We can well understand, as Bacon tells us, 'that her Majesty took a liking to his pen' for drawing such descriptions as these; but it is sad to think that such an intellect should ever have stooped to such a service. It must also be remembered that Bacon received a positive benefit from these state prosecutions. Twelve hundred pounds were given him by the Queen out of a fine imposed on Catesby. This is rather an awkward fact as regards the 'disinterested chivalry' of Bacon in this matter. Mr. Dixon appears to suppose he has brought this fact to light from the Council Register; it was already recorded in Mr. Foss's excellent volumes.\* We protest against this idle attempt to elevate Bacon into a hero so far as regards his relations with Essex.

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\* Foss's *Judges of England*, vol. vi. p. 72.

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The next portion of Bacon's career embraces the years from the death of Elizabeth to his elevation to the Attorney-generalship. Mr. Dixon's account of his hero at this time undoubtedly gives us some new information, but it overflows with idle panegyric, it suppresses many important facts and several necessary general considerations, and it gives an idea of Bacon's conduct, which is certainly not borne out by the evidence. Mr. Dixon tells us that Bacon's name was 'dear' to the country at the accession of James, that at Court only 'he was under a cloud'; and he urges, in confirmation of this, that Bacon entered the Parliament of 1604 as member for Ipswich and St. Albans, and that he was thought a fit candidate for the office of Speaker of the House of Commons. As for his parliamentary status at this period, we are told that it was more lofty and splendid, and more distinguished for pure patriotism, than that of any other English politician, and that all his acts are to be ascribed 'to his height of view and round of sympathy.' It was owing to 'his reconciling genius which spanned the dividing stream of party,' that he managed 'to stand on good terms with a hostile Court and House of Commons.' His unremitting 'votes for supplies' which, the popular party suspected justly, 'dropped into the pouches of Herbert and Carr,' were 'given to rescue James and his servants from the magnificent corruptions of the Spanish minister.' His advocacy of the union with Scotland had nothing to do with the wishes of James and of his tribe of hungry parasites, who could not batten on English manors so long as in law they remained aliens, but 'as a measure of defence against Spanish aggression. His opposition to wardship and purveyance was prompted wholly 'by a desire to improve the old ways before improvement was too late,' and had not the sidelong object of adding to the private revenues of the sovereign. As for Ireland, 'the green and lustrous island' owed 'nearly all that was gracious and noble, most wise and foreseeing in the policy of this reign, to Francis Bacon, after Arthur Chichester,' because Bacon advised James to increase the number of Irish boroughs. If we add to this 'that the principle of toleration was exercised as a virtue of Bacon's life,' that he aided the colonisation of Virginia 'as a branch of the great contest with Spain;' and that his one aim throughout this period was 'to arm, to free, and to guide' his country, we may certainly admit that so noble a part was perhaps never fulfilled by a statesman.

As we stand before this picture, however, we have a right to criticise its truth and accuracy. Unquestionably Bacon, though very unpopular 'in common speech' in 1603, regained the

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ear of the House of Commons, and rose to his former eminence in it before the close of the Parliament of 1604. This fact, however, may well be ascribed to the splendour of his reputation for genius—the ‘*Advancement of Learning*’ was published at this time—to the power and brilliancy of his eloquence, to the gracious courtesy of his manners, much more than to the favour of his countrymen. It is possible, too, that Bacon’s votes in behalf of subsidies for the Crown may have been justified by the occasion; most probable that he fully appreciated the advantages of the union with Scotland, and the danger from Spain to English freedom; and quite certain that he perceived the injuries wrought by a lingering feudalism, the necessity of a just government for Ireland, the value of toleration in the abstract, and the usefulness of the colonies to the empire. But what we complain of in this account is that, even supposing its facts to be true, they do not bear out a number of its statements; that in several parts its evidence fails; that it ascribes motives to Bacon’s acts which are either guessed at or were not dominant; and that at best it is a series of half truths with immense suppressions.

What proof have we that the politician who wrote to James that ‘he gloried in obsequiousness, and was flattering Cecil as ‘a noble patriot,’ at the very time when he hated him in his heart, ever rose superior to political selfishness, and aimed at swaying the counsels of England in virtue of ‘his reconciling ‘genius’ and wisdom? If Bacon really voted the supplies in the Parliament of 1604, on account of a strong hostility to Spain, why did he take special credit with the King, who hated the Spanish war of all things, for having supported the bill for the subsidy which was given expressly for this purpose? It is true that Bacon advocated the Union; but that this was rather to gratify the King, and the crowd of Humes, Herberts, and Carrs than with any particular reference to Spain, is proved not only by numerous letters, but by the fact that in 1603, when the Spanish war was as yet raging, he certainly thought the Union impolitic. As for the manifold evils of the feudal tenures, Bacon doubtless saw them in all their bearings, did good service in trying to abolish them, and showed considerable zeal on the subject; but, to quote his own words, he attributed his efforts not only ‘to the wish to improve the old ways,’ but to the hope that ‘the abolition would invest the Crown with a ‘more ample dowry.’ That Bacon, too, approved of toleration is shown by his admirable essay on the subject; but that he attempted to put it in practice we think is contrary to much evidence; while as respects the government of Ireland, though we quite allow that he saw what it should have been, we deny

that his courtly advice to James to augment the number of Irish boroughs was prompted by aught but regard for prerogative. And as for Bacon's having aided a scheme to relieve Virginia from Spanish aggression, we should think this was rather a frail foundation for Mr. Dixon's superstructure of eulogy.

On Mr. Dixon's own showing, therefore, we dispute the accuracy of this description of Bacon at this stage of his fortunes. It is singular, too, that he does not refer—though we think we can guess the reason why—to the chief evidence in favour of the assertion that Bacon was a mediator between the Commons and the Crown between 1604 and 1610. He does not tell us that Bacon insisted upon the prerogative of the Crown to impose customs' duties on the subject; and yet that in 1610 he was made the spokesman of the House of Commons in the Great Petition on this and other grievances. To have stated this, however, would have called attention to the subservient tone which Bacon adopted on this latter occasion, — comparing 'the sound of the grievances of the Commons to the *gemitus columbæ*, the mourning of a dove,'—and which has made some writers suspect that he really was an agent of James while seeming to speak for his fellow-members. This omission, however, of Mr. Dixon is only one of numerous suppressions in reference to this part of the subject which he has chosen to make for the purpose of sustaining his theory, and to which we shall briefly advert.

In judging of Bacon's conduct at this time, it is surely necessary to bear in mind the character of the government of James. and the questions of politics then in agitation. The great contest of the seventeenth century—the struggle between a modern absolutism and the full development of our ancient institutions—was then rapidly coming to a crisis. A drivelling and half-foreign pedant, the feeblest and yet most galling of tyrants, was seeking, if not to enslave his people, to add indefinitely to prerogatives which the pretensions of the Crown made perilous to freedom. United to him were some of the nobility, very different from the Nevilles and Cliffords who had once sustained the cause of the nation, and a swarm of needy and profligate courtiers, who paid for the lavish grants of their master by spreading abroad the influences of despotism. The Church, also, with singular fervour, concurred in supporting her temporal Head; and purchased the right of persecuting dissent, and binding the laity in odious fetters, by announcing doctrines of passive obedience, and of indefeasible hereditary right, which were so many libels on liberty. Even in the first years of the seventeenth century, the consequences of this movement dis-

played themselves, and became ominous of a dark future. Whitehall was not only disgraced by scenes which revived the days of Nero and Commodus, but resounded with notes of adulation, and with courtly and priestly arguments for despotism, which no Englishman should have uttered. The foreign policy of the great Queen was set aside in spite of the nation; gross invasions of the Constitution were attempted under colour of the prerogative. The settled right of enacting laws by King, Lords, and Commons only, was violated by numerous royal proclamations. The jurisdiction of the Common Law was encroached upon by spiritual tribunals, far more subservient than those at Westminster, because entirely independent of juries. The courts of the High Commission and Star Chamber committed excesses of arbitrary power which had never been attempted by Elizabeth; and the great right of the House of Commons—control over the national purse—was set aside by the novel doctrine that the King could tax all imports at pleasure. Meantime, every effort was made by the King, the Church, and the heads of the State to corrupt opinion in favour of absolutism; the legislature was alternately menaced and caajoled; the most submissive instruments of power were singled out for public trusts; the army, the navy, and the bench were filled with the flatterers of Carr and the minions of James; and the rising generation was educated in theories tending to Turkish despotism. The England of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, that had hurled foul scorn at Parma and Spain, was threatened by an enemy from within more perilous than the League or the Armada.

A large majority in the House of Commons, and the great mass of the people of England, opposed steadily these noxious influences so perilous to their ancient liberties. How they boldly asserted their legal rights, denounced the doctrine of passive obedience, protested against the usurpations of the Crown, especially as regards taxation and proclamations, condemned the encroachment of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and insisted upon their share in the government, the records of the first Parliament of James have made sufficiently known to the reader. Mr. Dixon has carefully kept out of view the nature and character of this contest, and even most of its chief incidents, because, if he had referred to them, his picture of Bacon as a model of patriotism, wisdom, and disinterested purity, would have seemed at once untrue and incongruous. For what, in reference to this contest, was Bacon's attitude as a public man in the first year of the seventeenth century? We do not complain that he did not join the noble ranks of the Hydes and Hakewills, the predecessors of the St. Johns and Hampdens to whom we owe

our actual liberties. He is not to be blamed for having elected to vote usually with the Court party, though, in his case, it is hard to believe that he did not foresee the drift of their policy. But why did Bacon at this period exhaust the language of adulation in favour of such a sovereign as James, comparing him to the 'healing angel who stirred the waters in the pool of 'Bethesda,' to the 'breath of the law' and the 'soul of justice,' when he perfectly knew that sovereign's character? Did he, who thoroughly understood 'the true state of the greatness of 'Britain,' oppose, even in a single instance, the attacks of the Crown on the rights of the nation, or say a word in behalf of liberties which were being stealthily sapped and subverted? Did he, a profound constitutional lawyer, ever hint that a royal proclamation had not the binding force of a law, or allude to the usurpations of courts, especially under the influence of the Crown, upon the regular popular tribunals? Knowing full well, with the commerce of England expanding before his prophetic eye, that, if the sovereign could impose taxes by raising duties on foreign imports, the House of Commons would soon become a mere shadowy appendage of the Crown, why did he assert in the case of Bates that this 'prerogative' was not to be questioned? And when delegated by the House of Commons to state their grievances to the sovereign, why did he so accomplish his mission as to make his conduct matter of suspicion? In a word, are these the proofs of a patriotism, more lofty than that of any of our statesmen, that Bacon in the first Parliament of James never once opposed the stealthy tyranny which was breaking down our institutions, but, on the contrary, always supported it? Can his frequent displays of a prescient-genius, and his general support of wise legislation on subjects not connected with the prerogative, and where he was left untrammelled in action, entirely atone, in the eyes of posterity, for these positive derelictions of duty, and raise him to the rank of our greatest patriots? Mr. Dixon evades an answer to this question by not noticing most of the instances of Bacon's partisanship at this time; but our readers, we hope, will not forget them, and will draw their own conclusions accordingly.

Let us own, however, that this panegyric is pitched in so much too high a tone, that it urges us to a contrary judgment, and makes us forget some commendation which is due to Bacon at this period. We know well that the large wisdom, and the tendency to benevolent schemes, for which his intellect was conspicuous, were not eclipsed in this Parliament; but their lustre is sullied by his weak subserviency to the meanest arts of despotism. It is only just, however, to add that some



passages in his conduct at this time, — for instance, his attitude towards the Crown when he brought forward the Great Petition, — may admit perhaps of an explanation which would reflect some credit upon him. It certainly is not a little strange — upon the supposition that after 1607 when he became Solicitor-general of James he always acted in the interest of the Crown — that he should have been selected by the Commons to be the mouth-piece of their petition; and it may be that, although he had spoken in favour of some of the illegalities referred to in that important document, he afterwards changed his mind on the subject, and in 1610 was a real reformer. It is also not at all impossible that his public life in this Parliament may yet be set in a fairer light than our actual knowledge appears to warrant, and even that his seeming neglect to defend these high constitutional rights which were being assailed by James and his favourites, may be excused without discrediting him. It doubtless is a most singular fact that the man who, so far as the evidence goes, was covering James with flattery at this time, and advocating some of his worst actions, should have held the eminent position he did in the House of Commons of 1604-10; and this induces the reader to hope that gaps exist in the proofs on this subject which, if filled up, might alter his views so far at least as regards Bacon. But as yet the eulogy of Mr. Dixon remains only an idle guess, at present, at least, contradicted by the evidence; and we feel assured that no discovery will ever establish Bacon in the position of a model of pure and disinterested patriotism.

We pass on to consider Bacon as Attorney-general of James and as Lord Chancellor. In dealing with this part of his subject Mr. Dixon has been a little more prudent than in the preceding chapter of his work, though his views are still essentially erroneous. He eulogises justly the general decorum of Bacon as a public prosecutor, and his proved humanity in several instances; insists on his constitutional opinions as evidence of his constitutional conduct; and passes a well deserved eulogium on the triumphs of his judicial genius. He calls attention properly to the facts that in the Parliament of 1614 Bacon was returned for three boroughs; that the House of Commons declared him duly elected, although the actual Attorney-general, against existing usage and precedent; and that, even when condemned for corruption, he had still a considerable party in his favour. He stands, however, mainly on the defensive; and tries to obliterate, one by one, the various charges against Bacon in reference to his conduct at this period. We gladly admit that in doing this he has shown some ingenuity and acuteness; that he has

brought to light some important facts which hitherto had not received due weight; and that he has given reasons at the bar of History for mitigating its adverse verdict on his client. But we must add that here, as before, Mr. Dixon has evaded considerations which should have entered into his estimate of this question; that he has omitted to notice several facts which bear against his view of the subject; and that, on the whole, his account of Bacon at this important point in his career, cannot abide the test of a scrutiny.

Between 1614 and 1621 what were the acts and character of the Government of England, and what were Bacon's relations to it? The sceptre of the Plantagenets and Tudors was consigned by the meanest of faineants to the most worthless of Mayors of the Palace. The counsels of Burleigh and the valour of the Howards were superseded by the dictatorship of the cowardly, wasteful, and profligate Buckingham. The crimes, the sins, and the horrors of the palace broke through the cloud of dishonest incense which rose around the sovereign and his favourite, and revealed James pandering to adultery, interfering with the process of justice to cloak some unknown secret of infamy, and sullyng the honour of the royal name by the most unmanly and vile self-abasement. This great empire became the prey of a fopling harpy, reckless, avaricious, and despicable as a Dubois or a Godoy, who, feeling that a summons of the national estates might bring on a day of national reckoning, kept England in ignominious repose, prostrated her at the feet of Spain, and abused her laws, her commerce, and her wealth, for the sake of a brief indulgence in tyranny. The nation protested, and its representatives were dispersed without a semblance of reason, and for some years were prevented from reassembling. Every bad expedient of arbitrary power—in many instances absolutely illegal, in others barely sanctioned by precedent—benevolences, monopolies, proclamations and impositions,—was resorted to to replenish the exchequer and retard the meeting of the House of Commons; and any attempt at resistance was put down with unsparing harshness. By a dexterous ingenuity of oppression, the laws which had been enacted to support the cardinal institutions of the state—the national church and the courts of justice—were turned into instruments to relieve the Crown from responsibility to the people; enormous fines were laid on incessantly for the purpose of making a fund for the sovereign; and the High Commission and Star Chamber were made machinery for extracting revenue. In the meantime the efforts of the Court were applied steadily to the task of breaking down the Constitution; the patronage of the Church was confined to the

most subservient advocates of monarchy; the judges were tampered with by the King, and some of them were convicted of corruption; the method of 'undertaking' for Parliament was made a secret of the Privy Council; and the unmanly doctrine of passive obedience became the shibboleth of loyalty. Servility, tyranny, vice, and degradation were the characteristics of this reign, the most contemptible in the annals of England.

Now of this government it is unquestionable that Bacon was the principal adviser, though certainly not the chief administrator. What he must have thought of its character and acts, of its nominal head and real director, of its miserable policy at home and abroad, we know well from his own writings. He was a sober, chaste, and pure-minded man, and must have scorned the gluttony and sensuality, the coarse profligacy, and animal habits of James, Carr, Villiers, and their associates. He knew perfectly that the King was a dotard, 'who asked counsel from 'the past and not from the future,' to use his own significant euphuism, and that Buckingham was the most worthless of ministers. Having written well about the relations between a sovereign and his dependents, 'if you flatter him you betray him 'and are a traitor to the state,' he doubtless spurned the adulation which gathered round the puppet of Villiers. He must have detested the long abasement of England to the House of Austria; for in fact in 1614 he had the boldness to insinuate that 'our peace' is *usque ad satietatem*;' and in 1624, when war with Spain was the cry of the nation, he preached a vehement crusade in its favour. He has told us himself that 'the greatness of Britain consisted in the temper of a government fit to keep subjects in good heart and courage, not in the 'condition of servile vassals.' He said distinctly that 'the use 'of parliaments in this kingdom was very excellent, and that 'they often should be called;' and therefore must have distrusted the attempt to govern England without their sanction. He declared also 'let the rule of justice be the law of the 'land, and impartial arbiter, between the king and people and 'one subject and another;' and must accordingly have disapproved illegal taxation and Stuart proclamations. 'Let no 'arbitrary power be intruded,' he said emphatically to the youthful Villiers; so he thought of course that benevolences, and edicts, the fines of the High Commission and Star Chamber, and attempts to pack and influence Parliaments, were really acts of treason to England. As for levying money through penal laws, and by putting in force the arms of intolerance, we know that he often denounced these laws as the great blot on the English statute-book, and that persecution on religious grounds

was with him 'to deface the laws of society.' Monopolies he termed 'the cankers of trading,' 'not to be admitted under 'spurious colours;' so what must have been his real opinion as regards Mitchell's and Mompesson's patents? As for the state of the Church, as respects its government, its servile doctrines, and usurpations, his lofty genius scorned its pretensions; and must have loathed the mitred sycophants who compared James to Solomon and to Christ. What he must have felt in his heart, alas, as regards any tampering with judges and the least taint of judicial corruption, we set down in his own words: 'by 'no means,' he wrote to Villiers, 'be you persuaded to interfere 'yourself, either by word or letter, in *any* cause depending in *any* 'court of justice, nor suffer any other great man to do it, when 'you can hinder it, and by all means *dissuade* the King himself 'from it.' . . . . 'Be your hands and the hands of your hands, 'I mean those about you, clean and uncorrupt from *gifts*, from 'meddling in titles, and from serving on turns, be they of great 'ones, or small ones.' . . . . 'The place of Justice is a hallowed 'place, and, therefore, not only the bench, but the foot pace, 'and precincts, and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved from 'scandal and corruption.' Assuredly the author of these eloquent words understood the character of secret attempts to compel judges to warp their decisions, of screening criminals from public justice, and of tainting the judgment-seat with corruption.

Such were Bacon's *thoughts*, what his *acts* were we shall set down as briefly as possible. No beggarly courtier who knelt to James to buy the hand of a rich heiress, no priest who cringed at Buckingham's levies to crave a mitre or a benefice, surpassed the Attorney-general and Chancellor in servile flattery of the King and his favourite. We might fill pages with evidences of this fact, but we gladly pass from the mournful scenes of moral and intellectual prostitution. When the murder of Overbury cried for vengeance, and disclosed the hateful orgies of Whitehall, Bacon, evidently guessing at some fearful secret, lent his aid to attempts to suppress inquiry, and did this to gratify his master. In a number of letters he congratulated James upon the peaceful triumphs of his reign, meaning by the phrase his country's degradation. He proposed to influence the Parliament of 1614, and also that of 1621; and, though certainly not averse to Parliaments, during six years he never insisted upon the necessity of convening one. He took part with more or less prominence in most of the illegal acts of the interim; assented to royal proclamations entrenching upon the domain of statutes, set the seal to the most disgraceful monopolies, and exulted in

forcing a man to his ruin for having sharply denounced a benevolence, and reflected on its falsehearted exactor. In a very remarkable letter to the King, he tells him that his '*endeavours* with the recusants had been *no small spurs to make them feel* *his laws*, and that their penalties should be farmed, as a means of an increase of revenue;' believing of course that mulets for conscience sake 'did not deface the laws of society.' How well he worked the penal laws, and the stern process of the Star Chamber, as means of filling unfairly the exchequer, and how, no doubt against his inclination, he engaged in divers cruel prosecutions, we know from several cases of this period; nor is there a proof that he ever deprecated the usurpations and exactions of the priesthood. As for his practising with the officers of justice, in every possible kind of case, against the protest, always of one of them, and of the whole bench on one occasion, this is evident from his own admissions; and the case of Peacham reveals too clearly his method of extorting confessions, and the part he played in assisting at torture. As for his conduct upon the bench, we shall here say only that his letters prove that he did repeatedly, when on the judgment-seat, 'allow a great man to interfere' with his suitors; and that not once, but over and over again, in public and private, to friends and foes, he acknowledged that 'neither his hands, nor his hands' 'hands, were free from corruption.' In a word, during the whole of this period the language and conduct of this great man were as far apart as light and darkness; and we do not know a more memorable instance of the 'law of sin which is in the members' 'bringing into captivity' the law of conscience.

This, then, is our general charge against Bacon, that, being one of the first of intellects, having naturally a kind and humane disposition, being far beyond his age in civil prudence, and thoroughly comprehending our law and constitution, he should have identified himself with a government conspicuous for its meanness and tyranny, its cruelty, illegality, and rapacity, and should not only have sanctioned its acts, but in several instances, have encouraged it in a course of wrong and despotic innovation. Was it for Bacon, the glory of English intellect, to illustrate, by a number of examples, the truth of that deep and mournful saying that when the light within us is darkness, that darkness is very great and terrible? Was he to earn for his name the censure which attaches justly to those wrongdoers, who put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter, and evil for good, and good for evil? Could not he, engaged at this very time, at the noble work of endowing man with the 'secret of the 'labyrinth of nature,' have left to others the wretched task of

packing parliaments, torturing prisoners, enforcing violations of the constitution, conniving at public fraud and robbery, and tainting the judgment-seat with corruption? Let us freely admit any mitigating facts which may be urged for him at this juncture—that in many instances he did display humanity as a public prosecutor—that he usually acted under the orders of the King, the Privy Council, and Buckingham—that at this period an officer of the Crown was more under the sovereign's control than he ever has been since the Revolution—that some traces of his wisdom and philanthropy, though not so many as in former days, appear in his correspondence at this time,—and that he fulfilled the duties of a Chancellor with great despatch and commanding genius. Still the general charge remains unanswered; nor do we believe it possible for any one to meet it fairly in every particular, or to do more than excuse it partially. Mr. Dixon, however, has attempted this; and his efforts, although occasionally ingenious, and, in some respects successful, are as a whole, we think, a signal failure. He avoids entirely calling attention to the character of the government in these years, and to Bacon's close relations with it. He omits to allude to several of the facts which tell most heavily against his client—his influencing the Parliament of 1614, his efforts to stop the mouth of Somerset, and to stifle inquiry at the trial, his deep responsibility in the case of Peacham, his double confession of the charge of acts of bribery and corruption, and his extraordinary subsequent conduct so inconsistent with the hypothesis of his innocence. With respect to the residue of the charges, he avails himself of a well known artifice in common use among wary advocates—he evades the *cumulative* force of the proofs, discusses the charges one by one, and claims in this way an absolving verdict. That some of his pleadings may be admitted, we fully concede in justice to him, but, even as regards this part of his argument, we think his account in the main erroneous.

Let us first refer to the case of St. John, respecting which Mr. Dixon tells us that Bacon deserves rather praise than otherwise. In 1614, the Parliament, which the Attorney-general had advised James to 'influence' to his wishes, was most improperly closed by a dissolution, and some of its members were thrown into prison. James tried to supply his treasury by a 'benevolence,' an impost, which, if levied by coercion, contravened a celebrated popular statute,—though, if asked merely as a free gift, it was possibly just within the law,—but which, in whatever form or guise, was odious to the mass of the nation. It is not improbable that this benevolence was claimed in the

shape of a voluntary offering,—the meaning of which is tolerably intelligible,—but it is certain that it aroused indignation, and that the first law authority of the day expressed for a time a doubt of its legality. In the angry state of the public mind, especially when the law was doubtful, it was surely the duty of the Attorney-general to treat remonstrance with some deference, not to scan too harshly the language of protest, and not to punish with reckless severity even noisy vehemence on the subject. What, however, was Bacon's conduct on the occasion? He scorned the opposition to the benevolence, supported the King in his evil policy, reflected on Coke for questioning the law, and singled out an individual who had written a libel in reference to the subject, for the tender mercies of the Star Chamber,—that is for a fine of crushing amount, and imprisonment for an indefinite period. Let us admit every one of Mr. Dixon's pleas—that in fact coercion was not employed as regards the levy of the benevolence,—that St. John was a despicable character,—and that his language reflected bitterly on the King,—was Bacon therefore justified in urging the raising a fund by questionable means, in spurning public opinion on the subject, in setting aside the legal doubts of Coke, and in praying for such a tremendous judgment for the offence of writing a libel on the question? Mr. Dixon seems to think this was right—even by the rules of the present day;—we beg to protest against this conclusion.

We pass on to the case of Peacham, in allusion to which Mr. Dixon assures us 'that the lawyer is happy who has no 'worse recollection,' than the having imitated Bacon on this occasion. Let us take the case from the words of Judge Croke, a prerogative lawyer of the time of Elizabeth, and a contemporary witness of the highest value. 'Edward Peacham was indicted 'for treason, for divers treasonable passages in a sermon which 'was never preached, or never intended to be preached, but only 'set down in writing and found in his study.' . . . . 'Many of the judges were of opinion that it was not treason.' . . . 'He was tried and found guilty, but not executed.' These few words record a prosecution, disgraceful in the annals of English jurisprudence, and in which we think it impossible to relieve the conduct of Bacon from weighty censure. It appears from Bacon's Letters, and the State Trials, that, on the discovery of Peacham's sermon, the royal jurist, whose meddling in law led him into several follies and infamies, insisted upon a prosecution for treason, and actually wrote an opinion on the subject. Many of the judges, however, servile as they were, presumed to doubt if unpublished writings could be an overt

act of high treason; and although there is a passage in the Institutes, which appears to solve the doubt in the affirmative, it is certain that even at this period no precedent could be found for a view which contravened the plain words of the statute. In this state of affairs, Bacon undertook to seduce the judges to his master's wishes; that is, by private practising, and arguments, to lead them to wrest the law against their consciences, and not only to plan the death of a fellow-subject, but to lay down a rule for all time, destructive alike of reason and liberty. He went himself to the Chief Justice, and sent his colleagues separately to confer with the other judges of the King's Bench, in the hope, as he tells us out of his own mouth, that Coke would not continue in opposition, 'if put in doubt 'that he would be alone in it.' This conduct is an interesting commentary on the precept that any interposition in any cause in a court of justice, is culpable in the highest degree, nor need we say a word of its morality. That, besides, it was a violation of the law, of which Bacon was the public defender, is proved not only by Coke's own words, 'that such auricular taking of 'opinions was not according to the custom of the realm,' but by a remarkable passage from the Year Books, which expressly declares that 'in cases of treason which deserve so fatal and extreme a punishment, the judges ought not to deliver their 'opinions before hand, in a case put, and proofs urged of one 'side in the absence of the accused,' *because 'that they cannot 'stand indifferent, and do right between the king and the people.'* We will do Bacon the justice to believe that shocking conscience and outraging law were not among his 'happy recollections.'

Nor was this the end of this disgraceful business. It was necessary, not only to garble the law, but to find evidence against the accused, and to force him to implicate others. For this purpose, a special commission, of which the Attorney-general was a member, resolved upon the illegal crime of putting the wretched prisoner to torture, and wringing testimony from his agonies. It is sickening to think that Bacon the philosopher, the friend of humanity, the Plato of England, should have sat by while Peacham was 'questioned before, after, and during torture,' and actually should have written to the King to try again the hideous experiment. We will grant that he shared the guilt with others, and that possibly for this atrocious act the King and Council are primarily answerable. It is evident from his letters, however, that he felt himself a chief agent in this wickedness, and that his conscience accused him for it. 'I wish it 'were otherwise,' he wrote to James, 'complaining that he was



'driven to the question.' And as for the illegality of this act, we shall merely observe that, although there are proofs that torture was used in the Tudor age, the practice, even in the reign of Edward II., was declared expressly to be 'abominable;' that Coke says in the plainest words, that 'torture is not warranted in this land;' and that only a few years after this time all the judges gave an unanimous opinion against the lawfulness of this shameful cruelty. Nor do we remember a single instance, even in the iron age of the Tudors, excepting that of the infamous Rich, who lied Sir Thomas More to his scaffold, and watched the torments of Anne Askew, in which the first law officer of the Crown assisted personally at this barbarous inquisition.

We assert, therefore, in Peacham's case, that Bacon not only was guilty of deeds unsanctioned by the practice of the age, but that he wilfully broke the law, although its sworn and responsible supporter. What is the answer of Mr. Dixon to these grave and most evident charges? We pass by the irrelevant pleas that Peacham was a 'libeller and a liar,' that his sermon was full of treasonable matter, and that he wrongfully implicated others when in the mortal agony of the 'question.' As regards the charge of tampering with the judges, Mr. Dixon thinks that Bacon is absolved, because, in the case of the 'heretic' Legate, the officers of the Crown consulted Coke in reference to the amount of the punishment. He tells us that this is a clear precedent in favour of the lawfulness of asking the judges to anticipate a trial, to declare beforehand the nature of a crime, and to give their opinion upon an act, the evidence of which is not before them! For a judge *after* a case has been heard, and *after* conviction has been obtained, and *after* all the proofs have been adduced, to listen to an Attorney-general's suggestion respecting the sentence which is to follow, is the same thing as a judge being led *before* the accused has been brought to the bar, and *before* a word of the charge has been heard, to take his view of the law and facts from the secret prompting of the accusing party! To state the two cases proves that they differ as widely as any two cases can; and, even if Legate's case were a 'precedent' in favour of this tampering with the judges, Mr. Dixon has scarcely a right to plead it, since Bacon was one of the law officers who sought for Coke's opinion on the sentence, and his own misdeed can never excuse him.

This defence of the 'tampering,' therefore, fails; and what is the plea to the second charge in reference to the torturing of Peacham? Mr. Dixon insists that the practice of torture

was common in Europe in the sixteenth century, and was quite a custom in Tudor England. This assumes as true, in regard to England, what certainly is at best questionable; and keeps out of view the important facts, that torture was prohibited by law, and that the law officers of the Crown apparently shunned the countenancing the practice, the most telling circumstance against Bacon. He also contends, that throughout this business, Bacon acted under the orders of the Council, and was, at most, their consenting agent; a plea certainly true in part, and which we gladly receive in palliation. But Bacon's own letters show that he felt that he was highly responsible for the deed; nor should we forget, in reference to this point, that the Attorney-general must have been the chief adviser of James and the Council, as regards the *lawfulness* of the proceeding. It is obvious, therefore, that, though at the time when the sentence was actually being inflicted, the King and Council were most guilty, the sin of advising this odious tragedy,—not to speak of that of assisting in it,—must rest mainly on the head of Bacon. It follows, therefore, that the attempt to shift the blame upon other persons is only very partially successful; and that Bacon, as he evidently felt, must bear the charge of being a principal in an act of gross and illegal cruelty. Would this be 'a happy recollection,' we will not say for a lawyer of this day, but even for a Finch or a Saunders?

As Mr. Dixon thinks that tampering with the judges was not a fault in a lawyer of that day, we shall scarcely refer to the case of 'Commendams,' in which Bacon tried to justify this practice, on principles evidently contrary to law, and declared that 'he had no scruple in this service.' We shall merely observe, that all the judges, dependent and slavish as they were, with the one exception of Sir Edward Coke, maintained that 'notwithstanding the letter,' which Bacon had written to order delay, 'they were sworn to go forth and do the law;' and that Coke, when the rest of his brethren had succumbed, remained firm in his honest opposition. Mr. Dixon's account of this interesting scene, when James, with Bacon and the Chancellor Egerton, convened the remonstrant sages before them, and read them an angry lecture on their duties, is tolerably graphic and well narrated; but it purposely diminishes the figure of Coke, and it falls into the common error of ascribing the fall of Coke to this incident. The fact is, that Coke was disgraced for the active and energetic part which he took as regards the murder of Overbury, and which, for some reason at present unknown, but possibly not very difficult to guess, excited the King's indignation and terror.

We come next to the case of Somerset, in reference to which Mr. Dixon enlarges upon the 'gentleness and mercy' of Bacon, in opening the charge for the prosecution, and on his kindness and humanity in advising the pardon of Sir Thomas Monson. We accept these facts in Bacon's favour; but why did Mr. Dixon suppress the real circumstances of this terrible case, which perhaps disclose a different motive than that of humanity for Bacon's conduct, and certainly prove him guilty of abetting the checking inquiry in a great prosecution? It is quite evident from Bacon's letters that he knew that Somerset was privy to some secret which touched the honour of the King to the quick; that that secret had some reference to the circumstances bearing on Overbury's murder; and that he preferred, at his master's instance, to stay a thorough and searching investigation, to running the risk of some fearful disclosure. Else, what is the meaning of phrases like these: . . . 'Your Majesty will be careful to choose a steward of judgment, that may be able to moderate the evidence, and cut off digressions, for I may interrupt, but cannot silence.' . . . 'If my Lord of Somerset should break forth into any speech of taxing the King, be he not to be presently by the Lord Steward interrupted and silenced?' Couple these allusions with the fact that Somerset openly boasted that the King would not dare to bring him to trial; that James privately reviewed the evidence, and ordered Bacon to omit a part of it; that the 'restless motions' of the King in reference to the conduct of the cause was commented on by several observers; and that, most probably, the very 'digressions' which Bacon was so eager to suppress would have given some clue to the dreadful crime; and we hardly can doubt that Bacon knew that Somerset's trial was delicate ground on which it behoved him to tread with care, and from which it was absolutely necessary to exclude the searching light of thorough investigation. This possibly might account for the lenity of his tone and behaviour at Somerset's trial; and as for the case of Sir Thomas Monson, it is singular too that the mercy of Bacon concurred exactly with that of James, who insisted on stopping the trial of Monson for some reason we do not know, and never forgave the vehemence of Coke, who struggled to press the business forward. We do not affirm that these various facts disprove the lenity and mercifulness of Bacon as a prosecuting counsel for the Crown; but, unquestionably, they weaken the proof on the subject; and they plainly convict him of wrong connivance, if not of very criminal complicity. It is clear why Mr. Dixon omitted them when dealing with the cases of Monson and Somerset.

We now come to the important question, was Bacon guilty of judicial corruption? Our charges against him are twofold: that although he well knew the impropriety of third persons interfering for suitors, he permitted the King and Buckingham to do so, not once, or twice, but in common practice; and that, while he insisted on the necessity of 'keeping the hands of judges pure,' his own were certainly soiled with corruption. As regards the first charge, in itself a grave one, it is proved conclusively by Bacon's correspondence; and as Mr. Dixon does not refer to it, he has allowed judgment to pass against his client. As for the second, and more important charge, Mr. Dixon claims a triumphant acquittal; and although we cannot concur in this, and our general impression remains unchanged, we gladly admit that he has weakened the proofs against Bacon's judicial integrity. This, indeed, we think the best part of this book; it displays learning and acuteness; brings out several new facts which hitherto had not attracted notice; and relieves Bacon from the imputation of being a gross and wholesale seller of justice to the highest bidder, a character not unfrequently given him. Beyond this, however, it is not successful; and when Mr. Dixon asserts that Bacon was a perfect Aristides of justice, we can only smile at the 'logic of his ideas'.

Mr. Dixon's case on this subject is this:—That it was a common practice for suitors at that period to give presents to the judges who decided their causes; that such presents were not in the nature of bribes, but rather in that of perquisites of office, if given after the suit had ended; that those presents only were bribes which were made with ill faith to procure a judgment, and therefore before the cause had been finished; that all the cases of presents to Bacon were either offerings made to him when he really thought that judgment had been pronounced, or were simply debts, or innocent gifts, entirely disconnected from litigation; and, consequently, that the charge against Bacon of taking bribes, and being corrupt, is a wicked libel upon his memory. Mr. Dixon also insists that Bacon was the victim of a determined conspiracy, got up by Buckingham and his agents, in which the King at least participated; that he was mercilessly assailed by vindictive enemies; that the Peers and most of the Commons were in a league to overwhelm the virtuous Chancellor; that many of his friends believed in his innocence; that his full, complete, and minute confession was owing partly to the weakness of disease, in part to a credulous trust in James, and in part to a consciousness of judicial errors, though certainly not of a want of integrity; and, accordingly, that the judgment of Parliament, although hitherto unshaken by time,

cannot stand the inquiry of the critic. This being reversed, it is easy to assure us that Bacon was not less upright as a judge than he was eminent as a philosopher.

Although plausible and partly sound, this defence, we think on the whole, must give way, and certainly does not protect Bacon from some of the facts which tell against him. It is doubtless true that, in Bacon's age, the system of feeing judges by presents was not obsolete nor very uncommon; and that such presents, when made after judgment, and not extravagant in point of amount, were not considered as bribes. But it is equally certain that honourable men had set their faces against the practice; that Sir Thomas More, nearly a century before, had pointedly shown his disapproval of it, and that a judge of Bacon's own time had expressly marked his sense of its impropriety. It is evident, too, that Bacon must have seen the flimsiness of the distinction between a bribe before and after a decision; and, although he drew the distinction himself, when making memoranda for his defence, it is very remarkable that his friends in Parliament appear to have laid little stress upon it. Nor should we forget that, although the system of post-judicial acceptance of gifts was not regarded in Bacon's time as precisely the same as taking bribes, this appears to have been upon the condition that such presents should be in proportion to the length, the difficulty, and the nature of the cause, and should be neither irregular nor immoderate.

It is evident, then, from these considerations, that even as respects this species of gifts, Bacon was not free entirely from corruption. What he did, if not completely illegal, had been denounced by upright magistrates, by no one more pointedly than by himself, and could not have cheated his own understanding into any misconception whatever. What he did, if at all justifiable in the view that such presents were in the nature of fees, assessed upon a reasonable scale, became grossly improper and wrong when carried on to the lavish extent to which he pushed this suspicious practice. If there are traces that Coke and Egerton accepted small post-judicial offerings, where is the trace, in the case of these magistrates or of any judge within the century, of such enormous presents as those which were swept into the lap of Bacon? It is plain, therefore, even as regards the class of post-judicial offerings, that Bacon was not free from culpability; that to take the most favourable view of his conduct, he exaggerated a very questionable practice until it became an intolerable evil; and that, knowing as he did, that absolute purity was one of the chief requirements in a judge, he enlarged vicious precedents

which led directly to judicial corruption. Was the merely delaying the moment of venality 'preserving the place of 'justice hallowed'?

If, however, a partial excuse may be urged for Bacon's conduct in these cases, what can be said as regards the instances in which he broke through his own distinction, and accepted money before giving judgment? Mr. Dixon, of course to maintain his thesis, denies the existence of such instances, or contends for Bacon's ignorance, or forgetfulness, in reference to the time of the acceptance. We join issue with him on this point; and taking Bacon's published confession—prepared evidently with great deliberation, and intended as a defence for posterity—we assert that the cases of Trevor and Wharton, of Egerton and Hansbye, of Montague and Reynell—six out of the twenty-eight charges alleged,—were clear cases of gifts before judgment,—that is, of plain and admitted bribery. We assert further, there is no proof—not even Bacon's *positive* assurance—of real ignorance or forgetfulness in the matter; and, although there is an *attempt* of this kind, we candidly own that it sounds to our ears a thoroughly '*non mi ricordo*' defence.\*

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\* Notwithstanding the length of our comments, we quote the words which Bacon employed in these instances, which appear to us as conclusive as possible.

I. 'I confess and declare that I received at New Year's tide 100*l*. 'from Sir John Trevor; and because it came as a new year's gift I 'neglected to inquire whether the cause was ended or depending: 'but since I find that though the cause was then dismissed to a trial 'at law, *yet the equity was reserved*, so it was in *that kind pendente lite*.

II. 'I confess and declare that I did receive of the Lady Wharton, 'at two several times as I remember, in gold, 200*l*. and 100 pieces; '*and this was certainly pendente lite*.'

III. 'I do confess and declare, that upon a reference from his 'majesty of all suits and controversies between Sir Rowland Egerton 'and Edward Egerton, both parties submitted themselves to my 'award by recognisances reciprocal in 10,000 marks apiece. There- 'upon after divers hearings I made my award with the advice and 'consent of my Lord Hobart. The award was perfected and pub- 'lished to the parties, which was in February. Then some days 'after the 300*l*. mentioned in the charge was delivered to me. *After- 'wards Mr. Edward Egerton flew off from the award. Then in 'Midsummer Term following a suit was begun* in Chancery by Sir 'Rowland, to have the award *confirmed*; and *upon that suit* was the 'decree made mentioned in the article.'

IV. Hansbye's case. 'I confess and declare that there were two 'decrees, one as I remember for the inheritance, and the other for 'the goods and chattels, *but all upon one bill*: and some good time

We maintain, therefore, that, though the defence ostentatiously urged by Mr. Dixon excuses Bacon in some degree, it leaves unanswered a grave charge of what we may call constructive corruption, and six charges of positive bribery. And what is the value and truth of the circumstances which Mr. Dixon sets round the trial, by means of which he would influence our judgment? Admit that Bacon had many enemies, that Churchill and Keeling were tainted witnesses, that the King and Buckingham threw him over,—do these facts establish his innocence? Could not such excuses be equally pleaded in reference to the case of Hastings, and do they atone for the slaughter of the Rohillas, or for the plunder of Oude and Benares? As for the animus of the Houses against Bacon, we appeal with confidence to the State Trials, to show that although a majority in both were certainly very adverse to Bacon, he had still the offer of an impartial hearing, and every possible opportunity of defending himself. It is also true, that a number of persons appear to have clung to him to the last; but really a plea of this description is scarcely worth a moment's consideration. And as for the other assertions of Mr. Dixon, what weight have they, and can they be substantiated? If Bacon were ill, could he not have sought a longer time for answering the charges; and seeing what we see in the State Trials, can we doubt that it would have been joyfully granted? Where is the proof that James and Buckingham seduced him into a weak confession, and what motive had James to do so? How can anything be more idle than the supposition that if Bacon really had a defence he could have been led by any one to forego it? And in fact, as Lord Macaulay observes, the very idea of such a thing would argue a greater baseness in Bacon than his worst enemy ever charged him with. It is impossible to conceive a greater degree

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‘after the first decree and *before the second*, the said 500*l.* was delivered unto me by Mr. Toby Mathew: so as I cannot deny it was *in the matter pendente lite*.’

V. Montague's case. ‘I confess and declare there was money given, and, as I remember, to Mr. Bevis Thelwall’ (an agent of the Chancellor) ‘to the sum 700*l.* mentioned in the article after the cause was decreed; but I cannot say it was ended, for there have been many orders since.’

VI. Reynell's case. ‘I confess and declare that at my first coming to the Seal, when I was at Whitehall, my servant Hunt delivered me 200*l.* from Sir George Reynell, . . . and this was, as I verily think, before any suit began. *The ring* was received *certainly pendente lite*; and though it were at new year's tide, it was too *great a value for a new year's gift*.’

of servility than that which could induce an innocent man—and that man Bacon—to abandon his own defence, and allow judgment to go against him then and for ever, merely to suit the convenience of his master,—that master being James I.

Besides, even if we partly admit the truth of these purely collateral circumstances, what value have they, when weighed in the scale against Bacon's positive confession: 'I ingenuously confess I am guilty of corruption, do renounce all defence, and put myself on your lordships'? If we bear in mind that these memorable words were uttered after full time for deliberation,—that Bacon at first had meditated a defence, and afterwards chose advisedly to withdraw it—that he made a prior confession of the charges which the Peers rejected as too general—and that the confession actually put in bears every trace of minute elaboration—a series of facts omitted by Mr. Dixon—we hold it merely a waste of time to question that Bacon meant what he said, or to search for evidence beyond the confession. Add to this, that not once or twice, but repeatedly, he admits guilt in his subsequent letters; that he never prayed for a reversal of the sentence on the grounds of surprise or error in the judgment, though he often did on the ground of its severity; and that his tone to James and Buckingham, before his pardon had been made out, is that of a man borne down by shame, and sinking under the load of misery, but not that of injured virtue: and we cannot hesitate as to our conclusion. Probability is the rule of life; and, when we have in one side of the scale, the evidence of the party most interested to lead the mind to an opposite conclusion, and yet thoroughly establishing his guilt in a long series of positive proofs, and in the other there only appear a mass of facts, in part irrelevant, and in part only raising a presumption, and a number of vague and dubious conjectures, we are bound not to shut our eyes to the balance.

As regards, therefore, the general charge of abetting a bad and treacherous government, and as regards the particular acts which we have examined in these pages, we cannot say 'not guilty' for Bacon. The rule of criticism is that of law, enunciated in his pregnant words—'it were infinite to consider the causes of causes, and their impulsions one of another;' and in judging of the moral aspect of acts we must pronounce on the evidence alone, and not run to remote conjectures. Tried by this test, the conduct of Bacon in several phases of his career cannot escape the censure of history, and must reflect discredit upon him. But in judging his character as a whole—and we gladly do so 'with charitable speech,' to use the mournful phrase of his will—we may fairly consider several facts, and



look into several probabilities which, though not sufficient to cancel wrong, nor justly admissible against proof—may fairly relieve his memory from some obloquy. We have already referred to the deep wisdom, and to the schemes of benevolence and philanthropy, which occasionally marked his public conduct; and these in justice should be set off against his faults, his sins, and his misdeeds. Brought up as he was in the air of prerogative, the son of a Tudor lawyer and judge, and the ‘young lord keeper’ of Queen Elizabeth, we can scarcely appreciate the obligation of obedience which he felt was due to the Crown by its servants, and which led him into that habit of obsequiousness and most of those disgraceful acts which have cast indelible stains upon his character. Living as he did in an age of transition, when our polity was undefined and unsettled, he felt himself not bound down by rules which are now well recognised by statesmen; and although we naturally visit him with blame for not having been as advanced in political morality as we know that he was supreme in speculation, we must bear in mind that the former quality depends as much on courage as on wisdom, and that Bacon certainly was not courageous. Nor should we forget that history gives us the most offensive parts of his character; that while it records his errors and his fall, it is probably silent as to many of his good deeds; and that these should certainly be taken into account if we would see Bacon as he really was. At a distance, as Bishop Berkeley observes, the most magnificent building appears a speck of darkness upon the landscape; and only a close approach reveals the richness and majesty of its proportions. So, let us in charity hope, may have been the life of Francis Bacon could we examine it not from afar and only on its public side, but in all its social and private relations. Mr. Dixon appears to us not to have materially altered the aspect of the case; and certainly the declamatory vehemence and rhetorical artifices which he employs are altogether out of place. We still await with interest the more mature publication of the biographical volumes with which Mr. Spedding has promised to complete his magnificent edition of the works of Bacon: but we do not conceive that any fresh manipulation of historical evidence can change the moral conviction arising from a candid survey of Bacon’s life.

ART. II.—*Historia de la Republica d'Andorra*. (Published under the joint authority of the Spanish Government and the Government of the Republic of Andorre.) 1 vol. 8vo. Barcelona: 1845.

**I**T may seem a contradiction in terms to speak of disinterring a live republic. Yet we doubt whether one in a thousand of our fellow-countrymen has cared to acquaint himself with so much as the existence of a little commonwealth which stands next in antiquity to the Patrimony of St. Peter. There is not a canton of Switzerland, nor a principality on either shore of the Euxine, nor even a free Italian municipality, but is familiar to us all. The Pays de Vaud or the Grisons, Mingrelia or Imeritia, and San Marino itself (although a single village), are well-known names. But the Republic of Andorre—or the Haudorrensian Republic, to copy the more classic language, if that phrase be admissible, of the age of Eginhard—seems, in this country at least, to have lingered in perpetual oblivion. Meanwhile, the growth of political uniformity, which M. de Montalembert so grievously deploras, is daily throwing into sharper contrast the few petty and ancient communities which remain intact; and to that pious champion of conservative tradition we commend the almost only standing monument of ten centuries of local independence in a general flood of centralisation. Whilst we write the dominions of Monaco are merged in the territories of Imperial France; and indeed, the very insignificance of Andorre serves at this moment as a no inapt illustration of the little that remains of local sovereignty in Europe.

The volume cited at the head of these remarks is the only authoritative sketch of the history of the Republic of Andorre. It was published fifteen years ago by the joint authority of the Spanish and Andorrian Governments; but as its authenticity depended upon its concurrence with certain ancient charters preserved only in the least accessible regions of the Pyrenees, on which it professed to be founded, it was not readily collated with these documents. The book appears to have been manufactured under a sort of contract between the two Governments, that the Andorrian authorities should furnish from their archives the information with which the Spaniards were no doubt unacquainted, and that the Spanish authorities should compose the history, of which the Andorrians were certainly incapable. But so little has it obtained notoriety from 'publication,' that its existence still appears unknown in any

other city than Barcelona; and the only copy of it we have seen exists among the people of Andorre, where it literally constituted the library of their executive chief! It is a faithful abstract of their original records, but no more than a skeleton of their oral traditions.

In touching so curious a subject, it may be worth while, for the sake of those interested in the darker periods of European history, to notice the correspondence of the charters of the Republic of Andorre with the historians of the Carolingian age. It is certainly a fact worth comment, that while nearly all the charters prior to the middle age of the German and Italian Republics have disappeared, the original charters of this Republic have remained almost unsuspected in its Pyrenean archives for more than a thousand years.

But what, it may first be asked, is Andorre itself? It is a little state still holding the independence it derived from Charlemagne, too poor in modern times to provoke annexation, yet too hardy to have been subdued by its mediæval neighbours; firm and free amid every external change: with a constitution older by four centuries than Magna Charta, yet still subsisting, almost unaltered, six centuries after Magna Charta had become the basis of our laws; where even Metternich would have been deemed a revolutionist and Ricardo have been certainly denounced as an impostor; the last people in Europe to profit by the intelligence which Christianity carries in its train, yet among the first champions of Christendom against the Moorish power; a people with whom the peaceful spirit of Arcadia breathes amid the military laws of Lycurgus, a race of shepherds and farmers all trained to arms, with a history unknown to Europe, though it nevertheless cherishes the memory of its Morgartens and its Tells; a state more ignorant of the arts than the Valais, yet not less jealous of spiritual encroachment than Geneva; its valleys among the most fertile even of the South, yet approached only over mountains snow-clad in mid-autumn; a people whose Doges are peasants and whose Rothschilds are pedlars; possessing the choicest Latin manuscripts of the ninth century, yet disdaining the innovation of a printing-press even in the nineteenth; a republic without a road, without a navigable stream, and nearly without a house; where railways and telegraphs would be classed only with the Griffin and the Genius which the valour of its ancestors had driven out;—such, in few words, are the salient characteristics of the little people of whom we write.

But before we digress into history, we must devote a few words to geography and government. Andorre, then, is a

republic isolated by mountains on every frontier, included neither in France nor in Spain, but intervening between the two countries, and (so far as their frontiers and government are concerned) by much more ancient than either. It lies between the Pyrenees of Arriège and the Pyrenees of Catalonia. The Republic consists chiefly of three valleys, one of which runs parallel with, and the two others transversely to, the great ridge of mountains that connects the Atlantic with the Mediterranean shore. The frontier commonly follows the highest ridges of the Pyrenees, and thus the Republic extends over at once moor, and snow, and vale. Its greatest length is under thirty miles, its greatest breadth is under twenty, and its population is under eight thousand. Yet the natural strength of its situation renders it, even in this age of military science and political centralisation, not readily assailable; fully fifteen hundred men, or nearly one-sixth of the population, are always prepared to defend its independence; and the passes are not ill adapted for a new Thermopylæ. This little commonwealth was carved out by Charlemagne and his son, Louis le Débonnaire, during their Moorish wars, and preserves apparently the same frontiers and principles of government which it at first assumed. The subsequent imposition, as we shall observe, of a double protectorate which does not trench on its practical independence, is the only qualification of its sovereignty to this day.

The government of this peasants' commonwealth is that of an aristocracy legislating by representation. It is formed of six political divisions, each of which is coextensive with one of its six parishes. The boundaries of each appear to have remained without change from the age of Charlemagne. Each has its subordinate but distinct legislature, formed of those landholders on whose ancestors the hereditary right of legislation has been conferred. These bodies severally elect two consuls, who form the executive in each division, and serve for a year. The supreme legislature consists of twenty-four delegates of the six inferior legislatures, — four being sent by each of the local assemblies. These are the two consuls for the current year, and the two next ex-consuls in each division. This assembly, which possesses the supreme authority, elects, again, two Syndics, who are the executive of the Republic. In practice, however, the first Syndic, commonly termed 'the Syndic,' transacts nearly the whole of the weighty affairs of Andorre. The Republic has also a complete administrative organisation without a single paid public officer, and the largest proportionate military establishment of Europe (such as it is) without a shilling of taxation. Such is the tradition which has descended in its integrity

from the time when the possession of land was attached to the idea of freedom; when union, within certain limits, was essential to security; when all men were presumed to be patriotic, and to be brave; when intellect was so ruled by strength that the hardiest mountaineer became the chosen chief, and when, as truly as in the Homeric age, *un homme grand* might always aspire to be *un grand homme*.

This traditional antiquity and simplicity of the government of Andorre exists to the same extent in its individual landholders,—long-descended patricians who are alleged to derive the grant of their lands from the Emperor Charlemagne, while they shear their sheep with their own hands. The soil is possessed by peasants, somewhat, indeed, as it is now chiefly possessed by that class in France and Spain under the progress of social republicanism; but for the precisely opposite reason that the nation has been too motionless to rise above a peasant's civilisation. The lands of the Montmorencys and the Rohans are now parted out in France among a class of peasants often superior in outward condition to the landholders of Andorre, but these landholders of Andorre are, if we may believe their title-deeds and traditions, by much more ancient than the Montmorencys and the Rohans.

A body of untutored rulers is here so brave that every man's religion is the defence of his rights; so benevolent, that in winter he shares his goods with the poorest around him: such private charities and public virtues in the lowlier conditions of existence may almost challenge the comparison whether Napoleon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these? We pause, however, for we may be told that these men are, after all, no better than traditionary boors; that their patriotism has been hid under a bushel, and that the annals of a people who, in the course of ten centuries, have contributed no single event to universal history, are not worth the trouble of their reclamation. A race of nobles represented from among their own order by an elective chief in knee-breeches, may certainly be now an anomaly in Europe; yet it is quite possible that many of those names which people the most cherished of the early legends of Wales and Scotland may have been associated with no greater outward civilisation than now prevails in Andorre. Paradoxical as it may seem, the feudal theory of nobility nowhere receives a more complete acceptance than among the Andorrian landowners, with whom luxury and education are pre-eminently wanting. They still defend and govern the land which their fathers conquered.

These few words may perhaps suffice to indicate the general

character of the little commonwealth which we are describing; and to justify us in calling attention for a few moments to the authenticity and genuineness of its charters. These early records are preserved in the government-house of the village of Andorre, the capital of the state, with a religious care which implies that, more than the mere written charters of the Republic, they are deemed the talismans of its independence. They have been seen by few and copied by none. Perhaps, indeed, two or three Spaniards and Frenchmen engaged in the neighbouring public administration of Arriège and Catalonia, and one Englishman, have alone been gratified with a sight of this sacred treasure. On one occasion, during the present century, the French Government attempted to procure copies of these charters; and on another, it kindly lent its influence to the curiosity of a foreigner, which graciously made it permissible to read the charters. The Spanish Government has also repeatedly applied for copies, but it has experienced invariably the same refusal; and the information doled out by the Andorrians in the little history to which we have referred, appears to have been conceded by them as an ultimatum, and an answer to all comers. The Republic could hardly have submitted to a more convincing test of its real independence. The Andorrian dragon appears to be too vigilant to permit the golden fleece to be carried off.

The first credited tradition of Andorre dates from 778, and the first written charter which is known still to exist, from 801. In 778 two diplomas appear to have been issued by Charlemagne, the one granting to the see of Urgel (beyond the frontier in Catalonia) the tithes of the six parishes which now form the Republic, the other granting their inhabitants a distinct military organisation. In 801, a fresh diploma was issued by Louis, King of Aquitaine, and which was expressed to be made in right of his father Charlemagne. It constituted the people of Andorre an independent state. Whether the two former diplomas now exist in any shape is doubtful. But the original manuscript of the charter of 801 is still preserved among the archives of Andorre.

It happens that these two dates precisely coincide with the two principal expeditions undertaken by Charlemagne and his son Ludovicus Pius, otherwise called Louis le Débonnaire, against the Saracens, to the south of the Pyrenees. This double coincidence offers a peculiar confirmation of the authenticity of Andorrian traditions, because the rights acquired both in 778 and in 801 are alleged to have directly arisen from the successes of Charlemagne and Ludovic over these enemies. Take first

the year 778. Eginhard, in the 'Annales,' writes that, in that year, Charlemagne subdued 'totum Pyrenæi montis jugum, 'usque ad Hiberum amnem.' This reference to the Ebro appears to involve the Eastern Pyrenees, in which Andorre lies. Eginhard also describes the entry of Charlemagne into Spain, through this district, in the same year, and that discomfiture of his army on their return into France, through the pass of Roncesvalles, which the geographical blunder of Milton has placed at Fontarabia. So much for the corroboration of the traditions of the year 778.

The external evidence in support of the charter of 801 seems equally clear in the pages of Theganus.\* This writer, the contemporary and biographer of Louis, King of Aquitaine, describes his hero as concentrating an army at Toulouse in 801, with a view to a new passage of the Pyrenees. 'Ipso tempore,' he writes, touching the events of that year, 'Ludovicus rex 'coacto populo regni sui Tolosæ,' &c. He further describes the object of the force thus assembled at Toulouse to have been the expulsion of Zadun, the Moorish chief of Barcelona. Now the only practicable route for an army marching from Toulouse on Barcelona is by the Val d'Arriège, which touches the frontier of the Republic. We find, also, that the rights thus granted are ascribed, both in the charter of 801 and in the tradition of 778, to the reconquest by the Andorrans of their own and the surrounding territory from the Moors, with the aid of Charlemagne and of Louis.

The charter, then, of 801 coincides, in its date and in the events to which it refers, with the presence of Louis in that quarter of the Pyrenees, and with the events narrated by two of the Carlovingian writers. It first erects the six ecclesiastical parishes of the valleys of Andorre, - - namely, Andorre, San Julia, Massana, Canillo, Encamp, and Ordino—into an independent state, under the title 'Respublica Andorrensis.' But the word Handorra, or Andorra, nowhere occurs in the documents of this period. This independence was granted subject only to the right of tithe previously conceded to the see of Urgel. A few leading principles of government are traced out by Louis, in the name of Charlemagne, in this document. The republicans are authorised, 'si vellent,' to elect a count for their protector; they are recommended to establish an equality of civil rights as between each other, and to be an asylum for foreign political offenders who might take refuge in their territory. The charter

\* Vita Ludovici Pii Imperatoris, per Theganum Chorepiscopum Trevirensensem scripta.

also urges them to plant their vineyards and rebuild their dwellings. It is remarkable that the Andorrians have observed the principles thus shadowed out by their founder, and that even the right of asylum was surrendered only in a treaty concluded with the Queen Isabella at the close of the Carlist war.

Charlemagne's charter must either be the genuine document which it purports to be, the copy of such a document, or the forgery of a later age. We believe that every consideration bears out the former of these three hypotheses. A traveller who has scrutinised the charter with some care, informs us that it is precisely similar in its orthography to professedly contemporary documents, which have been declared genuine by the best palæographers of France. Although even the municipal charters of the Carlovingian age—much more those directly creating independent governments—appear, with this exception, to have passed away, there remain in the imperial archives at Paris two or three charters of monasteries now extinct, which bear the *mark* of Charlemagne, ‘+ signum Karoli gloriosissimi regis.’ The Andorrian charter is clearly of the same age; among other points of similarity, it is characterised by precisely the same contractions. These contractions so varied in each period with the price of parchment, that the writing of the latter half of Charlemagne's reign is sometimes hardly legible by those who understand only the contractions of the preceding age of Pepin, or the contractions of the subsequent age of Charles the Bald.

Assuming, again, this charter to be spurious, it could only be held to be a monkish forgery of a later age. For the monks alone, and few even among them, could have been so well acquainted with the Carlovingian historians as to have forged a charter consonant in point at once of date and circumstance with the history of the period in question. But it happens that the rights asserted by this charter are at least as hostile to the pretensions of the Church as to those of the surrounding military chieftains. In fact, the charter itself has been the basis of a traditionary contest between the republicans who defended it, and the bishops who attempted to repudiate it. The former, therefore, cannot have been aided by the ecclesiastics. Moreover, the popular rights which the charter confers are eminently characteristic of the acknowledged policy of the Austrasian princes.

It remains to sketch the history of the Andorrian constitution from its foundation in 801 to its definitive settlement in 1278. The Andorrians adopted the advice of their Emperor; they instituted a protector, and their choice fell on the neigh-



bouring Counts of Foix. In 860, Charles the Bald issued a diploma wrongfully assigning the sovereignty of Andorre—which Charlemagne had already vested in the inhabitants—to the Bishops of Urgel. This diploma is copied into the collection of Baluzius, in which it is marked ‘*ex archivo Urgellensi*,’ and is the earliest published document touching the Republic. But it was never acknowledged in Andorre. Hence arose a war of Andorrian independence, in comparison of which every other war, in point of *duration*, appears to sink into insignificance. It lasted for four hundred years. The sixty years’ war of the Swedish succession is nothing to it. This war took the shape of a triangular contest between the Bishops of Urgel as pretenders, the republicans as lawful sovereigns, and the Counts of Foix nominally as protectors. The counts, of course, like nearly all other protectors of that age, merely ravaged the country which they professed to befriend. At length, however, in 1278, the Andorrians carried more than their Bill of Rights or Act of Settlement in a final pacification, under which the bishops and the counts receded from the contest with the title of joint-suzerains of Andorre; but their authority subsided into a mere co-protectorate. The Counts of Foix becoming absorbed in the House of Béarn, and the House of Béarn again in that of Bourbon, their protectorate at length attached to the *de facto* French Government. The Emperor of the French and the Spanish Bishop of Urgel are now therefore joint protectors of the Republic under the charter of 801, and the convention of 1278. But the crown of Spain has never possessed authority in Andorre.

Parallels in the face of a wide contrast, are no doubt incongruous enough; and the Andorrian ‘great nobles’ of 1278, who finally settled the constitution in that year, were—it is at least to be presumed—not quite the same sort of men with the ‘great nobles,’ who in like manner bound up necessity with tradition four centuries afterwards in our own island. But in truth, the ‘patriots’ of 1278 contrived to effect so complete an emancipation from ecclesiastical and civil tyranny with so slight a change in the constitution, that they are fairly entitled to the anachronism of ‘buff and blue.’ At that point, however, the parallel vanishes; the Andorrian great nobles resolved that there should be no more change; and twenty generations of hereditary legislators have since held the faith of their grand-sires.

There is a legend told in the fair valleys of Andorre, touching the First Napoleon, which illustrates the manner in which the *de facto* French Government obtained the protectorship of the

old Counts of Foix. A predecessor of the present Syndic was once a guest of the great Emperor at Fontainebleau. He went thither in his official dress, — a long black coat, a cocked hat, and leather breeches. The contrast between the magnificence of the imperial palace and the humble dwellings which he had left in Andorre bewildered him; and his imperial host is said to have enjoyed to the full the diversion which he had anticipated. It was the Syndic's mission to amend the anomalous relations brought about between France and Andorre by the fall of the Bourbons, who had been the hereditary co-protectors, and to conclude a commercial treaty in order to relieve the privations of his countrymen. But he never questioned (staunch conservative in an age of political infidelity!) that the heir of Louis XVI., the heir of the Counts of Foix, was the only French protector of the commonwealth. Napoleon was resolved upon a small victory; the austere devotee of his own republican traditions halted, doubted, and wavered. The imperial blandishments, however, at length had their triumph; the fidelity of the Syndic to the memory of those extinguished counts melted away in the courtly air of Fontainebleau; and he signed a treaty with the Emperor, afterwards ratified by the Republic for the sake of the commercial advantages which were the counterpart of their concession, acknowledging the *de facto* Government of France as co-protector with the Bishops of Urgel.

These Andorrian magnates are but patriarchal peasants, possessed of flocks, of herds, of lands in the valleys and on the mountain sides, occasionally of forges of iron; but dressed indistinguishably from their humblest dependents, often labouring with them in the field, and nearly as thrifty in their domestic economy. The present Syndic, in his rural life, will serve as a fair example of the ruling class. He was lately seen again by an English traveller who revisited Andorre in search of bears and wolves and mountain scenery, and primitive antiquity in modern days. The head of this venerable state was found at Canillo, his country seat; his threshold entered through a yard, his portals guarded, not by a gend'armes, but by an enormous hog, his dwelling itself the first essay, it might be thought, of Europe in domestic architecture, its ground-floor a storehouse for firewood, its floor above devoted to the provident art of drying fruits of the earth for winter use, its kitchen (in which dinner was both cooked and served) so contrived that guests and viands were smoke-dried with just equality, its cabinet of state a balcony overlooking the glen below.

The Syndic himself — Don Gil Areny by name — with all his

plainness and simplicity, possessed something of what Lord Carlisle would call 'very distinguished manners.' There was a calmness and dignity about him, not unlike the manner of the Turk, which is often referred to a long habit of national independence. He could read Latin in print and manuscript, and he was acquainted with the intricate contractions of the different periods over which the public charters extended. He could also talk French, though with a strong Catalanian accent, which sounded every final vowel. But of things external to the Republic his knowledge was assuredly not extensive. He was conversant enough with politics and events to inquire whether the Russian war were yet concluded, and whether China were an English colony. He knew not that we were a sea-girt isle, nor that we possessed other ships than those petty merchant-vessels which traded with Barcelona. He was equally curious and informed touching our political institutions. He knew that our sovereign was by title empress, and that we possessed great land-owners like those of Andorre. But of an Indian empire or a free parliament he had never heard; nor had lords and commons made themselves known between those ridges of the Pyrenees. But one English name vaguely dwelt in proud individuality in Andorre, and on that name the whole interest of the republican functionary was fixed. 'Je n'ai jamais entendu,' he demanded at length, 'ni de votre chambre des pairs, ni de votre chambre des députés; mais qui est ce grand homme Pal—mèr—ston?' Here was certainly triumph of individual over collective, and even traditionary fame. The name of Lord Palmerston had been heard by the chief of an independent government to whom the two most illustrious assemblies of Europe were unknown.

So much for the country life of the Andorrian magnates. But this is not the only phasis of their life. Five times a year, on the occurrence of some great festival of the Church, the four-and-twenty representative oligarchs assemble at the village which courtesy designs the capital, to deliberate on public affairs. Each of the twenty-four counsellors arrives on horse-back, and a national stable with twenty-four stalls is prepared. Each legislator with his own patrician hands puts up his respective horse, attends divine service in a chapel attached to the chamber of deliberation, exchanges his peasant's dress for the stateliest costume, shoots partridges and pheasants in summer (his season being a month in advance of ours), hunts bears and wolves in autumn and winter, feasts by night with a kind of Cyclopic sumptuousness, passes few laws, and effectuates no reforms.

Such is nearly the highest point to which civilisation has attained in Andorre. Nearly every other phasis of social life falls off from this picture. Two only of these oligarchs were surrounded with more comfort than the Syndic, and they were able to entertain a stranger with some slight approach to the moderate comfort and hospitality with which a wanderer in mountains is content. But there are also less considerable landowners than the Syndic, not appreciably differing from the common labourers, and not generally admitted to the rank of senators. The labourers themselves live not in cottages, but in huts, sleep on the skins of the bears and izards they contrive to shoot, and are on a par with the peasantry of Castile. The mountain shepherds, in yet worse hovels, dwell in wintry fear of avalanches and wolves.

It is scarcely needful to observe that in this Republic education is a thing almost unknown. Most of the Andorrian nobles still sign with their 'mark,' after the good old style of the imperial founder of the commonwealth. In their own language, which has its dialectic differences from Catalan, not a single book exists; and the faculty of reading Castilian, or even Catalan print, is probably confined to the four-and-twenty councillors at best. That faculty, however, is not much exercised or tried, for it may be doubted whether a dozen volumes are scattered through the state. Boys designed for the priesthood are, however, taught Latin. General ignorance certainly imparts wondrous advantages to exceptional knowledge; in Andorre, any peasant landowner who can read Latin manuscripts, and correspond with Spanish and French officials on either frontier, may fairly aspire to govern the Republic!

In ecclesiastical affairs, though the people indeed are too simple to be sceptics, the civil rulers are too firm and jealous to allow the priesthood to trench upon the state. Between the Council of Andorre and the prelates of Urgel beyond the frontier, there is a perpetual hostility; the insidious encroachments of the bishops being met by a firm repression on the part of the nobles. It is in Andorre somewhat as it was wont to be in Austria. Any 'bull' issued by the Bishop of Urgel, who is the Andorrian pontiff as well as co-protector, and interfering in republican affairs, would immediately be burnt by the four-and-twenty councillors, who yet bear in mind that Charlemagne enjoined them above all things to be free. The Andorrians, however, are devout Catholics, so far, at least, as the simplicity of their faith permits Catholic principles to be understood among them. But to be Ultramontanists they would

abhor; and an Andorrian Ultramontanist (the miniature of a French Ultramontanist who clings implicitly to Rome) is one who supports the encroachments of the spiritual lord of Urgel, beyond the southern slopes of the Pyrenees. Devout Catholicism mingles with devout republicanism, and this double sentiment animates the whole of Andorre.

We have already noticed the better class of Andorrian dwellings. Yet, strangely enough, there is some pretence of architecture in the churches of the Republic. There are few French villages which do not surpass those of Andorre in respect of the comforts enjoyed by their inhabitants; yet there is many a considerable town of France and Spain with inferior churches. Unlike the early Christians of the East, according to the complaint of St. Chrysostom in his sermons, that they built their houses and baths best and their churches worst, this pious people give all they have in architecture to their religion. The interior, for instance, of the church at Canillo, whither the population, led by the Syndic, go punctually to matins by sunrise, is really fine and curious. Space, style, carving and decoration are not wanting; and it is clear that the architects of the churches must have been very different men from those who built the village dwellings of the Republic. There is a contrivance in these churches that may be worth the notice of economists of space, even in England. The stove is made the base of the pulpit; and of course on the degree to which it is heated depends whether it become a luxury or a torture to the preacher. It might have been the choice of a mediæval monk, or it might have been the doom of an impenitent heretic.

It has been already intimated that the Supreme Council are the only authors of the laws, and an enactment for Andorre, proclaimed from Paris, would be received by them with indignant surprise. The laws now in force resolve themselves into some two or three hundred laconic sections, which compose what it would involve a euphonism to describe as the *Corpus juris Handorrensis*. These laws are administered by French and Spanish lawyers, chosen from the *départements limitrophes* and formally invested with judicial functions by the Syndic; while a martial sternness and rapidity marks the execution of sentences in criminal procedure. But the humble jurisprudence of Andorre is certainly peculiar, for the fact that neither the French revolutionary law of inheritance, nor the partition of property almost equally developed in Spain, have in the slightest degree diverted the ancient ways of the republican constitution. The rights of primogeniture prevail in their

original force. The Béarnais, and some other mountain races of the French Pyrenees, strive also to retain them; but being amenable to French jurisprudence, they have been reduced to the expedient of maintaining the old incidents of primogeniture by means of family compacts, while the Andorrians have maintained their laws themselves intact.

Field sports are probably the best attraction that Andorre has to offer to an Englishman. To hunt the bear, the wolf, and the izard are the chief national pastime. To say the truth, however, this is somewhat better fitted for mountaineers than for dwellers in the plains. A *chasse aux loups*, indeed, as in France, is often to be had on horseback and on comparatively even ground. But with the bear and the izard it is necessarily quite otherwise. The cover which they choose is commonly on the mountain sides, and the hunt is consequently conducted on foot, and with dogs and guns. The ground is often precipitous enough to render a ride even to cover impracticable. Thus it is not always easy to keep pace with practised mountaineers, and a stranger runs some peril, to use a military phrase, of being taken by the bear in reverse. The bears, moreover, are only found on the highest mountains (which are of course the worst hunting grounds), except in severe seasons, when they occasionally descend; and they have not been preserved with the care which this ancient sport requires.

The other chief national pastime of Andorre, brightened by the participation of the gentler sex, consists in its religious fêtes. The Andorrian religion, indeed, as Gibbon would grandly phrase it, 'is associated with every circumstance of business or of pleasure.' It initiated at once the legislation and the dances of the republicans. On some saint's day, sacred in their calendar, the people congregate at a lonely spot, where a chapel opens for a brief mass on each anniversary of its patron. The remainder of the day is given up to dancing, a recreation of which the Andorrians are fonder even than their neighbours, and which it is no hard thing for them to get up, even without a saint's day. A green sward, a clear moonlight, a balmy air, and the falling fragrance of a midsummer night's dew, are sufficient incitements. The chief dance of the people, termed the 'val d'Andorre,' is awkward enough, but peculiar to the commonwealth, and reputed to have been in vogue in the days of Charlemagne. Here is a fidelity to tradition in trifles that might raise Plato in gratification from his grave! As he insists that a state should especially guard against innovation in music and gymnastics, so Andorre has consistently rejected the often

proposed substitution of her own harsh songs and stiff dances by the cadence and the grace of neighbouring Catalonia.

It is not surprising that the compilers of this little 'Historia de la Republica' found that their work was done when they had chronicled the external annals of the state. Its domestic government described once is described for aye; and a brief view of Andorre in the ninth century would have been almost equally pertinent to Andorre in the nineteenth. Here is a republic so literally without a road that it contains not a single machine upon wheels. Over the mountains and along the valleys there exists less than a bridle path; it is a mere track, —here so faint as to be nearly imperceptible, there so overlaid with the debris of the rocks above as to be almost impassable. The highway to the capital at any rate is to be traversed only by men and by horses sure of foot. Hay and corn are carried in huge baskets strapped on horses' backs. The products and occupations of Andorre are soon told. The high lands are pastoral, the low lands arable, and the country is thus divided between its tillage and its flocks. Its manufactures are restricted to cloth and iron; the cloth the coarsest that can well exist, the iron wrought apparently by the first forges that ever were devised. And this is the national monument of six centuries of peace, and of a polity of ten centuries and a half. So much for the venerable illusion that stability is a pledge of progress!

Yet in spite of the isolation of this little commonwealth, it would not seem that nature had thrown in their path any other obstacles to wealth than such conditions as have been essential to their independence. A tract forming a distinct state, and equally walled off by mountains from France and Spain, is ill-configured for trade, but without these barriers it could never have continued free. In other respects the bounty of nature contrasts broadly with the poverty of art. No district throughout Europe, to the northward of the Pyrenees, yields the fruits of the earth with such abundance or variety. The flocks are hardly to be surpassed; the sheep are as large as Leicesters, more delicate than Southdowns; the mutton of Andorre is equal to that nearly extinct Welsh mountain mutton, which yet lingers around the shores of the classic Tegid. Trout streams and iron mines are plentiful; and though coal is wanting, the forests supply the whole population with firewood gratuitously.

It must be acknowledged that a country girt on either side by the frontiers of two nations equally jealous of their commercial rights, suffers a great artificial disadvantage. The heavy imposts levied on either frontier check legitimate trade, and sustain a smuggling system in its place. These regulations are

as needless to the surrounding states as they are injurious to Andorre; since free trade, if limited to the wants and exports of a population of eight thousand, would equally protect both against a contraband trade maintained through the instrumentality of the intervening state. Even British manufactures, introduced under a treaty of transit by way of Barcelona or Bordeaux, would be undersold by the goods of Catalonia. If some enterprising Englishman would buy a farm in Andorre, introduce English agriculture and English energy, he might be the light and the reformer of the commonwealth; but in comparison of these patricians of ten centuries, what a lamentable parvenu that enterprising Englishman would be!

Here then is a little commonwealth just populous enough to figure in schedule B of a reform bill, distinct in the terms of its representation and federation from any other federal or representative government, demarked by its political traditions, cut off from all communion or social sympathy both with France and Spain, and altogether unique. It seems to have flourished for a thousand years on its repudiation of every principle of government asserted by every ancient political philosopher, while every modern political philosopher appears to have passed it over in supercilious contempt. The anomaly at this day of such a commonwealth as Andorre has seemed to call for these few words of comment. If its past records be curious, more interesting perhaps is the spectacle of a petty nationality as distinct as its government is free; a laborious people and a torpid administration; a land unequalled for the beauty of its scenery and the simplicity of its race; a phenomenon of social poverty and conservative tradition; the perpetual infancy of the arts in unchanging antithesis with the everlasting luxuriance of nature. We commend, then, this little republic to the lovers of those insular liberties which are being daily wrecked by the growth of empires and the violence of power, believing that, in these days of encroaching uniformity and centralisation, no stronghold of mediæval freedom can be so humble as to pass unregarded, and that a people who won by their sword in the age of Charlemagne the independence which they maintain in the age of the Buonapartes deserve at any rate to be known.



- ART. III. —1. *The Journal and Correspondence of William Lord Auckland: with a Preface and Introduction.* By the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Bishop of BATH and WELLS. 2 vols.
2. *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1802—1817.* Edited by his son, CHARLES LORD COLCHESTER. 3 vols.

FOR some readers every memoir and every letter which illustrates the reign of George III. possesses an unfailing interest. The pursuit of a favourite inquiry always suggests doubts and theories which may be partially solved or illustrated by any new fragment of evidence. Curiosity growing with increase of knowledge welcomes the reappearance of familiar names and topics as they are regarded from a peculiar point of view by each fresh informant. Every period of history has its inconsistent narratives, its disputed reputations, and its recognised controversies; and the interval which separates the American war from the Regency is both crowded with events and actors, and fertile in standing puzzles. The rise and fall of the Coalition, the disputes during the King's first illness, the Whig schism of 1792, the resignation of Pitt, and his subsequent return to office, still present questions as attractive to initiated students as they are probably stale and repulsive to the majority of readers. Those who publish the diaries of secondary politicians of the age of Pitt and Fox must content themselves with the same kind of limited and scientific appreciation which might attend a description of a new fern, or a monogram on the *Crustacea* of Heligoland. The facts and opinions which are added, to the previous store of knowledge fit into vacant spaces, and their relative importance can only be understood by the aid of a familiar acquaintance with the existing fabric. Yet it must be admitted that memoirs and correspondence possess elements of popularity which can scarcely be found in a zoological treatise. Biography is human, even when it is trivial or dull, and it may be read without preparatory study or mental exertion. Something also of the natural love of gossip attaches to reminiscences of seventy or eighty years ago. The affairs of recent generations can never be wholly indifferent to their neighbours in time.

The curiosity of political inquirers has been largely gratified through the activity of modern biographical editors. Two or three professed histories may be collated with the experiences

of almost every conspicuous person who flourished towards the end of the eighteenth century. The accumulation of memoirs proceeds with increasing rapidity as the demand for further information might seem to be exhausted. Moore's 'Life of 'Sheridan' appeared more than thirty years ago, and half that interval has passed since the publication of 'Wilberforce's 'Diary.' 'The Life of Lord Eldon,' 'The Memoirs of Romilly,' 'The Diary and Letters of Lord Malmesbury,' and 'The Life of Lord Sidmouth' were followed by 'The Letters,' 'The Memorials,' and the incomplete 'Life of Fox,' and by the ample 'Correspondence of the Grenville Family.' Within two or three years Mr. Macknight has produced a meritorious and voluminous 'Life of Burke.' 'Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence' and 'Mr. Rose's Diary' are of equally recent date; and now the well-known road is twice more to be traversed in the company of Lord Auckland, and again in that of Lord Colchester. A skillful writer might condense the vast mass of materials into a valuable collection of political biographies which would form an almost complete history of the time. Lord Macaulay's 'Life of Pitt' may serve as a model of treatment and composition, and his generous impartiality is only disturbed by the antithetic turn of mind which displays itself in an overstrained contrast between the earlier and later portions of the minister's career. Unfortunately little is known of Pitt except as he appeared in public, although Lady Hester Stanhope, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Rose supply in some degree the uncommunicative dulness of Bishop Tomline. He had no time to write familiar letters, and his friends have preserved few fragments of his private conversation. Lord Macaulay seems to have forgotten that Lord Wellesley describes the austere man of business as the gayest and most sanguine companion whom he had ever known. The editor of 'Lord Auckland's Letters' excites and baffles curiosity by confirming the report that Pitt was at one time deeply attached to Miss Eleanor Eden. He was perhaps not inferior, even in social qualities, to the great rival with whom he must share the central place in the biographical group. The judicious historian of Pitt and of Fox would make a sparing use of the ample details which illustrate the lives and characters of their followers and contemporaries. We hope, however, that these abundant materials for biography will at length be reduced to a more complete and connected form by Lord Stanhope, who has already announced for publication the first portion of his long-expected 'Life of Mr. Pitt;' and we shall suspend our remarks on this subject until this important work is before us.

Lord Colchester was one of those prudent and prosperous men who attain the highest elevation of which they are capable, and aspire to nothing beyond it. His character and his position as Speaker gave him abundant opportunities of observation, and the results are recorded in his *Diary* with trustworthy brevity and dryness. The good fortune of his career may be attributed principally to his own industry and merit, although many rivals of far higher capacity must have envied his easy success. Born in 1757, he was educated at Westminster and at Oxford, and at the age of thirty-nine he had attained considerable practice at the bar. The death of his elder brother in 1794 opened to him a lucrative office in the King's Bench, and in 1795 Mr. Abbot was returned by the Duke of Leeds as member for Helston. The patron, who had sat for many years in Mr. Pitt's Cabinet, had finally quarrelled with his leader, and his inclinations were sufficiently indicated by the selection of Mr. Fox to move for the writ. No more direct communication was made to the new member, and Mr. Abbot entered the House with the odd determination to support any government which might be in office. The Duke of Leeds, though he once or twice remonstrated against the votes of his nominee, ultimately acquiesced with commendable liberality in his steady adherence to the Minister. Politics occupied only a secondary place in Mr. Abbot's attention. From his first entrance into the House he rested his hopes of personal advancement on the steady pursuit of definite objects of public utility. Both parties possessed abundant oratorical power, and several effective men of business were engaged in the service of the Government. There was ample room for the services of an independent member who would devote indefatigable labour to minor legislative improvements, to administrative reforms, and to Parliamentary details. Within a few months from his first election Mr. Abbot obtained a Committee on the mode of dealing with Expiring Laws, and he afterwards carried a measure for the Promulgation of Acts of Parliament, which had previously been found only in private collections. His diligence and good sense soon attracted the notice of Pitt, who placed him in the chair of the Finance Committee of 1797 and 1798. In this capacity he drew up, in numerous reports, a complete body of statistics on revenue, expenditure, public establishments, and official incomes. He took a leading part in Committees on waste lands, on harbours and docks, and on metropolitan improvements; and he was the first to provide for the careful preservation of the public records, and for the census which has since been decennially taken. His ambition was probably directed at any early period to the

Chair; for, with a provident attention to details, he records in his Diary the ceremonies and the bill of fare at the first Speaker's dinner which he attended. His taste for practical reforms may perhaps have afterwards induced him to modify the ponderous solidity of his predecessor's establishment; two roast joints, a ham and chicken, a pig, a capon, a turkey, and a larded guinea-fowl, were perhaps regarded as part of a visible protest against French innovations. The line which Mr. Abbot selected for himself in the House of Commons, led directly to his object by recommending him to the friendship of Addington, who then occupied the Chair with the success which seems always to attend the incumbent of that high office. Congeniality of opinion and character cemented their intimacy, and on Pitt's resignation in 1801, Mr. Abbot received one of the earliest communications from the new Minister. In the first instance Addington attempted to buy his friend too cheaply by the offer of a Lordship of the Treasury. The judicious and conventional reply, that he would prefer a zealous support of the Government without accepting office, produced a second and sufficient bid in the form of the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland. His energy and ability in the conduct of his department during the ensuing year fully justified the Minister's choice. The Chief Secretary collected returns of establishments, improved the management of the revenue, and grappled not unsuccessfully with some of the colossal systems of jobbery which had survived the Union. He encouraged projects for a bridge over the Menai Straits, and for the improvement of harbours at Holyhead and Dublin, and he investigated the difficulties of assimilating the Irish and English currency. As the first holder of his office, he was compelled to organise its business; and he had to resist his superior, Lord Pelham, in his attempt to transfer all Irish patronage and party business to the Secretary of State. After twelve months of active occupation, the appointment of Sir John Milford as Chancellor of Ireland, enabled Addington to transfer his useful adherent to the Chair of the House of Commons. From 1802 to 1817, Mr. Abbot retained the office of Speaker, having wisely declined the offer of the place of Secretary of State in Percival's Ministry in 1809. On his retirement in consequence of illness he was raised to the peerage as Lord Colchester, and he continued till his death in 1829, a zealous Tory of the school of Eldon and Sidmouth. His discharge of his duties of Speaker was in general meritorious and successful in conformity with the previous and subsequent traditions of the office; but in 1813 he was led, by his zealous hostility to the Catholic claims, into a grave and culpable irre-

gularity. After defeating Grattan's Relief Bill by an amendment which he moved in Committee, he took credit to the House in his speech to the Throne at the end of the Session, for the policy which he had himself induced the majority to adopt. The support of the Government saved him from a merited vote of censure, but only the blindest partisans can have seriously approved of his conduct. His own bigoted opposition to the Catholic claims was explained both by his general character and by his personal experience. By principle and habit he was opposed to corruption, to disorder, and to waste; but his solicitude was confined to administrative reforms, and to practical regulations for the efficient conduct of affairs. Men of business, as distinguished from statesmen, generally entertain an antipathy to change, and they deprecate the agitation of organic questions, which tend to disturb existing political systems. Mr. Abbot declared when he entered Parliament, that he regarded the predominance of Pitt or of Fox no more than the rivalry between Pompey and Caesar. In other words, he cared little how the machine of Government was constructed in comparison with his anxiety for the smoothness of its working. When it became necessary to choose a side, he was naturally repelled by the apparent alliance between the Opposition and the supporters of the French Revolution; and when the Catholic claims acquired practical importance, he had in all respects identified himself with the party of indiscriminate resistance. In Ireland he trod on the recent embers of the rebellion, and he perceived that the Catholics, under the influence of their priests, were universally disaffected. In his limited though practical judgment, it seemed easier to govern them than to win them, by a slow process of conciliation, to assist in governing themselves. Some religious prejudice in favour of Anglican orthodoxy may probably have confirmed his anti-Catholic bias, and when he became member for the University of Oxford in 1806, he was irrevocably pledged to the tenacious narrowness which characterised his clerical constituency. There is fortunately room in the world for assiduous Speakers as well as for philosophic statesmen; but the busy handicraftsmen who employ themselves exclusively in political and administrative details, are scarcely justified in the contempt which they entertain for enthusiasts and reformers. The followers of Lord Sidmouth, with all their resolute adherence to expediency and routine, were as obstinate in their devotion to an empty theory as the youngest and hottest philanthropic zealot. Lord Colchester was perhaps the most useful and respectable of the Tory seceders from their allegiance to Pitt.

The present Lord Colchester, in editing his father's Diary, has carefully pruned away all reference to private and family affairs; but in the course of the three volumes, the reference to public matters are relieved by occasional notices of curious customs, and by personal anecdotes. It is stated on the authority of an eminent medical practitioner that in the first half of the eighteenth century it was not the habit of London physicians either to visit the hospitals, or even to see private patients. Dr. Mead and his successors conducted their practice by consultation with the apothecaries, who attended them at their private homes or at coffee-houses; so that the judgment of the great authority could scarcely be biassed by observation, by increasing experience, or by the eccentricities of nature. A custom more immediately connected with Mr. Abbot's occupations was violated by his ignorantly entering the House, though a borough member, in spurs, which were the exclusive appendage of knights of the shire. When he first sat in the House he was struck by the absence of any obsequiousness or servility towards the dominant minister. On one occasion he remarked, that having to carry up a bill to the House of Lords, Mr. Pitt waited in the doorway, because not a single member took the trouble to rise and accompany him. Mr. Pitt accounted for the position of a Mr. G—— as a Privy Councillor, by remarking that he must have succeeded by solicitation. 'For my part,' he said, 'I would rather at any time have made him a Privy Councillor than have talked to him.' The later volumes contain many confidential explanations of motives and conduct by politicians of different sections, who naturally regarded the Speaker as an official parliamentary confessor. Subsequent explanations and apologies for public conduct form valuable illustrations of character, even when they deviate from historical accuracy. Afterthoughts bear a definite relation to the original acts or intentions. Several well-known anecdotes are confirmed by new and credible authority. The story of the King's putting back his ears when he received Fox as minister, like the horse at Astley's who was going to throw the tailor, was repeated to Lord Colchester with characteristic decorum by the Duke of Clarence. The apostrophe on Lord Rosslyn's death, to the effect that the King had not a greater knave in his dominions, is recorded with sympathy and satisfaction. When George III. heard of the vote for Lord Melville's impeachment, he remarked, 'Is that all? I wonder how he slept after it. Bring out my horse.' Mr. Dundas's attempt to prove 'by Scotch metaphysics' that Irish Catholics might be trusted in the House of Commons, had neither been forgotten

nor forgiven. As the Duke of Clarence, when he told the story, added, not without a certain amount of truth, 'my father was a very clever man,' and he was not a placable enemy.

The first Lord Auckland, a statesman of greater capacity and of loftier ambition, was actively engaged in some of the most critical transactions of his time. His *Journal and Correspondence* are for the present incomplete, and the selections which have been made seem to have been determined on no intelligible principle. His son, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who is responsible for the form and substance of the publication, has intrusted the details of editorship to Mr. George Hogge, who has performed his duty to the best of his ability. Unluckily the owner of the documents had no leisure to attend to the publication, and Mr. Hogge was probably obliged to content himself with an arbitrary assortment of fragmentary materials. A few letters of the date of Lord Shelburne's ministry and the Coalition are succeeded by a mass of official despatches relating to the commercial treaty and the Dutch dispute of 1787, and then the astonished reader is hurried back to Ireland where Mr. Eden was Chief Secretary at the end of Lord North's Administration. The second volume begins with a strictly private and domestic Diary written during an embassy to Spain in 1788; and lastly, a miscellaneous collection of letters terminates with Lord Auckland's final return to England in 1793. The Bishop of Bath and Wells takes an eccentric occasion of expressing the natural wish that his father's memory may be vindicated from the aspersions to which it has notoriously been subjected. His own opinion that Lord Auckland was an able man of business, and that he deserved the respect and affection which he enjoyed in domestic life, is just in itself as it is modestly and gracefully expressed; yet a little attention to the documents which have now been published would have shown that they throw no light whatever on the disputed passages of Lord Auckland's life. The Editor expressly refers to the statements of Lord Malmesbury and Mr. Rose, respecting the change of Ministry in 1801, and nevertheless he closes his collection of letters eight years earlier. When the publication is continued, Lord Auckland or Mr. Hogge would do well to connect the series of letters by some concise narrative which would furnish a suitable opportunity for any explanatory statement. It is not improbable that unfriendly contemporaries may have misunderstood or exaggerated apparent derelictions of political allegiance, but the best apology is probably to be found in the fundamental indifference to party of a politician who only ranged himself under successive leaders in deference to necessity and custom.

Mr. Eden, like Mr. Abbot, was rather a man of business than an orator, but instead of contenting himself with legal and practical reforms he devoted himself to the highest problems of politics and diplomacy with considerable though imperfect success. As the younger son of a baronet of ancient lineage he had probably but a slender patrimony, and he may perhaps have been thought imprudent in relinquishing, at the age of twenty-seven, in the year 1772, a rising practice at the bar for the office of Under-Secretary to Lord Suffolk. The appointment, which was made on the recommendation of his kinsman, the Solicitor-General Wedderburn, was fully justified by the ability and industry of the young official. Having obtained a seat for Woodstock by favour of the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Eden soon acquired a respectable position in Parliament, and he was regarded as one of Lord North's confidential advisers. After serving in the abortive commission which was sent to America, in 1778, under the presidency of Lord Carlisle, he became Secretary to the Irish Government, in the viceroyalty of the same nobleman. The zest and skill with which he conducted the business and the intrigues of the Irish Parliament, are illustrated in the correspondence which forms the latter part of the first volume. On his retirement from office on the fall of Lord North's administration in 1782, he ventured on the first of those daring and anomalous acts which his enemies denounced as unscrupulous, and which the Editor of his Correspondence has neither explained nor noticed. As the representative of the Government, he had resisted in the Irish Parliament the demands for virtual independence which were urged by Grattan at the head of a powerful opposition with the armed volunteers at his back. There was some reason to fear that Ireland might follow the example of America, and it was well known that Lord Rockingham and his colleagues were prepared to avert the danger by large concessions. Nevertheless, at the first sitting of the House of Commons after the re-election of the new ministers, Mr. Eden unexpectedly moved, in an elaborate speech, the repeal of the Act of George I. which declared the right of the King and Parliament of Great Britain to make laws for the kingdom of Ireland. The gross impropriety of a proceeding which could only be intended to embarrass the Government was awkwardly excused by Mr. Eden's assertion, that he was entitled to resent the slights which had been offered to Lord Carlisle. The letters, which are now published, supply a curious comment on the apology, by showing that the outgoing Secretary and Lord Lieutenant were at the time not even on friendly terms. A similar breach of parliamentary and official



propriety would in the present day be fatal to a rising politician, and even in the less scrupulous era of the American war, the mover narrowly escaped a vote of censure. His object, however, was probably attained by the proof which he had given, that he could be troublesome to the Ministers, and that he concurred, by anticipation, in their policy. In the following year, when he was negotiating the Coalition, he was already on friendly relations with Fox.

During his Under Secretaryship Mr. Eden had married a sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards first Earl of Minto. His own sister was married to Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and he settled himself at Beckenham, in the neighbourhood of the palace at Addington. His share in the provision which was customarily made for the friends and subordinates of the Government seems not to have been excessive, but the permanent office of Director and Auditor of Greenwich Hospital, with perhaps the addition of some pension, enabled him to live in comfort as a country gentleman, and he early aspired to the peerage. The position of the official class in the eighteenth century was highly enviable, though the source of its advantages is not easily to be understood. Mr. Eden's contemporary, Mr. George Rose, commencing his career without any patrimony, is found in a few years in possession of a town house, an estate in the country, and two or three borough seats, yet the great *jaghires* of Tellerships were appropriated by the Grenvilles and Thurlows, and the Clerkship of the Pells was not beneath the notice of Addington. The theory of sinecures became manifestly intolerable as soon as it was exposed to popular investigation; but the advantages of a system which enabled cadets and political adventurers to compete for power with the territorial aristocracy were closely connected with the corresponding operation of nomination boroughs. No wise man desires to restore an indirect and fictitious constitution which has become obsolete, but historians will recognise the share which a privileged and endowed profession of politics bore in the growth of English freedom and greatness, between the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty and the Reform Bill. With the exception of Lord Rockingham, and nominally of the Duke of Portland, no chief of a great Whig or Tory house presided over the Government from the death of Pelham to the appointment of Lord Grey. Many an obscure nobleman, manufacturer, or banker possesses more than the collective fortunes of all the prime ministers of a century.

The Correspondence confirms the statement which has often been made, and sometimes denied, that Mr. Eden took an active

part in the Coalition under the immediate inspiration of Lord Loughborough. Lord John Townshend, in a letter published by Lord Holland, claims for himself and for Mr. George North the questionable honour of originating the famous arrangement. The truth probably is, that, like many mechanical discoveries, the invention of an alliance between the two sections of opposition may have occurred simultaneously to several political speculators. It was certain that Lord Shelburne must fall in default of assistance, and of three possible combinations the reconstruction of the Rockingham Government was rendered impossible by Fox's recent and determined breach with that Minister. Some hundreds of minds were dwelling on the two remaining alternatives of Shelburne and North on the one hand, and of North and Fox on the other; for the fourth course of remaining out of office was unanimously repudiated or forgotten. Before entering on the practical discussion, Mr. Eden prudently arranged one or two interviews with Lord Shelburne, who might perhaps have detached him from the Opposition by an adequate offer. The Minister, however, unwisely confined himself to empty phrases, and it became necessary to rely on Lord North, and to persuade him into the choice of an alliance. Lord John Townshend seems to have been mistaken in an opinion that Lord North distrusted his former Under Secretary, regarding him as a follower rather of Fox than of himself. The Correspondence shows that Mr. Eden was a confidential adviser of his chief, and that at first he maintained an admirable impartiality between the rival candidates for his alliance. Lord Loughborough, whose letters are the most spirited and interesting in the collection, probably calculated on the succession to Lord Thurlow in his urgent and decided advice to make terms with Fox. In his first letter on the subject he proposes the Coalition as an original suggestion of his own, and he seems to have taken the principal part in overruling Lord North's indolence and Mr. Eden's prudent hesitation. None of the parties in the discussion affected to mix up irrelevant considerations of public policy with their practical reflections on the interests of their party. It is now evident that by an alliance with Lord Shelburne the old ministerial party might have secured an indefinite continuance in power; and if Lord Loughborough had foreseen that the Seals would be placed in commission, his excellent judgment would probably have confirmed Lord North in his original intention of supporting the Government. Mr. Eden perhaps thought that either combination would secure a majority in the House of Commons; he counted without the fixed antipathies of the

King and, in common with all his contemporaries, he personally preferred Mr. Fox to Lord Shelburne. Some of the letters incidentally correct a prevalent impression that Mr. Pitt was the proposed ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Several references are made to the energy and eloquence of the young Chancellor of the Exchequer, as contrasted with the inertness of his official superior, the Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas Townshend, afterwards Lord Sydney.

On the triumph of the Coalition Mr. Eden became Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and he proved himself an able and zealous supporter of the Government. He was also eager and sanguine in the subsequent contest with Mr. Pitt, but after the election of 1784 his sagacity soon taught him that Mr. Fox's party were condemned to a long course of hopeless opposition. With a view to his own prospects of public utility it was necessary, in the first instance, to satisfy the Minister that he could be formidable as an adversary, and that he possessed talents and knowledge which would render him a serviceable supporter. The Irish propositions for commercial reciprocity between the two kingdoms gave him the opportunity at the same time of thwarting the Government and of distinguishing himself from his political allies. The scheme, though cumbrous and antiquated in its form, was both sound in itself and wisely conceived as a corrective to the separation which had been accomplished in 1782; but it jarred against established prejudices on both sides of the Channel, and the leaders of Opposition thought that it furnished a fresh proof of the undue influence of the Crown. It was known that the propositions were framed by the chief of the King's friends, the early client of Lord Bute, and the supposed successor to his influence, and indignant partisans forgot that George III. could scarcely be suspected of busying himself with a measure of commercial reform. Mr. Fox denounced the project as an attack on English industry; Mr. Sheridan protested vehemently against the violation of Irish independence; and both orators affected to treat Mr. Pitt as a puppet in the hands of the Court favourite, whom they described as virtual Minister. It was convenient to forget that Mr. Jenkinson, if he was personally connected with the King, was also the first economist among living statesmen, nor had it yet been discovered that Mr. Pitt regarded revenue and trade as incomparably more important than royal prejudices and fancies. Among the Whig confederates, with the single exception of Burke, Mr. Eden was pre-eminent in familiarity with questions of commerce and finance. He was the friend and correspondent of Adam Smith, he had mastered the prin-

ciples of political economy, and his experience of Irish faction enabled him to select the most effective objections against a measure which he probably recognised as substantially expedient. His pointed criticisms, backed by the vague clamour of his associates, prolonged the debate through the greater part of the Session, and compelled the Government to accept numerous amendments. The propositions, after passing both Houses, were summarily rejected by the Parliament at Dublin, and noisy patriots in either kingdom triumphed over the postponement of improved commercial intercourse. Mr. Eden had given valuable assistance to his party, and he had incidentally satisfied Mr. Pitt that he was an accomplished and dispassionate economist, who might probably be found a not impracticable politician.

In the following year Mr. Pitt, again availing himself of Mr. Jenkinson's advice, projected the famous commercial treaty with France, and Mr. Eden was with excellent judgment selected to negotiate its provisions. He professed to regard a diplomatic appointment as external to the province of party; and if he had been already engaged in the service, his excuse would have been borne out by precedent and custom: but in questions of political loyalty, every party is its own tribunal, and the Opposition leaders openly declaimed against the new envoy as an apostate. The Editor of the *Correspondence* attempts to deduce an opposite conclusion from a courteous reply which the Duke of Portland made to Mr. Eden's apologetic announcement. In substance the duke really condemned the acceptance of an employment which he affected to regard as exceptional and temporary. His plainer spoken allies commented on the transaction so openly, that Mr. Eden was compelled in defiance, before his departure to Paris, to take his seat on the Treasury bench between Pitt and Dundas. From that moment till the resignation of the Minister fifteen years later, he followed the political fortunes of Mr. Pitt instead of returning to his former allegiance. The editor of Mr. Rose's '*Diary*' asserts that Mr. Eden attempted to bargain for the *Speakership* and other domestic appointments before he accepted the mission to Paris, but it is uncertain whether the statement rests on Mr. Rose's authority or on any other reliable evidence. Modern opinion will not be severe to an unprejudiced politician who served the public as well as himself by undertaking a negotiation for which no competitor was equally qualified. The Duke of Dorset, who was ambassador at Paris, was an empty and pompous grandee, and Mr. Eden was entrusted, as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, with the real conduct

of the business. Although he was at first imperfectly acquainted with the French language, he would have possessed almost every diplomatic quality, if his fine manners, his graceful pliancy, and his aptitude for accommodating himself to foreign customs, had been alloyed by a tinge of prejudice, of passion, and of national obstinacy. An ambassador ought always to remember that he is an advocate rather than a judge; the professed agent of his own Government, and not the independent promoter of a policy which he may believe to be equitable. Like an ascetic in the world, he should be in foreign society but not of it, and he should suspect his sympathies when he is inclined to identify himself with the interests of the Court to which he is accredited. Subtler and more pugnacious diplomatists reproached Mr. Eden with his total deficiency of anti-Gallican instincts, and in some instances he seems to have accepted the positive statements of the French Ministers with exaggerated and unaccountable credulity. It is not a little curious that the very same reproaches should, in our own time, have been addressed to the negotiator of another French commercial treaty; and the correspondence of Mr. Eden from Paris certainly derives a strong additional interest from the similar work in which Mr. Cobden has been successfully engaged.

In discussing the commercial treaty he showed himself a clear-headed, consistent, and thorough-going free-trader; and those who study in the present publication a somewhat tedious series of official dispatches, will be surprised at the comparative backwardness of his Government. The Marquis of Carnarthen, who was then Foreign Secretary, took little part in the business, which was conducted by Mr. Pitt with unceasing vigilance. The French Ministers Vergennes and Rayneval, who managed the details of the negotiation, offered every facility for the conclusion of the arrangement; while the English envoy always recommended liberal concessions, and urged upon his employers the expediency of avoiding any stipulations which would afterwards be unpopular in France. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, either from a remnant of prejudice or in deference to the claims of the manufacturers, constantly insisted on the reduction of French duties, while he maintained in some exceptional cases protection at home. Although Mr. Eden assured him that it was impossible to obtain so unequal a concession, the imperious firmness of the Minister procured the admission of English cottons into France, while French silks were excluded from England on the frivolous pretext of fear of riots among the Spitalfields weavers. While Mr. Pitt insisted on the attainment of all the objects which he had proposed to himself, Mr. Eden

displayed much tact and ability in smoothing down the irritation of the French Ministers, and from time to time he pacified with considerable tact the Duke of Dorset's personal jealousies. His confidence in the soundness of the principles which he was putting into practice, is shown in his courteous contempt for the objections of his friend and correspondent, Lord Sheffield, who was himself a clever and frequent writer on economical subjects.

His services were rewarded by the appointment of Ambassador to Madrid, and his application for an Irish peerage was so far encouraged, that it was not definitely refused. The business of the Spanish embassy was apparently not pressing, for Mr. Eden remained more than a year at Paris before he proceeded to his destination. The dispute with France on the affairs of Holland required the intervention of an intelligent diplomatist; and it seems that Mr. Pitt and Lord Carmarthen never thought of allowing the Duke of Dorset to discharge his nominal duties. The natural love of English governments for fictions and make-shifts is curiously illustrated by an arrangement which seems to have been thought neither extraordinary nor irregular. The ambassador to Spain undertook the functions of the ambassador to France, because it was desirable to find dignified appointments both for an incapable grandee, and for a political convert of tried ability. The Editor of the Correspondence somewhat overrates Mr. Eden's share in the successful struggle that ensued. The dispassionate adroitness which had smoothed over the difficulties of the Commercial Treaty was not equally applicable to the conduct of a negotiation which closely approached to a rupture. Mr. Eden himself considered that no sacrifice which was demanded from England could be as injurious as a war, and he was unduly anxious to preserve his own friendly relations with the French Ministers, who were engaged in a course of discreditable violence and perfidy. The history of the dispute is well known from other sources of information, and it derives no material illustration from the present Correspondence. It seems even doubtful whether Mr. Eden was in the secret of Sir James Harris's transactions at the Hague, or even of the final intentions of his own Government. M. de Montmorin, who had recently succeeded Vergennes, endeavoured in vain to draw the negotiation to Paris, where he would have to deal with a friendly and pliable opponent. When Mr. Eden was for a time absent from his post, the French Minister urged him to return, with the assurance that his intervention alone would succeed in averting a rupture.

The peaceable solution of the difficulty was effected by an

entirely opposite policy. After the alliance which had been concluded with the Dutch towards the close of the American war, the French Government exerted all its efforts to reduce the United Provinces into a state of dependency by supporting the democratic faction in its encroachments on the constitution and on the privileges of the House of Orange. The revolutionary party succeeded in obtaining the control of the provincial states of Holland and of the city of Amsterdam, and they deprived the weak and indolent Stadtholder of his prerogative as chief executive officer of the Republic. The French ambassador avowedly paid and supported the leaders of the movement; and officers were sent from the War Department at Paris, with orders to organise and command the Free Corps which had been illegally raised for revolutionary purposes. The Princess of Orange, a woman of spirit and energy, endeavoured to organise a party of resistance; and the English ambassador, Sir James Harris, undertook to direct and aid her exertions. Her uncle, Frederick the Great, then approaching his end, still retained the dislike to England which had influenced his policy since the close of the Seven Years' war; and it was only on the accession of his nephew, Frederick William II., that the English Government and the friends of the House of Orange began to hope for assistance from Prussia. Mr. Pitt himself, in opposition to the opinion of Lord Carmarthen, at first intended to confine his resistance to French encroachment within diplomatic limits; and it was perhaps with a view of checking the zealous patriotism of his Foreign Secretary, that he originally entrusted the conduct of the affair at Paris to his pacific envoy. Within three years from his accession to office he had restored the revenue, he had readjusted the tariff, and he was actively employed in reducing the national debt, by the application of a considerable surplus to the Sinking Fund. A war would interrupt all his designs; it would revoke the commercial treaty which he had so recently concluded, and it might probably affect the universal popularity which he enjoyed; yet Mr. Pitt was not disposed to prefer present ease to ultimate honour and safety. While Mr. Eden was exchanging compliments with the French Ministry, Sir James Harris was heaping argument upon argument to convince his own Government that peace itself would be most effectually secured by uncompromising resistance to France. With a foresight which was afterwards abundantly justified by events, he asserted that the French Ministers would not go to war for the possession of Holland; but that if they obtained the control of the Dutch resources, they would at once employ them against Eng-

land. When M. de Rayneval, who was then at the Hague, spoke of Mr. Eden as an amiable diplomatist always open to reason, Sir James Harris reported the conversation to Lord Carnarthen, with the remark that if the compliment was deserved, it implied that Mr. Eden was either a knave or a fool. It was undoubtedly irritating to a thoroughly anti-Gallican diplomatist to be informed, on the authority of his colleagues, that the intrigues of which he was parrying every detail and counteracting every fresh development, had been in succession candidly disavowed by M. de Montmorin at Versailles. In consequence of his own urgent representations, Sir James Harris was directed to repair to England, where he soon convinced the Cabinet of the soundness of his judgment. In a few days he returned to the Hague with full power to head the constitutional reaction, and while the ambassador assumed the functions of a party chief, Mr. Pitt adopted a peremptory tone with France, and at once commenced armaments by land and sea, which ensured ample deference to his remonstrances.

Both parties were using their utmost pressure at Berlin, where M. de Ménéval, then a secret agent of the French Court, was employed, as he has recorded at length in his Memoirs, in bringing about enjoining the ministers and mistresses who governed the heir of Frederick the Great. Goltz, the Prussian envoy at the Hague, had been won over by the French, and England would probably have been left to conduct the struggle single-handed, but for an act of imprudent violence on the part of the French or revolutionary party. The Princess of Orange was arrested by a portion of the Free Corps on her way from Nieuwguen to the Hague, and the States of Holland insolently avowed the act. To revenge the outrage on his sister the King of Prussia was, on the promise of English support against France, induced to march a considerable army into Holland. The French Government protested and blustered, and Mr. Eden feared that war was inevitable; but the friends of the Stadtholder, under the direction of Sir James Harris, at once resumed their former power, and Mr. Eden, notwithstanding his unwillingness, was instructed to require from the French Government a declaration that it neither had interfered, nor intended to interfere, in the affairs of the Dutch republic. Having fully attained all his objects, Mr. Pitt consented to a disarmament on both sides, and the last scene of the secular antagonism between the old French monarchy and England terminated in an easy triumph. It is worth remembering that in the height of the crisis the province of Zealand proposed to detach itself



from the Confederacy, and to place itself as a separate and dependent republic under the protectorate of England.

During the latter part of his stay at Paris Mr. Eden was employed in negotiations referring to the disarmament, and to the war between Russia and Turkey, and he concluded a convention on the subject of the French possessions in India. In the course of this transaction a semi-official overture was made for an arrangement by which France was to abstain from further political action in India, on condition of being allowed, without opposition, to establish her preponderance in the Levant. The English Government naturally expressed a doubt of the real meaning of the proposal, and Mr. Pitt was more anxious to acquire information on the means of extending the trade with Turkey than to unravel the diplomatic Eastern mystery. Of his own services during the Dutch dispute Mr. Eden entertained a high opinion, and he pressed the Government with unusual pertinacity for a substantial acknowledgment of his merits. He proposed to Mr. Rose a long string of alternative places or titles which he thought that he had fairly earned, and if neither a permanent income nor an English peerage was to be obtained, he intimated that the Irish title of Lord Auckland would add weight to his character as ambassador in Spain. He may easily have overrated Mr. Rose's disposition to befriend him, and although he probably at this time obtained a promise of the peerage from Mr. Pitt, he was compelled to proceed to Madrid as a simple commoner. The present volumes, which contain a large portion of his official correspondence from Paris, leave the objects and events of his Spanish mission altogether untouched. It is probable that nothing material may have occurred at a Court which had been left for a year or two without a resident ambassador, but the Editor would have given the compilation an appearance of comparative unity if he had connected its different portions by some thread of narrative or explanation. The fortuitous combination of materials which has found its way into his possession luckily includes a Private Diary written in Spain for Mr. Eden's mother, which supplies in some degree the absence of any personal details in other parts of the work. This pleasant fragment of autobiography does justice to Mr. Eden's domestic qualities, and it also abounds in curious and amusing illustrations of the wearisomely absurd fidelity with which continental princes followed out the Court-traditions of Louis XIV.

Although the Diary excludes all political matter, it indirectly tends to counteract the impression that Charles III. was greatly elevated above the ordinary level of Spanish and Neapolitan

Bourbons. In his youth, as the Infant Don Carlos, he had excited the attention of Europe by his successful attempts to obtain for himself a settlement in Italy. As King of Naples he had given his name to ecclesiastical and legal reforms of high importance, and on the throne of Spain he had not unsuccessfully asserted the right of his country to be regarded as one of the Great Powers. Mr. Eden's description of his idle and useless life would seem to indicate his participation in the hereditary dulness of his family, nor is it improbable that the comparative success of his career may have been properly attributable at first to his mother's activity, and afterwards to the ability of Tanucci and of Aranda. Although he had arrived at the age of seventy-two in 1788, he was still vigorous and active in body, but habit and choice condemned the king and his family to a round of occupation more frivolous than the duties of a monk, and as monotonous as the life of a convict. At Aranjuez, at San Ildefonso, and at Madrid, according to the different seasons of the year, the Court pursued its obstinate routine of tedious ceremonies, which seem to have occupied the whole of every day. The nobility and ambassadors paid their court while the king dined, at eleven or twelve, in public, seldom recognising his own ministers even by a nod, although they were required to attend. In the afternoon, in winter or summer, the king went out shooting, accompanied by his future successor, the Prince of the Asturias, who alone in the wide expanse of the royal domains shared the privilege of carrying a gun. Each day was allotted to some especial description of game, and the king never fired at a boar or a wolf when he was looking for deer. After his death the courtiers observed that, among other revolutionary innovations, Charles IV. shot indiscriminately at beasts or birds as they came in his way. On the king's return in the evening the princes and princesses were obliged to be ready in full dress to receive him, and solemn games at cards wound up the day as tediously as it had begun. Mr. Eden appears to have liked the old man, who offered him many personal civilities, and often condescended to notice his children. It is difficult to understand how the Spanish nation can have been affected for good or for evil by the death of Charles III., which took place within the year. His successor inaugurated his reign by remodelling the formalities of the Court, and by breaking up the collection of deers' horns and other hunting relics which it had been the delight of his father to form. The frivolous commencement of his reign was worthy of its ignominious close in the French prison to which he was kidnapped by Napoleon, but in 1788 kings had no means of

foreseeing that serious events might occur to interrupt the heavy trivialities of their lives. The Court reforms of the new king suggested to Mr. Eden the humorous and pathetic reflection, 'How quickly the hobbies of the dead are turned out to grass.' Many incidental notices of Spanish customs and of his own domestic habits would recommend the Spanish Diary to readers who are wholly indifferent to coalitions, to commercial treaties, and to changes of ministry.

In 1789 the Ambassador returned to England, having been previously created Baron Auckland, in the peerage of Ireland. On his way he stayed some time in France, during the first outbreak of the Revolution; and it appears from one or two references that he left notes of his observations, but the subject appears not to have been thought interesting enough to have justified the publication of his remarks. The defect is inadequately supplied by a string of unimportant letters from Mr. Huber, a Swiss friend of Necker, then resident in Paris. Room for the insertion of Lord Auckland's papers might have been made by the omission of common-place correspondence from his friends in London on gossip and passing politics. The King's illness, and the prospect of a Whig Ministry, had been highly disagreeable to the expectant peer, and it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of his loyal wishes for a speedy and complete recovery. One of the earliest specimens of the King's returning sanity seems to have consisted in the remark, that it was a good thing that Charles III. had died, because he was French, and therefore his successor would probably be English. A correspondent of Lady Auckland supplies a curious illustration of the royal manners of the time in an anecdote of George III.'s brother, Duke of Cumberland, who was told at a reception of his own that he ought to say something to Mr. Gibbon. 'Well,' said the Prince, with graceful familiarity, 'so I suppose you are at your old trade, scribble, scribble, scribble.' To Sir Joshua Reynolds, who was painting the Duchess's portrait, he observed, with equal sagacity and tact, 'What! you begin with the head, do you?'

Soon after Lord Auckland's return to England, he accepted the embassy of the Hague, where he remained until the commencement of the great French war. It was his business to maintain the close connexion which had been re-established in 1787, by securing the adherence of the States-General to the policy of England. In 1791 he was instructed to engage the Dutch Government in the league of England and Prussia to check the progress of Russian ambition; but he thoroughly disapproved of the hostile measures which were contemplated,

and in concert with the Pensionary, Mr. Vander Spiegel, he resisted the war in every possible manner. Mr. Pitt had hitherto been as triumphant abroad as at home, and in the previous year he had compelled Spain, in the affair of Nootka Sound, to imitate the submission which had in the Dutch dispute been extorted from France. His intention of demanding from Russia the restoration of Oczakow, was urged upon him by the Duke of Leeds, and by Mr. Ewart, the Minister at Berlin. Mr. Fox, however, zealously supported the cause of Russia; and Mr. Pitt, finding that public opinion inclined to the side of the Opposition, for the first time wavered, and finally receded. His change of policy was probably in some degree caused by Lord Auckland's urgent representations, and by the statements which he made on the authority of a Dutch admiral, of the comparative unimportance of Oczakow. In one of his letters Mr. Pitt presses for accurate information on the facilities which Russia might possess for organising an expedition against Constantinople at Sebastopol. Lord Auckland was probably gratified when the Duke of Leeds resigned his office in resentment at the withdrawal of the demands upon Russia. He cultivated intimate relations with the new and able Foreign Minister, Lord Grenville, though he had formerly sneered at his elevation to the peerage, and had failed to appreciate his great capacity. His brother, Sir Morton Eden, was appointed Minister at Berlin, in place of Mr. Ewart, who, according to his opponent and unfriendly critic, had been absurd in the late transactions to the verge of insanity. A war with Russia would undoubtedly have been embarrassing, and Prussia, under Frederick William II., would have been a slippery ally; but the partition of Poland three years later showed the danger of assuring impunity to Russian encroachment, and of uniting the Northern Powers in a selfish conspiracy.

During his visits to England, Lord Auckland was confidentially consulted by Mr. Pitt on various questions of finance and domestic policy. By a curious coincidence he was employed, after the lapse of nine years, in the first negotiations for a new Coalition, and an interesting letter of May 1792, shows that the overture for union with the moderate Whigs first proceeded from the Minister. In consequence of the language used by a portion of the Opposition on Mr. Grey's motion for reform, Mr. Pitt authorises Lord Auckland to suggest to Lord Loughborough that a Privy Council should be summoned on the pretext of giving instructions to lord-lieutenants of counties, and that the Duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Guilford, Lord Loughborough himself, and other leading persons, should

be invited to attend. He adds that as Lord Fitzwilliam was not a member of the Privy Council, he might be sworn in for the particular occasion. It is evident that the formal co-operation of the Whig leaders was invited as a preliminary to a closer alliance from which Mr. Fox was not necessarily to be excluded; but the difficulty of finding room in the same Cabinet for both the great parliamentary leaders would of itself have formed at the time an insuperable obstacle to union. Mr. Fox to the end of his life expressed the strongest repugnance to any suggestion that he should take office under his ancient adversary, and it seems strange that Mr. Pitt should have been expected to descend from his secure and elevated post in favour of a neutral and insignificant nobleman. The Duke of Leeds, some years later, told Lord Colchester that he had, in 1792, sounded the King on the subject of a coalition, in which he was himself to hold the office of Prime Minister. The rejection of his overture explains his subsequent hostility to Pitt; but an experienced courtier ought to have understood that George III. would not be inclined to facilitate any arrangement for the purpose of bringing Mr. Fox into office. The impediments to a coalition were removed some months later by Fox's rash declarations in favour of the sovereignty of the people. Lord Loughborough, as in 1783, took the lead in the movement, and on this occasion Lord Thurlow's rashness and perversity opened the long-desired vacancy on the woolsack. At the beginning of 1793, the expectant Chancellor headed the secession, and after a short hesitation the Duke of Portland and his followers consented to take office under Mr. Pitt.

Lord Macaulay fixes the culminating point of Pitt's career at the date of the King's recovery in 1788; but for four or five years longer, until it was shaken by the war, his fortune continued unimpaired. The check which he sustained in the Russian transaction only balanced his Spanish success, and from 1788 to 1792 the country enjoyed unparalleled prosperity under his administration. The debt was decreasing, while taxation was becoming lighter with the increase of wealth and population. The surplus of successive budgets largely exceeded the estimated amount; and, since the apparent collapse of France as a military and conquering Power, there seemed to be no risk of foreign disturbances to add to the national burdens. 'As long,' Lord Auckland writes to his brother in the spring of 1792, 'as the King remains so well, the tranquillity of this country is on a rock; for the public prosperity is great, and the nation is right-minded, and its commerce and resources are increasing.' Mr. Burges, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

about the same time congratulates Lord Auckland on Lord Cornwallis's peace with Tippoo, and says: 'We now, thank God, have once more shut the Temple of Janus. May it be long before we open it again! For my own part I do not see any object immediately likely to give us any occasion; nor do I dislike anything in our present prospects, except a few circumstances of a domestic nature, which, however unavoidable, must be considered as unfortunate.' The only drawback to the felicity of England, on the eve of the great French war, was, according to Mr. Burges, the capricious ill-humour of Lord Thurlow; yet demagogues periodically declaim on the wickedness of a government and aristocracy which precipitated the country into an unnecessary contest to avert domestic reforms. Lord Grenville, acting in the most intimate concert with Mr. Pitt, incessantly urged upon Lord Auckland the duty of maintaining in Holland the neutral system which had been deliberately adopted by England. 'Did you observe,' Lord Grenville wrote, 'the expression that the kings of Hungary and Prussia are determined that the States-General *shall* accede to their concert? Pray keep a watchful eye on this as long as you remain at the Hague, for I think both our interest and reputation much concerned in opposing a *shall not* to this peremptory *shall*.' In a more public despatch, dated the 6th of November 1792, Lord Grenville adheres to the same prudent policy.

'I continue fixed in my opinion, or rather I am every day more and more confirmed in it, that both in order to preserve our own domestic quiet, and to secure some other parts, at least of Europe, free from the miseries of anarchy, this country and Holland ought to remain quiet as long as it is possible to do so, even with some degree of forbearance and tolerance beyond what would in other circumstances have been judged right. . . . It now appears that another campaign will be tried. Whether it is successful or not I cannot but remain in the persuasion that the re-establishment of order in France, under any form, can be effected only by a long course of intestine struggles; and that foreign intervention, while it retards the free course of the principles now prevalent in France and their national operation on the people there, serves the cause of anarchy, by giving both an excuse for its disorders, and the means of collecting a military force to support them. In this situation I see nothing for us to fear but the introduction of the same principles among ourselves. This is no light danger, nor could any mischief be greater if it were to happen. *But I think the chance of its happening much less if we keep ourselves out of this struggle on the Continent, than if by interference we raise the same standard here, and furnish it with arms against ourselves.*'

Nevertheless, Mr. Bright will repeat on the next opportunity that the Government was bent upon war, and M. Louis Blanc

will repeat that article of the Jacobin creed which affirms that Pitt was the enemy of the human race.

When the French Government commenced their encroachments in Holland, by the demand for the opening of the Scheldt, Lord Auckland encouraged and assisted the States-General in their resistance. He conducted the illusory negotiation with Dumouriez which preceded the opening of the campaign, and he remained at his post during the early successes of the republican army. When the advance of Clairfait and Coburg compelled the French to evacuate their conquests in the Low Countries, Lord Auckland took the opportunity of finally returning to England. His ambition was gratified by his promotion to the English peerage, and in the House of Lords he gave effective support to Lord Grenville and Lord Loughborough. He probably expected an important place in the Government, but the recent union of parties had multiplied personal claims, and some years elapsed before room was made for Lord Auckland in the insignificant office of Postmaster-General. His subsequent conduct may, perhaps, be explained by a brooding sense of slight and disappointment which was not incompatible with zealous participation in the policy of the Minister. When Mr. Pitt, after the establishment of the Directory, began to contemplate negotiations with France, Lord Auckland prepared the way for pacific overtures by the pamphlet which provoked from Burke the celebrated 'Letters on a 'Regicide Peace.' In the future portion of his Letters and Diary some light will probably be thrown on the period of his personal and political intimacy with Pitt, and on his share in the intrigue which led to the overthrow of the Government.

It is difficult to believe that Lord Auckland's cultivated and dispassionate intellect was swayed by any fanatical prejudice against the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament. He had been Irish Secretary when Grattan all but effected a disruption of the empire, by inducing the United Volunteers to declare themselves in favour of concessions to the Catholics, and his own ill-judged motion on his return to England involved the adoption of the principles which were professed by the popular leaders in Ireland. He had since lived much abroad in habits of familiar intercourse with Frenchmen and even with Spaniards; nor is there a trace in his correspondence of that insular narrowness which characterised Percival, Addington, and Eldon. According to the Bishop of Bath and Wells he ultimately enlisted himself under the political banner of Lord Grenville, who was excluded from office in consequence of his desire for Catholic Emancipation. The public motives of his

alleged conduct are so difficult to discover, that his enemies naturally accused him of purely selfish and personal ambition. Political obliquities are, however, more commonly produced by resentment or irritation than by corrupt cupidity; and it is possible that although the Editor of the *Correspondence* has not hinted at the nature of the defence, the entire charge against Lord Auckland's memory may be founded on incomplete knowledge of the facts. The chief agent in the transaction, the veteran intriguer, Lord Loughborough, was himself not less exempt from sectarian prejudices than the friend and kinsman with whose aid he had so often remodelled parties and governments. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the immediate instrument of the communications which influenced the King's decision, may be supposed, from his position and limited capacity, to have entertained a sincere hostility to the intended measure. It was naturally suspected that Lord Auckland was privy to the intercourse between his brother-in-law and his political associate; and his prospects of rising in a ministerial change were more intelligible than the hopes of the restless Chancellor, who was afterwards the first victim of his own contrivance.

It is certain that the scheme of relieving the Catholics was prematurely divulged to the King, for the express purpose of ensuring the defeat of the measure. The principal authorities for the statement that Lord Auckland took a leading share in the transaction, are Lord Holland and Lord Malmesbury, who respectively represent the contemporary belief of the parties of Pitt and of Fox. Both writers assert that the Archbishop was the tool of his brother-in-law, and Lord Malmesbury adds that Lord Auckland had hoped to become Prime Minister, and that on the appointment of Addington he fully expected the place of Secretary of State. Allegations of this kind seldom admit of comparison with positive testimony, nor can it be denied that Lord Malmesbury might be influenced by ancient dislike as well as by recent hostility. The only overt act which can be cited in support of the charge, consisted in a speech in censure of Mr. Pitt, which Lord Auckland delivered in the House of Lords immediately after the resignation of the Minister. The impropriety of his language was generally felt, and Mr. Rose, with other friends of Mr. Pitt, immediately broke off their public and private intercourse with their unexpected antagonist; but it is remarkable that Mr. Rose, though he continued to cherish the steady resentment of a man of business, does not appear to have considered Lord Auckland responsible for the overthrow of the Government. While Mr. Pitt con-



tinued his intimacy with his fortunate successor, Mr. Rose persisted in believing that Mr. Addington had deliberately undermined his patron by flattering the prejudices of the King. His suspicions seem to have been unfounded, but his negative evidence may justify a suspension of judgment on the charge against Lord Auckland. The intemperate speech which gave just offence, would seem to indicate surprise and disappointment rather than gratification at the success of a recent intrigue. It is not impossible that the movers in the transaction may have calculated on a schism in the Government rather than on Mr. Pitt's resignation. The ejection of Mr. Dundas and of other friends of the Catholic cause, would have opened a vacancy for Lord Auckland, and might possibly have increased Lord Loughborough's influence in the Cabinet. It is at least certain that no cordiality existed between the Chancellor and the Speaker. Mr. Abbot in his conversation on the change of Government recommended Mr. Addington at once to get rid of the colleague whom he designated as Cardinal de Retz, and the new Minister replied without hesitation that the retirement of the Chancellor was already settled. Lord Loughborough had plotted for the benefit of a more plausible politician and a profounder lawyer than himself, but before he resigned the Seals he performed an act of characteristic audacity, in procuring the Royal assent to a Bill through the agency of the physician, at a time when the King was insane. Lord Eldon himself never bettered the example of his wily and daring predecessor.

Lord Auckland retained the place of Postmaster-General till the resignation of Addington, in 1804, and he was President of the Board of Trade, under Lord Grenville, in 1806. The loss of his eldest son in 1810 put an end to his interest in public affairs, and in 1811 he closed his busy and eventful life. Notwithstanding the considerable success of his career, he was probably a disappointed man. Though he was prominent among the second rank of politicians, he might reasonably feel that his knowledge, his abilities, and his large experience qualified him for a more considerable place in the Ministry. Few candidates for high promotion acquiesce in the dispensations of Fortune, which seldom coincide accurately with the claims of talent or of merit. If Mr. Eden had been contented, after the defeat of the Coalition, to remain in the ranks of the Opposition, his desire of eminence would have perhaps been gratified at the expense of his legitimate wish for active employment. He would not have negotiated the Commercial Treaty, but he would

have been the best economist and the ablest parliamentary tactician of the Whig party. In the schism of 1792 he would have been in a position to make terms with the Minister, and Mr. Pitt would have appreciated late as well as early talents and accomplishments which were eminently available for the public service. As compared with many other candidates for power, Lord Auckland seems to have enjoyed a prosperous career. Thirty years of political activity might alone reward the devotion of a life, and the younger son of a good family can scarcely have hoped for higher prizes than two embassies, a peerage, a seat in the Cabinet, and the confidence of the principal Minister. Less able men have been still more successful, and greater men have been compelled to content themselves with smaller rewards. Of the statesmen of his time, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Lord Grenville may be regarded as superior to all competitors. Addington ranks below the mediocrity which Lord Liverpool barely attained, and Canning's eminence belongs to a later era. Lord Auckland, like Lord Melville, belonged to the class of useful and clearheaded politicians, who, while they serve the public efficiently, are always accused of serving themselves. In a biography of contemporary statesmen, he would deserve a respectable place.

The letters of Lord Auckland's correspondents naturally vary in merit and interest. Lord Loughborough's are remarkable beyond the rest for their spirit and vigour, and from the impression which they leave of the practical ability of the writer. Mr. Hugh Elliot, Lady Auckland's brother, contributes two or three lively and characteristic letters. Lord Sheffield, chiefly known as the friend of Gibbon, involuntarily draws his own portrait as a clever, conceited, good-natured and blundering busy-body. Mr. Storer, a popular member of society, longing in vain for a share in public life, supplies agreeable notices of private and political gossip. All the correspondents concur in adopting that indefinable tone of friendly deference or recognition which is inspired by personal character and intellectual qualities rather than by social position. Lord Auckland's Letters and his Spanish Diary are pleasantly and sensibly written. In the Diary especially, there is a constant vein of that kindly playfulness which in domestic relations properly takes the place of humour. The Letters contain one or two good stories which deserve preservation. The Archbishop Elector of Mayence had a country-house called *La Favorite*, and also a German female friend, whose name Lord Auckland declares to be unpronounceable. 'At one of the late formal dinners his electoral highness

‘said to a French officer of distinction, “Vous avez vu La Favorite, Monsieur; en êtes vous content?” Réponse: “Oui, monseigneur, j’ai eu l’honneur de faire ma cour à Madame——ce matin; effectivement c’est une charmante femme, et bien digne du nom dont votre altesse l’honore.”’

Cynics who are of opinion that the publication of Lord Auckland’s Correspondence is insufficiently justified either by its personal interest or by its historical value, must nevertheless admit that the popular appetite for biographical collections seems to be inexhaustible. The journals and correspondence of a respectable and common-place lady, who was formerly known as Mrs. Delany, are twice as voluminous, incomparably more trivial, and absolutely uncalled for. The writers and their friends are private and obscure persons of the most moderate abilities, and Mrs. Delany herself appears never to have said or done, or written anything remarkable. Yet the record of insignificant events has found numerous and eager readers, who are attracted by the obsolete manners and natural emotions which once really belonged to a little fragment of life. The pleasure which is derived from miscellaneous biography scarcely admits of being measured by a literary standard. Like the actual intercourse of society, it supplies materials for thought and varied associations, rather than definite conclusions. When it happens, as in the case of Lord Auckland’s Correspondence, also to gratify historical curiosity, criticism, yielding perhaps to an undue bias, inclines to admit the expediency of the publication.

ART. IV.—1. *Some Account of the Foundation of Eton College, and of the Past and Present Condition of the School.* By E. S. CREASY, M.A., Professor of History in University College, London. London: 1848.

2. *Public School Education.* A Lecture delivered at Tiverton, by the Right Honorable Sir JOHN J. COLERIDGE. 1860.

3. *Eton Reform.* By WILLIAM JOHNSON. London: 1861.

IT is now exactly fifty years since Sydney Smith, in the pages of this Review, entered his earnest protest against the system upon which the public schools of England were at that time conducted,—against a system of education avowedly based upon the dangerous principle of rearing a maximum of lambs with a minimum of shepherds. He vehemently denounced the excessive abuse of classical learning which then obtained to the absolute exclusion of more useful and practical branches of knowledge, and had even the hardihood to propound a dictum held to be little less than blasphemous by English scholars and gentlemen, viz. that in our upper class education there was ‘too much Latin and Greek.’ Conscious of, and readily admitting, the very great benefits which have resulted to society in all ages from the cultivation of classical literature, Sydney Smith urged, that an aptitude for mastering those difficult studies is not given to all men; and that there are other branches of knowledge, more readily attainable by average capacities, which, in the every day business of life, would prove far more valuable than the imperfect smattering of the dead languages usually brought away from our public schools by nine boys out of ten, as the sole result of six or eight years’ expensive schooling. Without denying that the composition of poetry in any language which we may be learning, must be of considerable use in familiarising ourselves with its niceties, he affirmed that in our public school education too much time is devoted to the manufacture of Latin and Greek verses; the price paid for such an accomplishment—the best part of those years during which the mind is most susceptible of instruction,—being, in his opinion, altogether disproportionate to the value of the acquirement.

It was the fashion in Sydney Smith’s day—it is so still—to maintain that the neglect to which boys are necessarily exposed at our public schools in consequence of the insufficient number of assistant masters, renders them self-reliant and manly; and that the premature initiation into vice which too often results from that cause, imparts to them an early knowledge of

what are apologetically termed 'the ways of the world,' and prevents their running riot when subsequently exposed at the universities to still greater temptations than those offered to them in their boyhood by the public houses and slums of Eton and Windsor. Against such monstrous doctrines the good sense and good feeling of Sydney Smith waged stern battle. He scouted the idea of preventing young men from being corrupted at college by conniving at their previous corruption at school. He contended that it never could have been the intention of a great public foundation to render the splendid more splendid, or to lavish care and instruction upon those only whose natural gifts would enable them to thrive without any care or instruction at all; and he objected that our public school system, avowedly disdaining the cultivation of mediocrity, leaves the idle as idle, and the dull as dull, as it finds them.

'Yet,' observed he, 'the mediocre, *i. e.* the mass of boys, come to school for the express purpose — not of being left to themselves, for that could be done anywhere — but in order that their wavering tastes and propensities may be directed and decided by the intervention of a master. . . . The very meaning of education seems to me to be that the old should direct the young, and the wise the weak; that men who profess to instruct should get amongst their pupils, study their characters, gain their affections, and form their inclinations and aversions. In our public schools the comparative numbers of masters and pupils render this impossible: it is impossible that sufficient time should be found for this useful and affectionate purpose. Boys, therefore, are left to their own crude conceptions and ill-formed propensities, and this neglect is called "a spirited and manly education."

Fifty years, as we have said, have elapsed since Sydney Smith put forth these wise and brave words, and many more equally brave and wise on the same subject which we have not space either to quote or to condense. During that period, education has been elevated into a science, and all classes of Englishmen, save the wealthiest and highest, have largely benefited by its influence. When he wrote, bad as our public schools were, they were probably the best schools to be found in the kingdom; at the time at which we are writing, we are very much inclined to suspect that they are nearly the worst. The salutary revolution which has been so happily effected in our lower and middle class education, has not yet reached them; and although the time is not far distant at which they also will be constrained to move onwards, it is to be feared that the vested interests by which they are overgrown will not be eradicated without considerable resistance.

We have had it in contemplation, for some time past, to call

attention to this important subject; but we have hitherto shrunk from the task, in consequence of its extreme delicacy. We felt that it would be almost impossible to deal fully and frankly with the difficulties which it presents, without saying much which might hurt the feelings and, possibly, mar the prospects of the learned and good men at present engaged in the conduct of these establishments,—gentlemen of ability and consideration, amongst whom we are proud to number many personal friends. Corrupt and imbecile as we believe the existing system to be, we conceive that it would be highly unjust to hold the present generation of public schoolmasters entirely, or even mainly, responsible for its defects and shortcomings. They have received it, such as it is, from their predecessors; they have themselves been trained up under it; they have been taught to believe in its excellence as in an article of faith; and they are all labouring diligently and sincerely to turn out the best work they can with its rusty and obsolete machinery. Although out of the thousands of boys who pass through their hands a very small proportion receive a fair education, they do occasionally rear a few brilliant scholars and distinguished public men; and they invariably succeed in realising enormously large incomes for themselves; a species of success which must naturally go far to console them for the inadequacy of the instruction they can bestow upon their pupils.

Fortunately for us and, we hope, for the rising generation also, a discussion has arisen within the last few months which will considerably facilitate the difficult task which we had proposed to ourselves; inasmuch as it will enable us to approach the subject rather as moderators and judges than as censors and accusers. In May, 1860, a letter appeared in the pages of our monthly cotemporary the ‘*Cornhill Magazine*,’ under the well-known signature of ‘*Paterfamilias*.’ Its writer, after graphically describing the astonishing progress which has been made during the last fifty years in the education of the middle and lower orders, gave a lively and accurate account of the sort of education which used to be imparted to an English public schoolboy about forty years ago at ‘*Harchester*’ College,—a *nom de plume* for Eton. He sketched the education imparted to the ‘*Harchester*’ boys at that date,—Latin, Greek, and never-ending verse-making. He described the neglect and contempt in which arithmetic, mathematics, modern languages, modern history, and English composition, were held; the excessive amount of corporal punishment, consequent on the insufficient number of masters to teach and control the boys. With respect to the

position and responsibilities of the masters at Harchester, 'Paterfamilias' wrote fairly enough: —

'The masters were scarcely to blame for this, it was the system that was mainly in fault. . . . They worked from morning till night, and more could not be expected of mortal men. If they could, they would have educated all their pupils thoroughly; they would have watched over them, and kept them out of debt and difficulty of all kind; but they could not, their numbers were so few. It is true that those numbers might have been doubled — nay, trebled — with undoubted advantage to the school: but then their profits must have been proportionately diminished, and it was too much to expect from human-nature that a reform which could only be attained at such a heavy cost, should be initiated by the very individuals whose pockets would suffer from it.'

'Paterfamilias' then proceeded to urge that our great public schools should at once adapt themselves to the altered and advanced requirements of the age, in order to preclude the necessity of sending boys to 'crammers;' so that a parent might confidently expect his son at seventeen years of age to pass directly from the upper school at Eton or Harrow into the examination rooms of the Civil Service Commissioners, or the Board of Military Education, with every chance of success. Finally, taking up the published statistics of Eton, 'Paterfamilias' ventured to raise a doubt whether the course of education pursued there at present, is not pretty much the same as it was fifty years ago; whether modern languages and mathematics are not still systematically neglected; and whether the disproportion of masters to pupils is not even greater now than it was in the darker ages.

It is not probable that this letter would have caused any very great sensation, had not the ball thus thrown up by 'Paterfamilias' been unexpectedly caught and returned by the more practised and powerful hand of 'one of Eton's most distinguished living sons.' In September last, on the occasion of re-opening the Tiverton Grammar School, Sir John Coleridge delivered a lecture on our public schools, taking Eton, the school at which he had himself been educated, as his example and text. The tone of this lecture, subsequently published as a pamphlet, was of course more elevated and grave than that assumed by 'Paterfamilias,' and it breathed from first to last the most enthusiastic admiration and affection for Eton. But the conclusions at which the two writers arrived were precisely the same. They both agreed that the number of classical assistant masters at Eton should be at least doubled; that mathematics and modern languages should be made part of the regular busi-

ness of the school, instead of being feebly taught and highly charged for as *extras*; and that the gentlemen who taught them should be raised to a position of perfect equality, as to authority and emolument, with the other masters of the school.

It is impossible that the task of criticising the existing system at Eton, and of suggesting improvements in it, could have fallen into worthier, fitter, or abler hands than those of Sir John Coleridge. Curiously enough, however, whilst the light artillery of the 'Cornhill Magazine' appears to have seriously galled the Eton authorities, and to have elicited from them some angry newspaper writing and pamphleteering, of Sir John Coleridge's more important censures they have taken comparatively little notice. Yet the charges brought by the Etonian judge against the imperfect and insufficient educational machinery which they persist in employing are indeed heavy charges; the remedies which he suggests are obvious and easily effected; and the evils caused by delay in adopting them, are daily and hourly felt by the perplexed and disappointed hearts of hundreds of English parents. It is clear that a question of such vital importance to the upper classes—indeed, to all classes of Englishmen—is not likely to be smothered by the torpor and indifference of those who are bound in honour to meet it promptly, fully, and fairly. Before we express our own views concerning it, we believe that we shall be doing good service to the public if we attempt to give a brief sketch of the purposes for which Eton College was originally founded, of the means provided by its founder for carrying out his intentions, and of the manner in which those intentions have been hitherto fulfilled by the members of the college whose sworn duty it is to fulfil them.

The task is by no means an easy one, for no history of Eton College exists; and until 1818 no one save the provost and fellows was in a position to state authoritatively what its revenues were, or what were the duties enjoined upon the governing body by the founder. The statutes were kept secret, and although a MS. copy of them, together with many other valuable documents bearing on the management of the College, existed in the British Museum, it was discredited by the Eton authorities as garbled and imperfect; indeed, so extraordinary and degrading were the revelations which these MSS. contained, that no right-minded man could have wished that they should prove accurate.

About the year 1440 Henry VI. founded and endowed both Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, having obtained from Pope Eugenius IV. the necessary Bulls with indulgence of power for that purpose. Edward IV. is said to have de-



prived the two colleges of a portion of the revenues which had been settled upon them by Henry, and it was not until the reign of Henry VII. that they were completed. The principal design of the founder in the establishment of Eton, was distinctly the maintenance and education of seventy poor scholars for the church. (Stat. lxiv.) The governing, educating, and religious staff attached to the college consisted, in the time of Henry VII., of a provost, seven fellows, a head-master, an under-master, ten chaplains, four singing clerks, sixteen choristers, a parish clerk, a sacristan, four assistant clerks and sacristans, thirteen servitors, thirteen bedesmen, and a sufficient number of domestic servants. The duty of the provost and the fellows was to preside over and conduct the ecclesiastical and economical duties of the establishment, manage the estates, enforce discipline, and see that the statutes drawn up for their guidance were carried out to the letter. The duty of the head-master was to educate and care for the seventy poor scholars, the choristers, and any other youths of the kingdom of England who should present themselves for instruction in grammar.\*

How these duties were discharged it would have been even now difficult to say with any degree of accuracy, had not Henry Brougham, presiding in 1818 over his famous committee for inquiring into the education of the lower orders, bethought him of the friendless condition of the poor scholars of Eton and Winchester, and called upon the administrative bodies of those two foundations to come forward and render up an account of their stewardship. Against this summons the college authorities protested. They declared that they considered themselves under a moral and religious obligation not to reveal the secrets of their foundations, enjoined on oath by their statutes; and it was not until they were sorely pressed by the heavy hand of parliamentary authority, that the Eton fellows consented to send their provost, Dr. Joseph Goodall, to be interrogated by the Committee.

Before Dr. Goodall was examined, Mr. Brougham called before the Committee the Rev. Peter Hinde, a fellow of King's, who had been concerned in an appeal between that college and Eton, and

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\* 'Qui scholares dicti collegii nostri, ac pueros choristas scholas grammaticæ exercentes necnon *alios quoscunque* de regno nostro Angliæ, ad scholas grammaticales dicti Regalis Collegii gratia discendi grammaticam pro tempore accessuros, in scientia grammaticæ diligenter et assidue instruet et informet, ac eis diligenter intendat, *ipsorumque vitam et mores*, maxime scholarium et choristarum ejusdem nostri collegii grammaticam addiscentium, *mature et attente supervideat.*—Duties of the Head-master. Stat. xiv.

who was consequently familiar with the statutes of both foundations. Mr. Hinde gave his evidence with a readiness and frankness which appeared to indicate that he was a hostile witness towards the Etonians. He stated that the income of their foundation was between 10,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* a year; that the provost and fellows perverted the greater part of it to their own private advantage; that the poor scholars were stinted, neglected, and defrauded; and that the head-master, who according to the statutes ought to be entirely supported by the establishment, and who by oath had bound himself not to make any pecuniary demands whatever upon either collegers or oppidans, was, by a collusive arrangement with the provost, actually extracting from those boys an income of several thousand pounds a year. If Mr. Hinde was to be believed, the only one out of the many oaths which the provost and fellows of Eton were bound by their statutes to take, to which they appeared to attach the slightest degree of stringency, was the oath of secrecy, by means of which they had unsuccessfully endeavoured to baffle the inquisitiveness of the Committee. Towards the close of Mr. Hinde's examination, Mr. Brougham inquired whether any malpractices existed in the manner of letting the college lands, whether they were let to the fellows themselves or to their relations? Mr. Hinde assured him that nothing could be fairer than the manner in which the college lands were let. 'You see,' said he, 'if the provost and fellows were to mismanage their estates they would be robbing one another, and that would never do.'

But when Dr. Goodall followed Mr. Hinde and told his own story, which he did in a loose rambling and evasive style not very creditable either to his candour or his intellectual powers, it did not appear that the first witness had at all overstated the case. By Dr. Goodall's account the annual income of the college was not much more than half the sum which Mr. Hinde had mentioned; but it soon transpired that the provost had designedly omitted from his estimate the heavy fines habitually levied on renewals of college leases. Indeed, he repeatedly explained that the figures he supplied were merely loose averages and approximations; he would state nothing exactly, and the high social position and consideration which he enjoyed prevented even Henry Brougham from pressing him too hard. The only thing he was positive about was, that the scholars of the foundation had been fairly and liberally dealt with; that they had enjoyed every domestic and educational advantage to which the liberality of the founder could possibly entitle them — and more!

Dr. Goodall stated the average income of the college to be rather less than 7000*l.* a year. The statutes direct that out of this the scholars shall be clothed, fed, and educated, the stipends of the various officers of the establishment paid, the fabric maintained, and what remains over reserved, 'ad incrementum collegii.' Now the list of stipends laid before the Committee for the year 1817 showed that the provost's stipend for that year was but 279*l.*, that the stipends of the fellows were but 52*l.* each, and that of Dr. Keate, the head-master, but 58*l.* So far back as the year 1625, when Sir Henry Wotton obtained the provostship, to the discomfiture of Lord Bacon, it was on record that that office had been estimated at a much larger amount. Lord Bacon called it 'a pretty cell for my fortune;' and in order to obtain it Sir Henry Wotton surrendered a grant in reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls. The Committee were therefore curious to know how it came to pass that, nearly 200 years afterwards, it should have dwindled down to 279*l.* Dr. Goodall explained that the stipends formed a very small portion of the remuneration of himself and the fellows, but that by a time-honoured custom, of which he could not explain the origin and to which he could affix no date, they appropriated to themselves the whole of the fines levied on the college property. When the leases of such property were about to lapse, they were in the habit of renewing them at the old rents; the increase in value being accounted for by fines.\* The large sums thus obtained they divided into nine shares; two of which the provost appropriated, whilst the seven fellows took one each. The result of this arrangement was, that, as far back as 1817, the provost's income occasionally reached 2500*l.* a year, whilst that of each of the fellows amounted to 1000*l.*, without taking into consideration the college livings, of which, in defiance of their statutes and their oaths, they held one apiece. Dr. Goodall spoke of these college livings as trifling things, but two of them exceeding 800*l.* a year each. The only account that he could give of this extraordinary perversion of the intentions of the founder was, that it had been done 'in imitation of the usual practices of deans and chapters;' at least 'such,' he said, 'was his impression, after much intercourse on his part with intelligent members of those bodies.' He admitted that it was in direct contravention to the statutes, and that long usage was

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\* An examination of the rent roll of Eton College for the year 1817, shows that the valuable house property around the College was let at nominal rents of 2*l.* or 3*l.* per house per annum; the actual value being paid in fines, which passed into the pockets of the provost and fellows, without appearing at all in the annual accounts.

the only apology he could plead for it. We recollect that on this occasion the chairman was heard to mutter to himself, 'Usage, indeed; we shall next hear of highwaymen pleading the usage of Hounslow Heath.'

The next item which attracted the notice of the Committee was the stipend of the head-master, but 58*l.* a year, it being a matter of general notoriety that the income Dr. Keate drew from the school was not far short of 400*l.* This discrepancy elicited from the provost the following extraordinary explanation.

The statutes of Eton direct that a head-master (magister informator) and an under-master (hostiarius) shall be provided at the sole expense of the foundation, and that they shall teach both collegers and oppidans, without demanding from their friends any remuneration whatever. The head-master and the under-master are to be salaried and removeable by the provost and fellows—they are to be unmarried—and the under-master is not to be 'in sacris ordinibus constitutus.\*' Nevertheless, in spite of this clear and unmistakeable prohibition, the usage of the school had been that both collegers and oppidans should each pay the head-master 4*l.* 4*s.* a year; and, as at the time of Dr. Goodall's examination there were 508 boys in the school, Dr. Keate, who had sworn when he was inducted into his office not to demand any remuneration for his services beyond the stipend paid to him by the college, was actually in receipt of nearly 3000*l.* a year from the boys themselves, there being other perquisites connected with his office in the shape of entrance and leaving money, of which Dr. Goodall told the Committee nothing. More than this. When Dr. Goodall became provost, he did not conceive that an income of even this large amount was worthy of the head-master of Eton. Desirous of augmenting it—it does not appear to have occurred to him to admit the head-master to a share of the college fines, for that, as Mr. Hinde had said, would have been robbing himself—he seems to have preferred to levy on the scholars a further benevolence of two guineas a year each, and thus added—'proprio motu'—a thousand and sixteen guineas to his friend's annual income. Such an act was directly in opposition to the intentions of the founder. It was

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\* '*Inhibentes preterea eisdem magistro et hostiario, ne ab aliquo scholarium, aut choristarum, aut aliorum undecumque ex regno nostro Angliæ ad dictas scholas, ut præmittitur, accedentium, aut parentibus vel amicis eorum aut alicujus eorundem, pro labore suo circa dictos scholares causa seu occasione instructionis hujusmodi impensis seu impendendis, quicquam exigere, petere, aut vendicare quovis modo.*'—Stat. xiv.

in opposition to the most carefully-worded statutes, which the provost had repeatedly sworn to enforce faithfully and to interpret rigidly ('secundum planem, literalcm, et grammaticalem sensum et intellectum eorundem'); and for one of which, containing the oath of secrecy, he had just professed such inconvenient respect. He could not even on this occasion plead 'usage;' in fact, he had no more right to compel the Eton boys to make up an additional purse of a thousand and sixteen guineas a year for their head-master, than the Eton boys had to steal his spoons or to plunder his cellar. The illegality of the transaction was thus toned down. The persons with whom the boys boarded — assistant masters and dames — were instructed by the provost to insert these charges for the head-master 'as a matter of course' in the bills sent in to the boys' friends at the end of each school term; and Dr. Goodall argued that, as the money was invariably paid without question, the founder's intentions were fulfilled. 'Our statutes forbid the head-master to demand remuneration,' said he, 'but they do not forbid him to receive it.' Had such a dictum as this been uttered by a casuist of the Society of Jesus, it would scarcely have required the wit of Pascal to prove its inconsistency with the first principles of truth, honesty, and honour.

Mr. Brougham inquired whether these annual payments of six guineas were also levied on the poor scholars on the foundation. Dr. Goodall admitted that they were, but explained that the charge was made entirely from delicacy, that the head-master feared to hurt the feelings of the collegers by making any humiliating distinction between them and the oppidans, and therefore considerably made them pay him four hundred and twenty guineas a year for their share of his services. He added that nobody need pay the money unless they preferred doing so, and that the head-master would never seek to enforce its payment. But as up to that date the statutes had been kept secret, no man could possibly tell whether the demand was a legal one or not; and no parent in his senses would be likely to venture, whilst his son was a foundation scholar at a public school, to raise a question which might involve the loss of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a year to its head-master.

We will dwell no further upon this astounding exposure. We hardly expect that our readers will believe that we have dealt fairly by Dr. Goodall in the sample which we have given of his examination; we confidently refer them to the 'Third Report of the Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders, 1818,' and beg them to judge for themselves. We must not, however, omit to point out, how completely these

revelations dispose of the inconvenient argument so often adduced in cases like that which we have in hand, that the high position and character of the parties concerned, render it impossible that they can have betrayed or neglected the trusts confided to them, and that it is base to suspect that under any circumstances such great and virtuous men can postpone their public duties to their private interests. Up to the day of his death, no man's character stood higher than did that of Dr. Joseph Goodall, provost of Eton. Lipscombe, in his 'History of Buckinghamshire,' speaks of him as 'an amiable, learned, and benevolent man, endeared to and esteemed by all who knew him;' and in a pamphlet by 'an Etonian,' recently published by Rivington, entitled, 'Thoughts on Eton, suggested by Sir John Coleridge's speech at Tiverton,' we find the following testimony borne to his merits: 'Sir John Coleridge speaks of Sir Henry Wotton as a kind of model provost. We need not go very far back to prove that his successors have not been undistinguished. Who does not remember Dr. Goodall, the accomplished scholar, the thorough gentleman, the admiration, not only of Eton boys, but of royalty itself? Where could be found such elegance of manner, such dignity of gait, such sprightliness of wit and never-failing pleasantry, such more than courtly bearing?' Yet with this matchless ease of bearing the reverend gentleman certainly combined a facility in evading his collegiate obligations, which nothing but his entire confidence in the observance of the oath of secrecy by all parties implicated can account for.

The report made by the Committee of the House of Commons was most moderate in its language and in its recommendations. The paragraph referring to Eton and Winchester runs thus:—

'As the universities, public schools, and charities with special visitors, are exempted from the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners\*, your Committee have been occupied in examining several of those institutions—the result of their inquiries is in the appendix. It unquestionably shows that considerable unauthorised deviations have been made, both at Eton and Winchester, from the original plans of the founders; *that those deviations have been made more by a regard to the interests of the fellows than of the scholars, who were the main object of the foundations and of the founder's bounty*; and that

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\* We happen to know that it was with very great reluctance that Lord Brougham consented to this exemption; but the concession was made as the only means of mitigating the vehement opposition of Lord Eldon. As it was, the second reading of the bill was carried against the Government in the House of Lords, — an extraordinary occurrence in 1818.

although in some respects they have proved beneficial upon the whole to the institutions, yet that they have, by gradual encroachment, been carried too far. While, therefore, your Committee acquit the present fellows of all blame in this respect, they entertain a confident expectation that they will seize the opportunity afforded by this inquiry, of doing themselves honour by correcting the abuses that have crept in, as far as the real interests of the establishments may appear to require it.'

We shall presently see to what extent the existing fellows of that period 'did themselves honour,' by entering on the reform of these abuses. Meanwhile Mr. Brougham was violently attacked for his 'tyrannical interference with the munificent piety of Henry VI. ;' it was affirmed that the provost and fellows of Eton had a right to feel dishonoured by inquiries which actually brought their probity in question; and the animosity of the very classes that his efforts tended most to serve was excited against him, by every means which the powerful bodies whose peculations were arraigned, could command.

As the history of Eton College is a desideratum in the literature of England, which we hope, to see ere long supplied by some competent hand, we are compelled, in order to ascertain the effect which the report and the recommendations of Mr. Brougham's Committee produced upon the visitors, the provost, and the fellows of Eton, to turn to a small volume published in 1848 by the present Chief Justice of Ceylon, Sir Edward Creasy. It is entitled, 'Some account of the Foundation of Eton and of 'the past and present Condition of the 'School.' Sir Edward was himself a scholar on the foundation, and his name stands honourably mentioned on the records of Eton as winner of the Newcastle Scholarship in 1831.

At that time, then; thirteen years after Mr. Brougham's Committee had reported, we learn from Sir Edward Creasy that the Eton collegers, amongst whom there were youths of all ages, from eight to eighteen, were bedded together in one large room called Long Chamber, with the exception of a privileged few, who, paying one guinea a year each for the accommodation, slept in three smaller and warmer rooms communicating with the large one. The upper and lower master had originally been assigned by statute apartments near to those of the scholars — but they had long since migrated from their lodgings in college to more convenient houses in the town, and these boys used to be locked up together from eight in the evening until seven the next morning, without any control save that which they exercised over each other. Sir Edward Creasy laconically describes the results of this ar-

rangement 'as having proved destructive of all habits of steady industry amongst the younger boys,' who were chiefly occupied in discharging the most menial domestic offices, and 'as fraught with grave perils to those more advanced in years.' The college servants swept out the rooms in which the collegers lived, and lighted the fires; but *everything* else was done by the boys for themselves. The lower boys, besides making their own beds, &c., served the sixth form and the six boys immediately below the sixth form, who were called 'the Liberty.' The fifth form, in which were comprised most of the collegers, looked after themselves. The College provided no morning meal of any kind for these boys. At half past one they broke their fast for the day with a dinner of roast mutton, plenty of excellent bread, and a supply of small beer so bad that no boy ever drank it.\* At five a scanty supper of cold mutton, bread, and beer was laid out in the hall, and after that they had nothing more until half-past one P. M. on the following day. The clothing assigned to them by the statutes was not given to them, neither did they receive its value in money, lest their feelings should be hurt by the recollection that they were dependent on the bounty of their Royal Founder. At least such was the explanation offered for the omission by Dr. Goodall in 1818, and it is but fair to the provost and fellows to admit that up to the year 1840 they seem to have done their best to alleviate any obligations which the foundation boys of Eton might owe to 'their Henry's holy shade.' The result of this mode of dealing with the collegers was, that they were compelled to spend quite as much money as the oppidans, if they had it, in order to procure for themselves the necessaries and the decencies of life; or else, to use Sir Edward Creasy's own words, to undergo hardships and privations 'that would have broken down a cabin boy, and would have been thought inhuman if inflicted on a galley slave.' The benevolent provost and his colleagues were fully cognisant of the wretched condition of the poor children under their charge, and were content to profit by it. The report of the Committee of the Commons must have attracted the attention of the Visitors to it, yet they made no signs; and these cruel and wanton abuses were actually allowed to endure undisturbed for upwards of twenty-three years after

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\* In the abstract of the accounts of Eton College for the year 1504, the expenses of the fish-pond and the brewery are entered under the same head, which may account for the inferior quality of the small beer supplied to the scholars. The brewery accounts of 1817 show that the provost and fellows drank a good deal of strong beer.



they had first been dragged to light by the energy of Henry Brougham. Soon after Dr. Goodall's death, which occurred in 1840, there were but fifty-five collegers on the foundation instead of seventy, and of those but eleven were in the lower forms of the school; so reluctant were parents to expose their children to the menial servitude, tyranny, neglect, and starvation described by Sir Edward Creasy as the unhappy fate of the junior King's scholars of Eton.

It seems to have occurred to Dr. Francis Hodgson, who succeeded Dr. Goodall in the provostship, that if there were to be any collegers at all at Eton in future, some amelioration must of necessity be effected in their condition. Before we proceed to describe what steps were taken for that purpose, we will detail the circumstances which enabled Mr. Brougham to obtain access to and publish the statutes of Eton College, and we will say a few words concerning the statutes themselves.

About the middle of the last century there lived at Eton a certain Roger Huggett, chaplain or conduct of the college, a man much addicted to antiquarian research. Mr. Huggett appears to have contemplated writing a history of Eton, and to have collected with that view a large mass of valuable materials. His pursuits were not, however, appreciated by his superiors; the more especially as, in prosecuting them, he had been led to discover that the chaplains, scholars, and other members on the foundation were grossly and systematically defrauded by the provost and fellows. He was, therefore, denied access to their muniment room; and it was not until he had served as chaplain for nearly twenty years, that he obtained an opportunity of examining the statutes of the college, although the founder had expressly directed that a copy of the 'Liber Originalis' should be kept in the college library, for the free inspection of all sworn members of the establishment. This copy had long been removed by order of the provost, on the frivolous plea that the scholars used to write improper words in it.

When Mr. Huggett at last obtained a sight of the statutes, he made an exact transcript of them; and this transcript, together with his other papers, filling nine large volumes, he willed, at his death in 1769, to the British Museum. The Huggett MSS. contain many interesting details bearing on the mal-administration of the revenues of Eton College in past years. In 1559, Archbishop Parker was directed by Queen Elizabeth to visit Eton; on which occasion Provost Bruerne immediately resigned, and four fellows and a chaplain were expelled by the visitor. Parker, in a letter to Secretary Cecil, explained 'that the said foundation had been made to serve some private men's affections and

‘commodities, as acting in a selfish clandestine manner, and contrary to the orders established for them in common with the rest of the college, by the college statutes.’ The archbishop concluded with these words: ‘It is pity that the college should be abused by any ambitious head, that would advance the post of the living there above the constituted allowance which was worshipful.’ In 1671 Zacharias Cradock, being a fellow, planned the scheme which still obtains of dividing the fines obtained for renewals of leases at low rents, into nine shares, one for each of the fellows and two for the provost. But when nine years afterwards he became provost himself, he deemed the provost’s share of the spoil insufficient, and unsuccessfully endeavoured to upset his own arrangement.

‘Dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit,’

quotes Roger Huggett on this occasion, delighted at having discovered an imaginary point of resemblance between the grasping provost of Eton and the love-sick Narcissus. In 1684 an appeal was made to Archbishop Sancroft by the provost, and fellows of King’s College, Cambridge, against the provost and fellows of Eton, urging that as the revenues of the latter foundation were known to have enormously increased, the number of the fellows of Eton should be augmented from seven to ten, as the statutes in such case direct, and that the poor scholars should be less cruelly dealt with. The appeal contains the following passage:—‘We refer it to their oaths whether the provost’s and every fellow’s share in both diet and wages is not far more at this day than the founder ever supposed it should be, even in the different estimate of the times.’ The scholars are described as ‘deprived of breakfasts, clothing, bedding, and all other necessaries which the statute amply allows them, and forced to be content with a bare scanty diet, and a coarse short gown, whilst the college revenues are shared amongst a few.’ But those were troublous times; and Sancroft had matters of greater import to attend to than the feeble plaints of the provost and fellows of King’s, which were soon merged in the turmoil of the great Revolution. ●

It is well known that the statutes of both King’s and Eton were drawn up in close imitation of those which William of Wykeham had previously prepared for his own foundations at Winchester and Oxford. Dr. Lowth tells us, in his ‘Life of Bishop Wykeham,’ that before New College was founded, that prelate had diligently examined and considered the various rules of the orders of monks, and had compared them with the lives of their several professors; but that he had been obliged

‘with grief to declare that he could not anywhere find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them.’ We have here probably an explanation of the extraordinary minuteness and care with which the statutes of Eton have been prepared; every possible contingency that the mind of an anxious and distrustful man could contemplate appears to have been apprehended and provided for or guarded against by them. The precise numbers of the various members of the college, from the provost to the bedesmen, are laid down by statute. The mode of their election, the circumstances under which their numbers may be temporarily diminished, the amount of their stipends, the value of their commons, their clothes, and their bedding, the manner in which the college accounts are to be kept, the punishments to be awarded to the refractory, and the provision to be made for the sick, are detailed with equal exactitude, as well as the curious measures whereby extraordinary funds are to be provided in hard times for the maintenance of the fabric. When every stipend and every allowance enumerated by the founder has been duly paid and accounted for, and when every necessary repair has been completed; then the statutes direct that whatever surplus remains, shall be set aside and devoted to the improvement and increase of the foundation.’

The provost and fellows are sworn to govern the college and its inmates strictly according to the statutes, to apply its revenues to the comfort and convenience of the whole corporate body, ‘et quæ residua fuerint et excrescant, conservare et facere ad incrementum Regalis Collegii et commodum fideliter conservari.’ They all of them take the following oath: ‘Quod non impetabo dispensationem aliquam contra juramenta mea predicta, vel contra ordinationes et statuta de quibus præmittitur, aut ipsorum aliquod; nec dispensationem hujusmodi per me, alium vel alios, publice vel occulte impetrari aut fieri procurabo directe vel indirecte: et si forte aliquam dispensationem hujusmodi impetrari vel gratis offerri vel concedi contigerit, cujuscunque fuerit auctoritate, seu si generaliter vel specialiter, aut alias sub quacunque forma verborum concessa, ipsa non utar, nec eidem consensum quovis modo; si me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta dei Evangelia.’ In order to illustrate, once for all, the utter disregard which the governing body of Eton College exhibit towards the intentions of their founder, and the oaths which they have taken, we may here recall attention to the fact that, although they are sworn not to hold any ecclesiastical preferment with their fellowships, they all hold college livings; pleading in their justification, in spite of the above-

quoted oath, a dispensation said to have been obtained from Queen Elizabeth.

An examination of the statutes, sixty-four in number, affords many amusing illustrations of the state of society in England 400 years ago. The members of the college generally are enjoined not to loiter in the hall after dinner; not to hunt or use nets; not to keep dogs, ferrets, hawks, monkeys, deer, foxes, bears, or badgers; not to frequent taverns or farce-shows; not to grow immoderately long hair or beards; not to wear green, red, or white breeches; and not annoy those who live in the rooms beneath them, either 'mingendo,' or by throwing other slops on their heads. The provost, fellows, chaplains, clerks, scholars, and choristers are directed to dine together in Hall daily, sickness being the only excuse admitted for absence from that meal, and during dinner a scholar selected by the head-master is to read aloud '*Bibliam, vitas Patrum, dicta doctorum, vel aliquod Sacre Scripturæ.*'

The commons of the vice provost, the fellows, and the head-master are to amount in money value to xviii pence a week for each person; but in times of scarcity they may be advanced to xx or even xxii pence; and when wheat has sold for twenty-four days consecutively in the markets of Eton, Windsor, and the neighbouring towns, at more than 2s. the bushel, to xxiv pence. But when the scarcity has passed away, the original allowance of xviii pence is to be resumed. The value of the provost's own commons are to be double those of a fellow: '*ut sic eidem, prout statui suo convenit, honestius in victualibus serviat.*'

The value of the chaplains' and the under-master's commons is fixed at xiv pence, and that of the scholars, choristers, and other inferior members of the community at x pence a week, at all times and in all seasons. The rents and profits of certain estates in the immediate neighbourhood of the college are also assigned towards eking out their subsistence. The scholars and choristers are to be supplied with breakfasts ('*jentacula, diebus et temporibus debitis et consuetis*'); and on the twenty-five great feasts of the Church, and on their founder's day, all the scholars are to receive viii pence each for a jollification (*ut epulentur*). The funds set aside for these purposes are to be expended by the hands of the bursars and the steward; and whatever sum remains, after all mouths have been duly fed, is to be applied '*sine diminutione aliquâ in utilitatem communem collegii.*' Besides the yearly allowance of cloth (four yards at 2s. 6d. a yard) allotted to each individual for a long gown and a hood ('*roba talaris cum capicio*'), the scholars and choristers are to be further supplied at the expense of the college with all things '*quæ ad*

'vestitum et lectisternia aliaque eis necessaria pertinent,' provided the sum so expended does not exceed one hundred marks a year. The following servants are to be maintained for the general use of the establishment:—A steward or caterer, a butler and an under butler; a head cook and three kitchen men; a porter and an under porter and 'barbitonsor,' who is to shave the provost, fellows, chaplains, and scholars 'duly and 'diligently,' and to make the candles for the chapel; two bakers; two brewers; a gardener and an under gardener; a fisherman; a groom and two stable boys. The under servants and the thirteen servitors are to assist the parish clerk in taking care of and cleaning the chapel and in ringing the bells when required, and are to wait at the meals in hall. In order to avoid scandal, no women servants are to be received into the service of the college with the exception of one washerwoman ('nisi sit 'mapparum et vestium linearum lotrix') who, if a washerman is not to be had, may be employed; she is not, however, to be admitted within the college, but is to receive the foul linen at the gate from the porter's hands. And in order that no sinister suspicion may arise on her account, she is to be a middle-aged and plain female.

The stipend and allowance of the provost is 75*l.* a year, with certain further allowances for servants. The fellows are to receive 10*l.* each, and the head-master 16*l.* No money payments are assigned to the scholars, who are to swear when they enter the college, that they are not in a position to spend 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on their annual maintenance, a condition which clearly proves that the founder intended the Eton scholars to be recruited from the ranks of the poorer gentry and the yeomanry. The servitors—boys chosen from a lower class—are to clean the hall and other parts of the college, to weed the garden, and in their leisure moments to serve the fellows and the head and lower masters, who are, in return for their services, to instruct them in grammar, so that about the time they attain twenty-five years of age they also may enter into holy orders.

The change which has since taken place in the religion of this country, morally justifies the very great reduction which has been made in the ecclesiastical part of the establishment of Eton College; although it does not appear from the statutes that the provost and fellows have any powers whatever vested in them to diminish the numbers on the foundation, save in case of a deficiency of revenue. There are now but three chaplains or conducts instead of ten, and the crowd of clerks, sub-clerks, and servitors seems to have vanished altogether. But in saying this, we desire to speak with caution, as the veneration which the

members of Eton College still profess for their oath of secrecy, prevents our having any positive knowledge on the subject. Without pretending to be able to unravel the mysteries of 'Domus,' we have strong suspicions that the commons of the governing body of the college and of the head and under master have long been commuted for money payments, contrary to the expressed will of the founder; and without entering into the minute calculations which would be necessary to illustrate the unfair principles on which these commutations have been made, we will select one instance, which will serve as well as a hundred, to show to what amount the college revenues 'suadente antiquo serpente' are now shared amongst the few to the prejudice of the many.\*

The stipend of an Eton fellow is, as we have shown, 10*l.* by statute. The salary of the head-master of Eton is 16*l.* by statute. The commons and other allowances of the two functionaries are precisely alike. The accounts put in by Dr. Goodall in 1817, and other accessible information bearing upon the same point, show that at that date, the Eton fellows were each receiving about 1000*l.* a year from the funds of the foundation, whilst the head-master was receiving from that source but 56*l.*; to which, however, between 3000*l.* and 4000*l.* a year was illegally added, by a sort of conspiracy with the provost and fellows, out of the pockets of the scholars and opidans.

The inquiries of the Committee of 1818 ascertained that the revenues of Eton College at that date—including the fines—amounted to about 14,000*l.* a year. Forty-two years have since elapsed, and, judging by the increase which has taken place in similar property to that possessed by the college, we may safely assume that its present revenue must exceed 20,000*l.* When the new provost of Eton became desirous, in 1841, to improve the condition of the collegers, the first necessary measure was to build proper rooms for their accommodation; for the magnificent pile of buildings erected by the piety of Henry VI. and his successors—although it afforded most commodious apartments for the provost and fellows—could no longer yield even decent accommodation to the seventy scholars who were the primary objects of the foundation. The chest in which the

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\* Under the head of 'Focalia' in the Eton College accounts of 1817, it appears that the provost received during that year from 'Domus,' 35*l.* worth of coals and 31*l.* worth of wood for warming his private apartments; whilst the seventy poor scholars were allowed collectively but 17*l.* worth of coals and 12*s.* worth of wood for the same purpose.

surplus funds ought by statute to have been deposited 'ad incrementum collegii,'\* appears to have long enjoyed a comparative sinecure, so nicely had the provost and fellows contrived to adapt the increase of the fines to the increasing value of the college property; and a public subscription was actually resorted to by the Eton authorities as the only available means whereby funds could be raised for providing proper sleeping rooms and studies for the collegers. Old Etonians were appealed to day after day by begging advertisements to come forward and subscribe for this charitable purpose; and as soon as a sufficient sum had been thus raised, the requisite apartments were built. Sir Edward Creasy tells us that on this occasion the provost, the fellows, and the head-master behaved with the utmost 'liberality.' The head-master ceased to extort from the boys on the foundation the 420 guineas a year which he had up to that date improperly received from them; and the provost and fellows contributed sums which the public, ignorant of their peculiar mode of dealing with the revenues of the foundation, might well consider liberal.

A measure was also about this time adopted, with a view of putting an end to the tyranny and neglect to which the younger scholars had so long been subjected, which we commend to the consideration of those persons who hold that judicious and moderate supervision and discipline would ruin our public schools. 'Apartments for one of the assistant masters were built in communication with those occupied by the boys. One of these gentlemen has since resided there permanently; and although the upper boys are still the vicegerents of authority, and are responsible for the preservation of order, the prompt superintendence of a higher power is ensured at all hours, and every desirable guarantee of discipline and quiet provided.' We have described this in Sir Edward Creasy's own words, in order to show that even in the opinion of an enthusiastic and successful Etonian it is possible and advantageous that boys should be subjected to the immediate personal superintendence of a sensible man, without being demoralised and emasculated by inquisitorial espionage on his part. We have never spoken on the subject of this innovation to a single colleger of our acquaintance, without hearing ready and affectionate testimony borne to the enormous advantages conferred

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\* 'In qua cista ponantur omnes pecuniarum summæ ultra annales, septimanales et quotidianas expensas, securius conservandæ, quas pro litibus et placitis defendendis, ac possessionibus, si oporteat, amplioribus acquirendis, tutissime ac securissime volumus conservari.'—Stat. xxxv.

upon the boys by their constant and intimate personal relations with the assistant master resident in college, who takes no part in their studies, but merely acts as their companion, adviser, and friend. Since his appointment the collegers are admitted to have become the 'cream' of the school. Formerly, they were its 'dregs.'

Sir Edward Creasy goes on to say that 'far greater liberality' is now shown by the college authorities in respect to the diet 'provided for the foundation boys. The quality and number of their meals have been increased, and the system of serving them rendered more consonant to modern usages.' We fear that in making this statement, Sir Edward has spoken hastily, and without book. He ought to have contented himself with saying that the foundation boys are no longer defrauded of their rights to the extent practised upon them up to 1841. The calculation of what ought to be expended upon their maintenance in the present day is easily made. They are sworn not to be absent from the college more than six weeks in each year; they may consequently claim their commons of  $x$  pence a week for forty-six weeks, = 1*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* a year. The sums allowed to them 'ut epulentur,' on the feasts of the Church and on their founder's day, amount to 17*s.* 4*d.* a year. An eighty-sixth share of the 100 marks assigned to the seventy scholars and the sixteen choristers for necessaries amounts to 15*s.* 6*d.* Four yards of cloth at 2*s.* 6*d.* a yard, which is the price named in the xxix statute, amount to 10*s.* These sums added together show that a boy on the foundation at Eton was entitled to receive in the fifteenth century, for his clothing and victuals, the value of 4*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* a year. We have not included in this calculation the Godolphin legacy or the estates set apart to eke out the boys' commons (see stat. xv.) because we have not the means of ascertaining either their past or their present value. Hallam, in his 'State of Europe during the Middle Ages' (vol. iii. p. 449.), observes that sixteen will be a proper multiple when we would bring the general value of money in Henry VI.'s reign to our present standard. Consequently, if we multiply 4*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* by sixteen, we shall find that the result, 64*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, is less than the sum to which an Eton colleger is entitled in 1860, for his food and clothing alone. He lives rent-free, he has just as much right to a share of the services of the college servants, as have the provost and fellows themselves. The statutes direct that the 'lotrix' shall wash his linen for him, the 'barbitonsor' cut his hair and shave him if need be, the gardeners grow the vegetables of the period for him, the fisherman catch eels and pike for him in Lent and on fish-days, the under-servants wait upon him in hall, the servitors



clean out his rooms, without any deduction being made from his livery and commons on those accounts. Now 64*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* is more than treble the sum required in the present day to feed a boy as the Eton collegers are fed; and it is not unreasonable to inquire what becomes of the surplus. We are the more urgent in seeking a reply to this question, because we know that in the case of the sizars of Trinity College at Cambridge, any portion of their commons or allowances which they do not actually consume is handed to them in money; and because we find on examining the bills of an Eton colleger for 1860, on the improved and mitigated system of charges, that the seventy collegers are still charged no less than 1740 guineas a year for extras: viz., 350 guineas for 'College charges;' 230 guineas for 'School fees;' 340 guineas for bread, butter, sugar, and tea; and 120 guineas for broken windows and repairs to the damaged paint of the rooms which they occupy. Being, as they now are, the ablest and most industrious boys in the school, they must all learn mathematics, an extra which involves a payment of 700 guineas more.

Before we dismiss this subject of extra charges, we will point out that the xiv statute expressly enjoins the head and the lower masters of Eton to educate the foundation boys themselves. The statutes allow them to instruct the oppidans if they have time to do so, but their care and attention is to be *principally* bestowed on the scholars and choristers. At the present moment the lower master of Eton does not teach a single boy on the foundation; all his time being devoted to the oppidans, by whom he is well paid, although they also are entitled to his gratuitous services; and the collegers, on whom he ought by statute to bestow the principal part of his time, have to pay 700 guineas a year to other assistant masters for the tuition they ought to receive gratis from him and his colleague. When we consider all these circumstances, and when we also consider that the diet of the boys at Wellington College, where the food is quite as good as it is at Eton and the drink 'pale ale,' did not exceed during the year 1860, 21*l.* a head, we feel inclined to pause before we join Sir Edward Creasy in complimenting the present governing body of Eton on their pecuniary transactions with their dependents. As far as we can judge, a heavy balance still remains to be accounted for.

Of the changes made of late years in the mode of admitting the scholars into college, and of conducting the election trials for admission of the upper collegers into King's, it is impossible to speak too highly. 'Formerly,' we are told, 'long standing was more valuable' than scholarship in se-

'curing a boy's election; and the boy whose parents had hurried him to Eton as soon as he could scrawl his name was far more likely to become a fellow of King's than the boy of the same age who had gone to the school a year or two afterwards, though the latter might be a Porson, a Lloyd, or a Milman, and the former be of very ordinary capacity and 'acquirements indeed.' The whole system of the Election Trials has been thoroughly reformed. They now last several days, and are conducted by the electors with the greatest care, so as fully to exhibit the comparative scholarship of the boys. Strict inquiry is also made as to their characters, and the merits of each boy now mainly regulate the order in which they are inscribed on the list for King's. The benefits which have resulted to both colleges from this change are immense. The *élite* of the school now compete eagerly for admission into college, instead of looking forward to the horrors of Long Chamber, as in the olden time, with dread. The Newcastle scholarship, the great prize of the school, is now invariably carried off by the collegers, and from the most distinguished amongst them the ranks of King's College are recruited.

We will now turn our attention to the oppidans, or 'pueri commensales,' of Eton, who until recently formed the most distinguished, and still form the most numerous and important, portion of the school. In 1843, before the improvements to which we have alluded had taken place in the condition of the collegers, their numbers had dwindled down to 55, whilst there were no less than 660 oppidans at that date in the school. In 1860, under the new *régime*, the collegers had regained their statuteable numbers, and the oppidans had also increased to 750.

The Eton oppidans live apart from the collegers, boarding in the houses of the lower master and the assistant masters, and in licensed lodging houses, kept by dames, male and female, situated in that part of Eton which is within the bounds of the college. During their school hours both collegers and oppidans mix indiscriminately together. These 820 boys are divided into two parts, the upper and the lower schools. The latter comprises about 100 of the youngest boys, to whose education the lower master and four assistant masters devote their time. The 720 boys of the upper school are taught by the head-master and by fifteen assistant masters. There is also a staff of extra masters, whose services can only be secured by extra payments of an exorbitant amount. This staff consisted in 1860 of seven arithmetical and mathematical masters, a French master\*, a German master, an

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\* In May, 1860, an assistant French master was added to this staff of extra masters.

Italian master, a drawing master, a fencing master, and a 'military instructor,' which, being interpreted, means, we suppose, a drill sergeant. But as, with the exception of a small portion of the instruction given by the arithmetical and mathematical masters, the studies directed by these extra masters form no portion of the regular business of the school, as the time devoted to them is deducted from the play hours, and as the scholastic position of their teachers is altogether inferior and subordinate to that of the classical assistants, it is almost superfluous to add that the important branches of education which they are supposed to cultivate, do not yet flourish very luxuriantly at Eton, although enormous sums of money are annually invested in them.

The classical instruction of the boys is thus carried on: every public classical master, with the exception of the head-master, is also a private tutor, and every boy is required to employ and to pay a private tutor. Every private tutor has his public class in school, in which there may be few or none of his private pupils. Every exercise, every map, every copy of verses a boy does is first submitted to the private tutor for inspection and correction, before it is carried into school for the inspection and approval of the public tutor of the remove to which its author belongs; every lesson said in the public school-room, with the exception of 'saying by heart,' is first gone through before the private tutor in his pupil-room. The private tutor undertakes to exercise peculiar care over every part of his pupil's education; to advise and assist him in his private reading; to guide him in all difficulties of conduct; and to communicate with his parents and with the other masters should anything be observed in his behaviour or habits needing notice or correction.

Admirable as the results of this double system of tuition might be, it is unquestionably a system which if really enforced would require the presence of an extraordinary number of masters; and we have stated that in 1860 there were but one head-master, who takes no private pupils, and fifteen assistant masters, to carry it out amongst the 720 boys, at that time in the upper school of Eton. It is utterly impossible that a public tutor, after having properly examined the exercises of a class of fifty or sixty boys, and after having heard them go through their various daily tasks, can betake himself to the overwhelming duties of a pupil-room containing from forty to seventy other boys, with that vigour and freshness of mind and body which are indispensable to ensure success in teaching; it is equally impossible that a private tutor, harassed and jaded by the daily and nightly preparation of from forty to seventy

boys of all ages and all stages of education, can bring three or four times a day into the public school-room the ‘*vivida vis animi*’ requisite to ascertain whether fifty or sixty boys—not his own private pupils—have or have not really learnt the lessons assigned to them as the regular business of the school.

We have no desire to see Eton—which from its favourable position, its influential connexions, its wealthy foundation, its picturesque buildings, and its historical recollections is, and always must remain, the leading school of England—a cheap school. But we do desire that it should not be unreasonably expensive; and that, in an Eton education, full money’s worth should be honestly given for all money paid. We have shown that such cannot be the case with respect to the extra masters, in consequence of the disadvantageous conditions under which they are at present compelled to teach; we will now endeavour briefly to give our reasons why such can hardly be the case with respect to the classical and mathematical masters of the school. The sum paid by every boy to his private tutor is ten guineas a year. But if a parent wishes his son—as most parents do—to receive the very best instruction the school can supply, he must submit to a second extra payment *to the same tutor* of ten guineas a year. For that second payment the tutor undertakes to devote to his pupil a portion of his ‘leisure time.’ Now the average number of pupils taught by each Eton master in 1860 was about forty-five; some tutors accepting payment for as many as seventy pupils. An Eton master discharging faithfully the duties of a public tutor in school, and undertaking out of school the private tuition of from forty to seventy private pupils, can hardly be supposed to have much ‘leisure time’ on his hands to bring to market. And if, under such circumstances, he accepts from the parents of one half of his ten guinea pupils the extra payment of ten guineas a year more per boy for extra instruction during his leisure time, we fear that he must either justly expose himself to the imputation of pretending to deal in an article which he has not got to sell, or that in bestowing extra attention on his twenty guinea boys, he must neglect those who only pay him ten guineas a year for tuition.

The same painful reflection suggests itself when we analyse the arithmetical and mathematical arrangements of the school. A staff of but seven masters is provided for those departments of study—by no means an excessive number, were they to bestow their whole time on the 820 boys they are supposed to teach, from each of whom they receive 4*l.* 18*s.* a year. But, if a parent wishes his son to receive the very best arithmetical and

mathematical instruction that Eton can supply, he must in this case also submit to a second extra payment *to the same tutors*. In consideration of this second extra payment, the seven arithmetical and mathematical masters also undertake to devote their leisure time to his son's advancement, and to repair, *out of school hours*, the shortcomings of their own teaching *in school hours*.

By similar reasoning the huntsman and whips of Her Majesty's stag hounds might draw their well-earned wages for passing the whole day on horseback; and on returning home at night, worn and wearied with the chase, might claim a right to feed the hounds and dress the hunters during their 'leisure hours,' in consideration of receiving, as extra wages, the money now paid to the fresh and vigorous feeders and strappers of the Royal Hunt. But however advantageous it might be in a pecuniary point of view to Mr. Davis and his assistants, we doubt whether under such an arrangement the horses and the hounds would take the field in the good condition which they at present exhibit; and we believe the existing scheme for the division and payment of labour in the stables and kennels of the Royal Hunt to be far better than that of the Royal College of Eton.

We had intended to have here given, for the information of parents, the detailed cost of an Eton education; but we have found, by inquiry at the Eton booksellers, that no prospectus or terms of the school are published 'on authority.' We have also ascertained, by examining a score of Eton bills, that the regular charges for board and tuition are swollen to an unconscionable amount, by a multitude and variety of extra charges, which we could not attempt to recapitulate, without the risk of falling into some slight inaccuracy which would be pounced upon by the Eton masters—*more solito*—in order to prove that all our statements concerning Eton were equally untrustworthy. We will, therefore, only mention, in order to illustrate the difficulties which stand in the way of ascertaining the nature and extent of the charges connected with Eton education, that a gentleman of our acquaintance having applied to his son's tutor to know what items were included under the head of 'school charges,' received the unsatisfactory reply that 'sundry small charges not usually detailed' were included under that head. Each boy pays about 5*l.* a year for 'school charges,' so that we have here a sum of 4100*l.* a year of which no account is rendered. The most preposterous amongst the extra charges which are detailed in the bills, appear to us to be those occasioned by the custom of compelling boys—whose average stay at the school is under

four years, and who may not remain there one—to purchase furniture for their own rooms. The custom of making valedictory presents of money to the head-master and the private tutors is an extra which we should gladly see abolished. It is all very well to plead that these payments are optional; but it is not difficult to see how by a little dexterous social management voluntary benevolences may virtually be transformed into compulsory payments; and the position in which the transaction places the master is a false and a degrading one—in which we should regret to see any man of spirit and character. We have also been much struck at the exorbitant amount of the booksellers' bills; but as we have no means of knowing whether those bills have been incurred for school books alone, or for 'leaving books,' a practice which enables the booksellers to dispose of a vast amount of worthless volumes of little value in tawdry array at a very remunerative price, we will do no more than indicate the impression which has been made upon us and will pass on to other matter.

The magisterial body at Eton have within the last few months expressed through various channels their high indignation at the unwarrantable interference which has been attempted with them; and without altogether denying the existence of the evils complained of, have evinced considerable impatience and astonishment at not being allowed to reform themselves in their own way and at their own time. The public have surely a right to plead, in apology for such interference, that there are few instances on record of corporate bodies having been reformed by themselves without external pressure; especially when the required reforms conflict directly with their pecuniary interests. They may also urge that in education, a credit system on either side is intolerable. A schoolmaster justly requires that his pupils' bills shall be promptly paid to his banker; a parent with equal justice may insist that his boy shall personally receive money's worth for money so paid. It is poor comfort to a man whose son has been neglected at the school, to learn that four Etonians have gained first classes at Oxford in that year, or that a Kingsman has won the Craven scholarship; still less consolatory to him will it be to hear that important educational improvements have been talked of for many years in the secret conclave of the college; and that although progress at such a school as Eton must necessarily be slow, it is more than probable that the education which his grandchildren will receive at that celebrated school will be an excellent one.

We believe, however, that in the conduct of this discussion a grave injustice has been done to Dr. Goodford, the present

head-master of Eton. It has been assumed that the management of the college rests with him; and that, if the improvements demanded by public opinion and by common sense have not been already carried out, the fault is his alone. This is not so. The government of Eton College rests solely and entirely with the provost and fellows; the head-master is but their hired servant, 'conductitius ac etiam remotivus,' and without the assent and support of his employers he is altogether powerless for good. We do not in the least dispute that the scheme of Eton education is much altered for the better since the days of Keate; but, unhappily, the machinery by which that scheme is to be carried out remains as weak as ever. No writer, not even Mr. Johnson, pretends to deny that the educating staff of the school is at the present moment, and always has been, insufficient; and it is evident that the most complex machinery can be of little avail unless adequate motive power is provided to propel it.

It is alleged in Mr. Johnson's pamphlet that the main obstruction to an immediate increase in the number of tutors at Eton consists in the fact that there are no houses to be found in which they can be lodged. We cannot attach any very great importance to this imaginary difficulty. However desirable it may be that every Eton master should reside near his work, there can surely be no reason why, *ad interim*, a dozen additional masters should not lodge in the town of Eton, or even in Windsor. Indeed; we understand that the fencing master of Eton, whose office, like that of the Lord High Chamberlain, appears to be hereditary, resides in London, and merely visits Eton once a week, arriving there late on Thursday evening and leaving early on Friday morning. With such a precedent as this, the college authorities can entertain no real objection to finding lodgings for a whole regiment of assistant masters within a mile of the school. Mr. Johnson also more justly pleads that there are not a sufficient number of schoolrooms for new assistants to occupy with their classes; and we know this to be the case: we know moreover that the mathematical school and the fencing room are private speculations, built by individuals with their own private funds, and that at the present moment two or more masters are also erecting boarding-houses on the college property under similar conditions.

These facts are very important. They at once guide us to the real obstacle which has hitherto baffled, and will continue to baffle, all attempts at improvement as long as it is suffered to exist at Eton. That obstacle is — vested interest.

If assistant masters and dames are allowed, in consideration of heavy fines, to hold their houses on long leases at nominal

rents, and are encouraged to expend their private resources in building improvements on the college property; if a mathematical master and a fencing master are suffered to run up speculatively a mathematical school and a *salle d'armes*; these persons all take root at Eton, and become, *de facto*, part and parcel of the foundation; and there they will remain for the term of their natural lives, if not bought out by incoming capitalists who desire to succeed to them. Thus we shall either see the purchase system introduced into the ranks of the Eton masters and dames, or else Latin and Greek, mathematics and fencing, will be taught by the sons and by the sons' sons of the present men in possession to our sons and to our sons' sons, until the end of time, although it is pretty generally admitted in the present day that hereditary service is seldom good service.

It will here be asked; what are the provost and fellows of Eton to do if the existing schoolrooms are overerowed, if the existing masters are over-worked, and if they have no funds at command to build new schoolrooms and to accommodate new masters? Are they to send round the begging-box again, as they did in 1843? Is the affection which all old Etonians bear towards the place where their earlier years were happily spent, to be again utilised in order to spare the college funds?

There is one simple and obvious way of meeting the existing difficulty, which, strangely enough, does not appear to have occurred to the Eton masters. It is, not to admit and accept payment for more pupils than they can properly accommodate and teach. And before the provost and fellows again resort to eleemosynary assistance, we would strongly recommend them to publish the accounts of the foundation. The transient glance which we obtained of those accounts in 1818 has engendered in our bosoms a pardonable craving for more information on that interesting subject. What has become of the property settled on the college by the pious munificence of Henry VI.? To how much do its revenues amount in 1861? How are they appropriated?

We know that in 1504 the college revenues amounted to 652*l.*; we know that in 1817 they had increased to about 14,000*l.* a year, and that in 1860 there is every probability that they exceeded 20,000*l.* In other words, we know that they have augmented about thirty-fold during the last 350 years. If these revenues have been fairly dealt with, the chest assigned by the statutes for the reception of surplus funds should be full to overflowing; and no more statutable application could be made of its contents than to employ them 'in increasing and augmenting the college, and for the common use and con-



'venience of all its members.'\* Commodious houses and school-rooms ought to be forthwith built for the boys; Messrs. Hawtrey's and Angelo's private speculations ought to be superseded by spacious mathematical schools and gymnasia; and above all, the upper, lower, and assistant masters ought to be the salaried servants of the governing body of the college, as the founder has expressly directed, instead of depending on an illicit capitation tax fraudulently levied on the boys, on the forced benevolences of entrance fees and leaving money, and on other small and doubtful pickings. Were this latter arrangement carried out, we suspect that we should hear little more of the anxiety of Eton tutors to teach single-handed forty, fifty, sixty, and even seventy boys; nor would those gentlemen resist a proposal to augment their numbers and to lighten their labours in the ungentle and unreasonable spirit which they are now exhibiting.

But this is, unhappily, a Utopian dream. The increment chest has long been empty; notwithstanding the vast increase which has taken place in the revenues of the college, the decrease which has been effected in the ecclesiastical department of the foundation, and the parsimony—not to call it by a harsher and more appropriate name—with which the scholars have been and still are treated. No surplus remains: indeed, the accounts of 1817 actually exhibit the curious spectacle of the provost and fellows of Eton lending money to 'Domus,' in order to enable 'Domus' to pay its weekly bills.

We know so little of the internal arrangements of Eton even now, that we cannot positively say whether its visitors ever inquire into its management as they are in duty bound to do. We suspect, however, that they do not. And until the governing body—the heart of the school—be reformed, we

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\* 'Ordinantes præterea, quod singulis annis, oncribus dicti nostri Regalis Collegii juxta ordinationes et statuta ejusdem convenienter supportatis, quod residuum fuerit de fructibus redditibus et proveniuntibus ipsius collegii nostri, ad utilitatem et commodum ejusdem integraliter conservetur, ac bene et fideliter in dicta archa secundæ domus predictæ fideliter reponatur et custodiatur securius in eadem.'—Stat. xxxv.

'Item, quod bona et catalla dicti collegii ad commodum et utilitatem ejusdem, prout necessitas evidens exegerit, ac statuta et ordinationes dicti illustrissimi principis in hac parte dictaverint, administram eaque procurabo et faciam utiliter et fideliter ab aliis ministrari: et quæ residua fuerint et excrescent conservabo et faciam ad incrementum dicti Regalis Collegii et commodum fideliter conservari.'—The Provost's oath, stat. vii.

very much fear that it will be in vain to look for any general reform in the rest of the establishment. When Mr. Johnson penned the oracular sentence that 'there are reasons, obvious enough to Etonians, which make it undesirable to dwell on the hindrances in the way of the physical or structural enlargement of the school,' he evidently pointed in the direction which we have taken the liberty to explore: he must clearly have had in his mind the empty increment chest of the college, and the bursting pockets of the provost and fellows. We thank him heartily for the hint which he thus gave us, and trust that we have earned his approval by the use which we have made of it.

We will now say a few words on the subject of the Eton masters themselves, past and present. These gentlemen are, we believe, almost always selected from King's; that is to say, out of twenty-one masters now at Eton, about sixteen are Kingsmen, as well as the provost and six out of the seven fellows. It is admitted that until lately the fellows of King's College were not generally of a stamp calculated to furnish first-rate masters for any school. They entered Eton when mere children by favour; they were grossly neglected and ill educated whilst they remained there; they were elected to King's by seniority; and when at Cambridge they kept aloof from the general society and studies of the place, and living in a college notorious for the laxity of its discipline and the idleness of its members, encountered none of the public examinations of the university. Returning to Eton at four or five and twenty years of age as assistant masters, without any knowledge of the world or experience in tuition, they were at once entrusted with the instruction of two or three times as many boys as the most practised and accomplished schoolmaster would have attempted to educate elsewhere. Having themselves learnt at Eton and Cambridge nothing but Latin and Greek, they could teach nothing else, and they consequently despised and decried all other branches of learning. In due course of time other collegers, as carelessly educated by such teachers, became in their turn assistant masters at Eton themselves, whilst their immediate predecessors undertook, as provost and fellows, the government of the college; and thus the vicious circle has been perpetuated from age to age. It is indeed a matter well worthy of consideration, how far the narrow and faulty teaching thus provided, until very recently, for the leading public school of England, may have tainted the general scheme of upper class education which still obtains throughout the country. That there were occasionally brilliant and signal exceptions amongst

the class we have described, it would be absurd and dishonest to deny ; but that the sketch which we have here traced of the Eton masters of bygone days is on the whole a fair one, is confirmed by the evidence not only of Sir John Coleridge and of Sir Edward Creasy, but of Mr. Johnson himself.

The regeneration of the collegers in 1843 brought about a new and a better state of things at King's College. The best pupils amongst the Eton oppidans entered college by competition ; their conduct whilst at Eton was carefully looked to by the assistant master especially entrusted with their supervision ; by competition they were promoted to King's, and on reaching Cambridge they entered the schools, as all other Cambridge students did, and competed openly, and with remarkable success, for the honours and prizes of the University.\* There is no reason now why King's should not supply a fair proportion of excellent masters for Eton, although the preference still conceded to Kingsmen, which almost amounts to a monopoly, must undoubtedly be disadvantageous to the school. Even at present the assistant masters of Eton come from King's young mēn, unpractised in tuition, perhaps rather unduly elevated by their successes at Cambridge, and knowing little or nothing of the outer world, or of the real value of the conventional accomplishments on which they pride themselves. On reaching Eton they find themselves at once raised to a position which enables them to carry their heads high amongst the society of the place, they are seldom called upon to assign reasons for their conduct, or to submit to contradiction or refutation in argument. Whether they succeed or fail as tutors they remain at Eton as long as it suits them to do so ; and the great demand which exists for first-rate upper-class education, coupled with the fact, adverted to by Mr. Johnson, that few people are competent to estimate schools at their real value, and that the multitude are therefore necessitated to trust to reputation or fashion in selecting them, enables the Eton masters to treat with the parents of their pupils almost on terms of superiority and indifference. We conceive that under all these circumstances much indulgence ought to be shown towards them if, in expressing their views on the important subject at present under public consideration, they do not exhibit all the

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\* It has been stated by Dr. Goodford in a printed letter circulated by him in December, 1860, but marked 'private,' that seven out of the twenty-one masters of Eton are men who have distinguished themselves at college ; and that one of them had had some previous experience in tuition prior to his appointment.

courtesy for those who differ from them that might reasonably be expected from gentlemen of education and character, such as they undoubtedly are. It were much to be wished, too, that they were selected from a wider area, and that the near relationship which exists between so many of the governing body of the school and the assistant masters were not permitted, as is too often the case, to operate seriously to the detriment of the Eton boys.\*

We do not propose on the present occasion to enter upon a minute examination of the educational system of Eton, or of its practical results. That subject would in itself require as much space as we have been able to allot to the constitution of the college, and it deserves to be considered by itself. At the risk of giving offence to the authorities of the school, we will, however, venture to affirm that even in classical learning, which forms the sole claim of the college to scholastic distinction, Eton has no pretensions to the highest rank in critical scholarship. Its grammar is a mass of monkish doggerel, its school-books consist mainly of extracts, compiled long ago without much taste or judgment. They are expensive, deficient in notes, and incorrect in text. By a recent measure of Dr. Goodford sixty-five of the upper boys are now permitted to read Thucydides and the Greek tragedies, Cicero and Tacitus, under the eye of the head-master, but the rest of the school is still denied even the free range of classical literature. In all other respects it is admitted that the school is lamentably deficient; the amount of mathematics required at Eton is admitted by the masters themselves to be contemptible, and the mode in which geography, history, modern languages, and English composition are taught there must be regarded as a nullity or a farce. In one word, a boy may leave Eton with credit and yet be quite unable to pass the common tests of the Civil Service Examiners. His Latin versification may be exquisite, but he

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\* The relations of King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College, have necessarily fallen under the cognisance of the Cambridge University Commissioners, who have had to consider the endowments and constitution of at least one of these magnificent establishments. It is sufficient here to state that with an income of at least 25,000*l.* a year, the number of under-graduates entered annually at King's has varied from *five* to *twelve*. The fellowships have hitherto been close endowments. By throwing open half of the scholarships, a highly beneficial change will undoubtedly be wrought on Eton. But we regret that the Commissioners do not appear to have conceived that Eton College itself fell within the scope of their inquiry.

may be unable to cipher, to spell, to name the principal rivers of the globe, or to write his mother tongue with ease and correctness. Latin versification, we must be permitted to repeat, is a slender provision for a young man who has to make his way in the world, and the probability is that his first care on leaving the station at Slough will be to forget his longs and shorts for the remainder of his life. Setting aside Latin and Greek, we are in a position to affirm, on very competent authority, that the general education to be had in the pauper school of the Slough union is considerably better and more useful to all sorts and conditions of men than the education to be had at Eton College.

The last subject upon which we shall touch in the present article is the alleged luxury and extravagance of an Eton boy's life. Hitherto the Eton masters have been in the habit of throwing the blame of it on the parents, and of declaring that the rulers of the school were powerless to contend against the corrupting influences of home. We have always held that this view of the case was an unfair one, and that a parent would have a hard battle to fight against his son and his son's tutor on the subject of 'what is always done at Eton.' Mr. Johnson, to his credit be it said, is perfectly open and honest in his mode of dealing with the subject. He candidly avows that Eton is a luxurious school, and maintains that it is fit that it should be so. But he shall speak for himself:—

'If there is luxuriousness amongst Etonians, fair allowance being made for the influence of the age they live in, let the blame rest on the masters. But it is not at all certain that there is. The truth seems to be that Eton is like Athens, not like Sparta. The expenditure of an Eton boy is much more on games and society than on anything else; it is his activity, not his sloth, that makes him *draw on his father*. Games, as every one knows, are to schools what military and naval affairs are to nations, and the progress of civilisation makes them more and more costly. • *Cricket is a sort of profession, and draws away as much money as the study of an art or a science*. Football, which is almost universal, is cheap and hardy enough for a Spartan. Swimming is as universal and as cheap as football. *Boating is decidedly costly*, though the most costly forms of the amusement, or rather the occupation, are limited to the few. *There is a good deal of outlay on the annual fêtes connected with boating, which give more pleasure to a greater number of people than any other entertainment that could be devised*. In none of these charges, *though they swell the bills*, do we find selfish luxury. All this outlay savours of vigour and public spirit. *But there are some convivialities that remind us of the "Harchester age," still kept up by the boys, and with no little misgiving*. They are too conservative to abolish these forced merry-makings; but, if they were to vote by ballot, there would hardly be a majority for keeping them

up. Then there is something like a club, *timed and fashionable*, involving the expenditure of 3*l.* a year for each of its twenty-eight members. In this, perhaps, an austere censor might detect a divan too soft for *mouthful* limbs and an appliance of cream laid paper. . . . Over and above these claims on an active boy's finances, *there is a very natural taste for the decoration of one's private apartment.* How can you object to his making a home of it, and *filling it with signs of taste and refinement?* Would it not be an usurpation if a tutor were to enforce a sumptuary law against ornaments on the chimney piece or prints on the wall? Opinions may differ as to easy chairs, but let us be tolerant; it is an age of comfort, and the lounging of a school boy no more disqualifies *them* from bearing pain in a football crush, *than do the saloons of Pall Mall unfit our warriors for the trenches.*

This passage needs no word of comment from us. We will merely warn parents that it is written by one of the most distinguished of the Eton masters of the present day respecting boys who are almost all under sixteen years of age. When we are told that these are luxurious times, and that parents prefer that their children should be surrounded with luxury from their earliest years, it is very difficult to disprove the assertion. Nevertheless, we firmly believe that the majority of parents wince and groan under the extravagance of Eton, and would gladly see it abated, if they knew how to bring about such a reform. But a father with a boy at or about to enter the school, and with other sons growing up, is in no position to undertake the unenviable task of a public school reformer. The results of such Quixotism might be fatal to the future success in life of his children, even if he attained his object, which he probably would not do. It is indeed a hard case if a youth cannot participate in the many advantages which ought, under improved conditions, to attend an Eton education unless his parents are prepared to pay for all the Athenian luxuries so enthusiastically described by Mr. Johnson.

Yet we are sanguine enough to believe that reform in this respect is imminent, and that it will proceed from a high quarter from which the public has already received many benefits, thoughtfully and unostentatiously bestowed. It is not long since Wellington College was inaugurated, in honour of the memory of the late Duke of Wellington, under the auspices of the Prince Consort. In a healthy and thinly populated district, not very far from Eton, a convenient fabric has been erected with funds raised by public subscription, calculated to accommodate 400 boys and the necessary masters and servants. The object of this foundation is to afford a good general education to the sons of deceased officers in Her Majesty's

army, and also to the sons of any civilians who may be disposed to send them thither, who are admitted, at an increased rate of payment, to the benefits of the school. The boys on the foundation pay 10*l.*, 15*l.*, or 20*l.* a year, as the governors of the College may determine in each case at the time of their election with reference to the circumstances of their surviving parent or guardian. Other boys, not on the foundation, pay, if the sons of officers in the army, 80*l.* a year; if the sons of civilians, 110*l.* a year. This annual charge includes board, education, stationery, medical attendance, washing, two suits of uniform a year, and a great coat once in two years. The education given is of a general character, and includes in the subjects of instruction—1. What is usually understood by a thorough English and classical education; 2. Those branches of scientific knowledge which have a special application to the arts, commerce, and industry of the country; 3. Drawing; 4. Modern languages. No boy is admitted before the age of eleven years, and no foundation scholar can be received above the age of thirteen, or can remain in the college beyond the age of sixteen, except in special cases, to be determined by the governors. The religious worship and teaching of the school are to be according to the doctrine and principles of the Church of England, but attendance on such worship and teaching will not be required of those boys whose guardians may object on the grounds of religious dissent. When the buildings are completed the college will accommodate 400 boys, each of whom will have a separate sleeping apartment. The domestic arrangements are made on such a liberal scale that the junior boys are in no case required to wait upon the seniors, and the food provided for the school is unlimited in quantity, and of the very best quality. The administration of this foundation is presided over by the Prince Consort. The Earl of Derby is its vice-president, and amongst its governors are his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Herbert of Lea, and many of the foremost men of the day.

In entering upon these details we need scarcely explain that we have no intention of doing anything so foolish or so mischievous as to attempt to establish any rivalry or comparison between Wellington College and Eton. We might as reasonably compare the young plantations with which the one has recently been surrounded with the venerable timber which adorns the picturesque buildings of King Henry's ancient foundation. The condition of these schools, which are both at the present moment full to overflowing, proves that they can

co-exist without injuring each other; and we sincerely desire that Eton may continue to be, what it has always been, the leading public school of England. But we are of opinion that the Eton authorities may learn a good deal that may be creditable and useful to them, and advantageous to the time-honoured establishment over which they preside, if they will take into consideration some points connected with their new neighbours. They may ascertain by examining the lists of the Wellington College that the boys already at that school and those whose names are entered for admission when room can be made for them, are precisely of the same social class as those who are now being educated at Eton. They may ascertain by the same lists that the gentlemen entrusted with the tuition of the Wellington scholars are of precisely the same social and academical class as are the assistant masters now at Eton. They may ascertain what manner of education such enlightened noblemen and gentlemen as those who constitute the governors of Wellington College believe to be best adapted to the requirements of the present day; and, above all, they may learn that, in the opinion of those distinguished men, many of whom have already sent their own sons and relations to the school, the exorbitant spirit of luxury and expense which now obtains at Eton is both unnecessary and undesirable. They will find that the charge for education at Wellington College—110*l.* a year, comprises every item which is charged for at Eton as an extra, and if they will analyse some of these charges—medical attendance, diet, and washing for instance—they will find that the boys at Wellington College are dealt with as liberally and as considerately as the sons of the best noblemen and gentlemen of England ought to be.

But before any material improvements can possibly be effected at Eton, it is absolutely necessary that the financial position of the foundation should be inquired into. The visitors of the college—the present Archbishop of Canterbury and the present Bishop of Lincoln—are the parties whose duty it would be to undertake this disagreeable office, were the action of visitors in the present age either probable or possible. The Eton statutes provide carefully and completely for such visitatorial supervision. The Archbishop of Canterbury is enjoined, in order that ‘*omnia et singula ordinationes et statuta dicti nostri Regalis Collegii per nos edita et edenda plene et efficaciter imperpetuum observentur, bonaque omnia hujusmodi fideliter conserventur discretiusque regantur,*’ to visit Eton College whenever he himself or his commissioners visit the diocese of Lincoln; whilst the Bishop of Lincoln is directed



to visit the college as often as he is called upon to do so, by the provost, the vice-provost, and the two bursars; or by the whole body of the fellows; or by a majority of that body; and, at all events, to make a visitation once in every three years, and ascertain that the statutes are carried out to the letter. The visitors are authorised to punish or even to expel any delinquent member of the foundation from the provost downwards; and for their expenses the statutes prescribe that the Archbishop of Canterbury shall receive on each visitation, out of the college treasury, either the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* or else meat and drink for himself and forty men and horses; the Bishop of Lincoln 5*l.* or 'provisionem in esculentis et pocu-  
'lentis pro se et triginta personis et totidem equis.'

At the time that Mr. Brougham was pressing for an inquiry into the charitable trusts of England connected with education, a great and a successful effort was made by his opponents to exempt from the jurisdiction of the Charity Commission the universities, the public schools, and generally all charities having especial visitors or overseers. The alleged ground of this exemption was, that such special visitors were the persons appointed by the founders as their perpetual representatives to protect the interests of their foundations, and to inquire into the due execution of their bequests, and that it was unnecessary to invest a commission with extraordinary power for that purpose, whilst the parties selected by the will of the donors were able to carry out their intentions. But this argument, however plausible in theory, has failed utterly in practice. The visitors, upon whose vigilance and energy such reliance has been placed, are generally men of high station and advanced years, fully engaged in, and often wearied with, and broken down by, the business of life; knowing nothing of, deriving no advantage from, and consequently taking little interest in, the establishments of which they unwillingly find themselves the ex-officio guardians, and seldom over-anxious to adventure upon expensive litigation and to create for themselves enemies amongst the powerful and the prosperous, by officiously interfering on behalf of the friendless and the weak. Indeed, Mr. Brougham's Committee reported that the worst abuses of trust that had been brought under their cognizance, had occurred in charities under the superintendence of special visitors. We fear, therefore, that it is not to the action of visitors that the public must look for redress in the present instance; for the visiting department of King Henry's machinery has become quite as rusty and as worthless as the rest of his well-meant arrangements for

endowing his intentions with the force of unchangeable stability.

● That the statutes of such a foundation as Eton College should be carried out to the letter in the present day is, we admit, neither possible or desirable; but it is both possible and desirable that the enormous revenues, willed by an English king for the promotion of education amongst the upper and middle classes of this country, should not be illegally diverted from their original destination into the pockets of a small number of individuals who are not entitled to them; and that the secrecy in which, for decency's sake, they persist in veiling their operations, should no longer be permitted to obstruct and cramp the liberal education of those very classes for whose benefit the pious munificence of their founder assigned them.

The principles acted upon, with great public advantage by the Commissions which have reformed most of the great academical endowments of Oxford and of Cambridge, are, that the statutes of founders are to be upheld and enforced wherever they conduce to the grand objects of the foundations, but that they are to be modified wherever they require a closer adaptation to the wants of modern society. It is impossible to dispute the application of the same doctrine of justice and good policy to our public schools. It is not even pretended that any obscure or doubtful passage in the Eton statutes justifies the application now made of the property of that foundation. No doubt such misapplication of these funds as was shown in 1818 to exist, and which probably still exists, might very properly claim the ex-officio interference of the attorney-general, and the details of income and expenditure might be thoroughly investigated under the authority of the Court of Chancery. But considering that Eton is a great national institution, and that the charges brought against the governing body of the college are not urged against them as wrong doers in their individual capacity, but as the representatives of a corrupt system, we should be sorry to narrow this question to the dimensions of a suit in equity. We have lately been reminded that about one-sixth of the present House of Commons, and certainly no inconsiderable portion of the British peerage, owe their education to Eton; and it is of incalculable importance to the upper classes of the nation, and through them to the whole community, that the education of Eton should be the best that can be supplied. We well know that Eton boys are early imbued with those qualities of spirit, honour, and endurance which mould and mark the character of English gentlemen. God forbid it should be

otherwise. But nothing save the grossest prejudice can contend that the spirit of the school will necessarily be lowered or impaired, if its studies and its internal arrangements are extended and improved. Eton has hitherto flourished in spite of abuses which would probably have crushed a less powerful foundation. Will any one in these days assert that she has flourished by these abuses, or that she will flourish less when they are rooted out?

The only remedy adequate to the case is a Royal Commission, armed—by Parliament if necessary—with full visitatorial powers, which ought to comprehend within its range the other great public schools of Westminster, Winchester, Harrow, and Rugby. These are no longer monastic establishments or private corporations; they are the great seminaries of learning in this land, and their welfare and progress concerns in the highest degree the Empire itself. A mere disclosure of the true history and conditions of each of these foundations would go far to remedy the evil; for we venture to affirm that when the whole truth is before the country, public opinion will demand with irresistible force the reform of a system of abuses so injurious to the public interests. For the advantage of Eton and her sister colleges, we cordially rejoice that this inquiry has begun; and we doubt not that it will end by giving new life and increased power to the most venerable and popular seat of English education.

ART. V. — 1. *Œuvres et Correspondance inédites d'Alexis de Tocqueville, publiées et précédées d'une Notice.* Par GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT, Membre de l'Institut. 2 tomes. Paris: 1860.

2. *Discours de réception à l'Académie Française.* Par le R. P. H. D. LACORDAIRE, des Frères Prêcheurs, le 24 Janvier, 1861. Paris.

3. *Discours de M. Guizot, Directeur de l'Académie Française, en réponse au Discours prononcé par M. Lacordaire pour sa réception à l'Académie Française.* Paris: 1861.

A DOMINICAN monk, whose eloquence has for the first time raised a Brother of his Order to a seat in the Academy of France, — an historian and statesman to whom in politics Alexis de Tocqueville had been habitually opposed, — a friend who had shared for thirty years his affections, his thoughts, and almost every incident of his life, have within the last few weeks pronounced and recorded their homage to this illustrious and virtuous man, whose premature death is an irreparable loss to letters, to his country, to those who loved him, and to the age.

Nothing is more diverse than the points from which these eminent persons approached their common subject, — nothing more unlike than the distinctive features most attractive to each of them in M. de Tocqueville's character; yet such was the simplicity, the truth, the native beauty of his mind, that voices of different tones blend in perfect harmony over his tomb, and the monument which adorns it, though raised by many hands, is of one conception and design. Perhaps of the three writers whose names we have cited, Father Lacordaire has best succeeded in tracing and expressing, by the light of his own genius, the extraordinary elevation and moral dignity of M. de Tocqueville's life. The part M. Guizot had to perform in his official capacity as the Director of the French Academy, was of a more modest kind; and with his usual good taste he confined himself to it, dwelling less on the circumstances which had separated him from M. de Tocqueville in public life than on the principles which united them in a common love of literature, philosophy, and freedom. But M. de Beaumont's biographical notice of his friend, accompanied as it is by a selection from his private letters and by some unpublished fragments of his works, is by far the most valuable memorial we as yet possess of him. M. de Beaumont has executed this task with a conscientious desire to present to the world a fair and accurate portrait of the man he loved. He has abstained from needless and intrusive

panegyric. He has contented himself with a guarded selection from the papers placed in his hands. He has carefully avoided all that could wound personal sensitiveness, and he has performed a very difficult part with skill and good taste. The book has excited a degree of attention in France not commonly bestowed in these days upon publications of so serious a character, an edition of 4000 copies having been rapidly sold; and we have no doubt that it will retain its place as one of the most valuable contributions to modern biography.

But whilst we share the gratification which this publication has excited, and we rejoice to mark so strong a disposition in France to do honour to the exalted qualities of a man who lived above his age, it must in candour be admitted that M. de Beaumont has not escaped all the inconveniences of contemporary biography. When the life of a distinguished man is written within a few months of his death by those who have enjoyed his intimacy, there is a risk that the private incidents of his domestic circle will assume an excessive degree of importance, whilst the principles which regulated his public conduct, and even the public events in which he took part, cannot be fully and completely explained. No one will read without affectionate interest the expressions, which abound in these volumes, of Alexis de Tocqueville's devotion to his wife, his father, and his friends. In these relations he was a model of tenderness and fidelity; and happily for himself, the ties of domestic life and of friendship filled a larger space in his existence than the pursuit of literary fame or the efforts of political ambition. But posterity, regarding him as one of the most profound thinkers and accomplished writers of this century, will naturally look rather to his public life than to his private virtues. And in this respect the volumes before us leave the tale of his life untold.

He exclaimed in early youth to his intimate friend, who is now his biographer: '*Il n'y a pas à dire, c'est l'homme politique qu'il faut faire en nous.*' His studies, his journeys, his pursuits were already directed to a life of political action. He engaged in politics with matchless ardour, and with an ambition the more intense that it was absolutely free from the slightest taint of personal interest. He pursued this noble enterprise for fifteen years, in the contests of parliamentary debate, in the paroxysms of revolution, in the ranks of a constituent assembly, in the service of the President of the Republic, and in the direction of the department of foreign affairs. He witnessed the catastrophe which extinguished the liberties of his country, and realised the darkest of his own marvellous predictions; but sub-

jection to despotic power wasted him like an incurable disease, and amongst the causes which doubtless contributed to exhaust his delicate and sensitive frame, was the ever-recurring thought that he who survives the freedom and the dignity of his country has already lived too long. Some traces of these feelings may be found in M. de Beaumont's volumes; indeed, they pervade every letter in the latter portion of this collection: but of the political events and opinions connected with these passionate sentiments we find scarcely any record. Since the Revolution of February 1848 a thick darkness has settled over the history of the French nation. Men have learned to whisper their opinions. The former divisions of party appear ludicrous and mischievous, when they are measured by that great chasm which yawns between Imperial despotism and constitutional freedom. Those who, like M. de Tocqueville himself, have actually written a record of the political events in which they took part, bury their manuscripts or deposit them in foreign countries, till better times shall vindicate the rights of history. Thus although we cannot admit that the life of such a man as Tocqueville has been adequately written, as long as the strongest of his opinions and the most notable of his actions are past over in silence, we must be content for the present with what M. de Beaumont has given us, and with the promise that at some future period Tocqueville's political correspondence will also be made known to the world.

On the other hand, it is perfectly true that the private details of M. de Tocqueville's birth, parentage, and connexions which are to be found in these volumes powerfully contribute to explain the true bearing of his political opinions; and this is the chief result which the public can draw from so uneventful a biography. It is not, however, an unimportant result, if it removes a misconception which has very generally prevailed as to the spirit and design of his principal writings. Because M. de Tocqueville based his literary and political reputation on the study of democracy and democratic institutions, it was hastily inferred that these institutions were the object of his own predilections. Because he described with perfect impartiality the means by which the American people appeared to have succeeded in combining a highly democratic state of society with a free and regular government, it was supposed that M. de Tocqueville carried a love of democracy to the length of republicanism. Even among some of his intimate friends an opinion existed that his political principles had in them something extreme and revolutionary, and his own family, ardently attached to the royalist party in France, were half alarmed at the

audacity and the fame of the most illustrious member of their house. The truth is, that his celebrated book on American democracy had, as M. Guizot remarks in his address, the singular good fortune to find equal favour in the eyes of opposite parties. It was hailed with equal satisfaction by the ardent friends of democracy and by those who dread the exclusive predominance of democratic power. The former were gratified by M. de Tocqueville's admission of the preponderance of this great element in modern societies, and by his prediction of its future dominion over the world; the latter were no less struck by the acuteness with which he pointed out its tendency to favour absolute government, and to degrade the noblest faculties of man. His doctrine of the universal extension of social equality was applauded by Mr. Mill and Mr. Grote; his doctrine of the tyranny of democratic majorities was quoted with extraordinary effect by Sir Robert Peel, when he was laying the foundations of the great party of conservative resistance, after the popular movement of 1832. But no party objects whatever entered into the mind of M. de Tocqueville himself. Even in this controversy, which may be said to have formed the business of his life, because he saw more clearly than any other man that the fate and freedom of the world depend on it, he maintained an inviolable impartiality, the more difficult and meritorious that his personal sympathies inclined to the cause of aristocracy, although the result of his profound political observations led him to believe that the cause of aristocratic government was irreparably lost, and that democracy must hereafter be mistress of the world. This apparent contradiction was perfectly well explained by himself in a letter to his friend Stoffels, which deserves to be cited. Stoffels had imagined that the tendency of his theories was radical and almost revolutionary; he replied that his love of liberty was tempered by so great a respect for justice, and so genuine a love of law and order, that he might fairly pass for a Liberal of a new sort, not to be confounded with most of the democrats of the time.

‘The political object of the work is this: I have sought to show what a democratic people is in our days, and by this delineation, executed with rigorous accuracy, my design has been to produce a twofold effect on my cotemporaries. To those who make to themselves an ideal democracy, a brilliant vision which they think it easy to realise, I undertake to show that they have arrayed their picture in false colours; that the democratic government they advocate, if it be of real advantage to those who can support it, has not the lofty features they ascribe to it; and, moreover, that this government can only be maintained on certain conditions of intelligence, private morality, and religious faith, which we do not possess; and that its

political results are not to be obtained without labour. To those for whom the word "democracy" is synonymous with disturbance, anarchy, spoliation and murder, I have attempted to show that the government of democracy may be reconciled with respect for property, with deference for rights, with safety to freedom, with reverence to religion; that if democratic government is less favourable than another to some of the finer parts of human nature, it has also great and noble elements; and that perhaps, after all, it is the will of God to shed a lesser grade of happiness on the totality of mankind, not to combine a greater share of it on a smaller number, or to raise the few to the verge of perfection. I have undertaken to demonstrate to them that whatever their opinion on this point may be, it is too late to deliberate, that society is advancing and dragging them along with itself towards equality of conditions; that the sole remaining alternative lies between evils henceforth inevitable; that the question is not whether aristocracy or democracy can be maintained, but whether we are to live under a democratic society devoid indeed of poetry and greatness, but at least orderly and moral, or under a democratic society, lawless and depraved, abandoned to the frenzy of revolution, or subjected to a yoke heavier than any of those which have crushed mankind since the fall of the Roman Empire. I have sought to calm the ardour of the former class of persons, and, without discouragement, to point out the only path before them. I have sought to allay the terrors of the latter, and to bend their minds to the idea of an inevitable future, so that with less impetuosity on the one hand, and less resistance on the other, the world may advance more peaceably to the necessary fulfilment of its destiny. This is the fundamental idea of the book; an idea which connects all its other ideas in a single web, and which you ought to have discerned more clearly than you have done. There are, however, as yet very few persons who understand it. Many people of opposite opinions are pleased with it, not because they understand me, but because they find in my book, considered on one side only, certain arguments favourable to their own passion of the moment. But I have confidence in the future, and I hope the day will come when everybody will see clearly what a few only perceive at present.' (Vol. i. p. 427.)

Perhaps even now that day predicted by the author has not yet entirely arrived. The book itself, far from having suffered from the lapse of a quarter of a century, has gained in authority and interest from the inexhaustible depth, the unflinching truth, and the extraordinary foresight which are its characteristics. It is, and it will remain, by far the greatest work of political philosophy of this age, for it embraces futurity itself, and that with no uncertain range.\* But the world has not yet entirely taken the full measure of it, and the deeper insight which these biographical details may give into the purpose of the author are of great assistance to a more thorough comprehension of his design.



In a letter to one of his English friends, Mr. Henry Reeve, he expresses with greater precision his own personal relations to the undertaking:—

‘People want to make me a party man, which I am not. They ascribe to me passions when I have only opinions,—or rather but one passion, the love of freedom and of human dignity. All forms of government are in my eyes but means to satisfy this sacred and lawful passion of man. Democratic and aristocratic prejudices are alternately ascribed to me. I should perhaps have had these or those had I been born in another century or in another country; but the accident of my birth has easily enabled me to defend myself against either tendency. I came into the world at the end of a long revolution, which, after having destroyed the former state of things, had created nothing lasting in its place. Aristocracy was already dead when I began to live, and democracy was not yet in existence. No instinct, therefore, impelled me blindly towards one or the other. I was an inhabitant of a country which had been for forty years trying everything and stopping definitively at nothing. I was not, therefore, easily addicted to political illusions. Belonging myself to the old aristocracy of my country, I had no natural hatred or jealousy of aristocracy; nor had I any natural love of it, for people only attach themselves to what is in existence. I was near enough to judge it with knowledge, far enough to judge it without passion. The same may be said of the democratic element. No interest gave me a natural or necessary propensity to democracy; nor had democracy inflicted on me any personal injury. I had no particular motive to love it or to hate it, independently of my own reason. In a word, I was so well balanced between the past and the future, that I did not feel myself naturally and instinctively drawn towards one or the other, and it was no great effort to me to take a tranquil survey of both sides.’ (Vol. ii. p. 70.)

The maintenance of this state of philosophical impartiality, widely remote from indifference, was one of the great objects of M. de Tocqueville through life, and it is one of the finest qualities of his writings. He was, as an ingenious member of our confraternity expresses it, essentially ‘binocular;’ he saw correctly, because he saw the object in two positions at once, the angle of one point of vision correcting the obliquity of the other. But we are rather inclined to attribute this singular rectitude of judgment to the skill with which he preserved the balance between his sympathies and his understanding than to the absence of those passions to which other men are more apt to yield. A few details of his earlier life will explain our meaning.

The family of Clere], or, as it was anciently spelt, Clarel, has been established for many centuries in the peninsula of the Cotentin, on the Norman coast, and the village and lands of

Tocqueville give them their territorial designation. The Clerels figure in the roll of Battle Abbey, among the companions of the Conqueror, for an extraordinary number of the gallant Norman adventurers who overran Britain, and filled the world with their exploits, drew their first breath in some manor-house of this district. Tradition indeed relates that the village of Tocqueville owed its name to a Norman chief, or sea rover, called Toki, whose tumulus may still be seen on the high ground above the chateau: and certainly this point commands a vast range of sea and land of no common historic interest—hard by, Barfleur, now a neglected port, but once famous in the annals of English royalty and English wars; to the east, the Hogue; to the west, Cherbourg. On this spot the seigneurs of Tocqueville have dwelt for many generations, leading the life of the country gentlemen of France before the Revolution, always ready to pay their debt to their country with their blood, for their descendant relates in one of these letters that his grandfather and his great uncle perished on the field of battle or died of their wounds; seeking their amusements in field sports or in the neighbouring county town of Valognes; proud of their gentle descent, though not entitled to be ranked among the highest order of the French nobility. Their actual residence at Tocqueville dates from about 250 years ago. Before that time the Clerels lived on an estate at Rampan near St. Lô, and the family was known as Clerel de Rampan. Several of the Seigneurs de Rampan figure in the annals of the Parliament of Rouen in the seventeenth century; and as the spirit and learning of the French provincial magistracy—the old Parliamentary spirit—was the very salt of the nation, before the Revolution of 1789, it may be said that Alexis de Tocqueville inherited the qualities for which this order of men was justly conspicuous. But when he himself went to the bar, an old country neighbour, well versed in Norman pedigrees, the Countess de Blangy, who had inherited the domain of the Abbé St. Pierre in the same district, said to the young *stagiaire*, ‘Souvenez vous, Monsieur, que votre famille a toujours été de la noblesse d’épée.’ She was right in point of fact. The Clerels had always been soldiers, and long before 1789 the family bore the title of Count. That title, subsequently conferred by Louis XVIII. on the father of Alexis, was no more than the recognition of an ancient distinction. It is still borne by the elder brother and representative of the House, but Alexis himself always refused to adopt it, and he mentions in one of his letters to Madame Swéchine, that titles

had long ago lost in his estimation and in France all meaning and all value.

The Chateau de Tocqueville consisted originally of what might be termed, north of the Tweed, a peel-house, flanked by a huge tower of enormous solidity, and this part of the edifice is probably as old as the battle of Agincourt. Such was the type of the Norman manor-house of the fifteenth century. But when the gentry of the Cotentin had ceased to dread the incursions of English marauders, their houses expanded, and in the reign of Louis XIII. the chateau was considerably enlarged. A quadrangle was built, which served partly for the residence of the family, and partly for farm buildings, the windows looking out on the farm-yard in the middle. A large dovecote, though now guiltless of pigeons, still marks the ancient seignorial right of the lord to keep his pigeons at the expense of his peasantry; and a stain over the door indicates the spot from which the Revolution of '93 tore the escutcheon of the family. The quadrangle has made way for the convenience of a modern approach, and the old chateau has assumed the elegance of a mansion of the nineteenth century: but every stone of it tells of the past. Alexis de Tocqueville came into possession of this residence by a family arrangement in 1837. He speaks of it in one of his letters at that time as '*mon pauvre vieux Tocqueville*,' a sort of big farm-house, which had not been inhabited for half a century. Indeed at that time the floors were gone, and the roof was in danger, though happily the old '*girouette féodale*' still turned on the big tower. But its aspect was speedily changed; it became for the next twenty years the scene of uninterrupted domestic happiness, and of never-failing rural interests, a repose after the contests of political life, a retreat in the dark hour of national adversity, and the scene of literary labour, of liberal hospitality, of counsel and consolation to all who needed or asked for them. But we are anticipating the course of events.

At an early age the father of Alexis entered into possession of this inheritance, then surrounded with all its seignorial rights, and contracted a marriage with M<sup>lle</sup>. Lepeletier de Rosambo, a granddaughter of M. de Malesherbes. The marriage was celebrated at Malesherbes in 1793; and, extraordinary as it may seem, we derive this information from the lively recollections of an eminent man, who was present at the nuptials, and danced on that occasion for the last time in his life. We need hardly add that there is but one person now alive to whom this description can apply, and that we refer to the Lyndhurst of France, Chancellor Pasquier, now in his ninety-fourth year,

and in the full possession of his memory and his wit. This connexion with a house so distinguished as that of the Lamoignons proves the consideration at that time enjoyed by the Clerels of Tocqueville.\* The life of M. de Malesherbes was patriarchal. Disgraced by the Court, though adored by the nation and venerated by Europe, he too had retired to his country residence, and devoted his leisure to the improvement of agriculture and the introduction of rare trees, until the horrors of the Revolution recalled him to the side of that master whom he had sought in vain to counsel. The defence of Louis XVI. by M. de Malesherbes at the bar of the Convention, and his sublime attachment to the King in that tremendous hour, is the most glorious event of his life, but the whole course of it had been equally great and pure. It was he who asserted in 1771, in the language of a remonstrance which his great-grandson would not have disavowed, 'that the right of self-government belongs to every body and every community, as a right of nature and a right of reason; that since powerful ministers had made it a matter of political principle not to allow a National Assembly to be convoked, they had come at last to quash the deliberations of a village, and that a government had been introduced in France more fatal than despotism, and worthy of Oriental barbarism.'

After the execution of the King M. de Malesherbes returned to his country-seat. And it was at this very time and under these distressing and alarming circumstances, that the Count de Tocqueville married his granddaughter. Barely six months had passed after the marriage, Malesherbes still living on his estate with the several branches of his descendants, when his eldest daughter and her husband, M. de Rosambo, were torn from him by the revolutionary emissaries. A few days later Malesherbes himself and all the other members of his family were also seized; and on the 22nd April 1794 he was sent to the scaffold with his daughter, his granddaughter, recently married to M. de Chateaubriand, and her husband, the elder brother of the well-known statesman and writer. They were executed before his eyes, and his own death instantly followed that of those he

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\* M. de Tocqueville's connexion with the old Marquise d'Aguesseau was also by his mother's side, Madame d'Aguesseau being one of the three daughters in whom the Lamoignon family expired. One of her sisters married Count Molé's father, and the other M. Feydeau de Brou. The paternal grandfather of Alexis de Tocqueville married Madlle. de Damas Cruz, whence the Duke de Damas was his great uncle.

loved. M. and Madame de Tocqueville, she being a sister of Madame de Chateaubriand, were arrested at the same time, and remained for several months in the Conciergerie, until they were liberated by the fall of Robespierre. We remember to have heard that the first thing they did after their liberation was to drive about Paris for a whole day in a hackney coach, partly for the enjoyment of the sense of freedom, and partly from the confusion of mind produced by the scenes they had witnessed and the perils they had escaped. They returned, however, to their family mansion: the plate had been buried, and was saved; a service of Dresden china had also been buried in another part of the grounds, but the clue to the hiding-place was lost, and it has never been rediscovered. The Tocquevilles never emigrated; they therefore retained their landed property, and continued to live peaceably upon it. In 1805 Alexis, their third son, was born in Paris, but soon afterwards, being still an infant, he was brought to Tocqueville in a panier slung across a horse, with his nurse on a pillion. In those primitive times, scarcely fifty years ago, there was no such thing as a road for wheeled carriages from the mansion of a country gentleman to the village, or even from the village to the chief town of the department.

We have related these details because, independently of the interest they may possess, they serve to show the influence of the Revolution on the last and present generations of the French. In the higher ranks of society, more especially, there is hardly a family in which events of the deepest tragic interest have not occurred within living memory; and if the actual witnesses of those dreadful scenes have now almost disappeared, their children received from them in early life impressions which no time can efface. When Alexis de Tocqueville was born, less than eleven years had elapsed since the most illustrious members of his mother's family had perished on the scaffold. The age of martyrs was still near. Is it yet over? Tocqueville himself was wont to say that he lived in a country where no man could foretell with certainty whether he should die in his bed or on the block. These traditions doubtless contributed to produce on a mind, naturally so sensitive and so reflective, impressions of which he was himself scarcely conscious. His family was ardently royalist, and might be compared to a high Tory family on this side the water; with some change of conditions, their prejudices and disposition of the mind were the same. His education was scanty, being conducted apparently by an Abbé Lesueur, whose death, during his absence in America, he affectionately deplores. But that which was not scanty and not

deficient was the high principle, the lofty conception of truth and duty, the unselfish dignity with which his father, like himself, was completely imbued. On the Count's death, in 1856, Alexis wrote to M. de Corcelle, one of his most intimate and highly-valued friends—'You are right. If I am worth anything, I owe it above all to my education, to those examples of uprightness, simplicity, and honour which I found about me in coming into the world and as I advanced in life. I owe my parents much more than existence.'

The following anecdote, related by himself in a charming letter to Lady Theresa Lewis, recalls these impressions of his early life. Speaking of Lady Theresa's '*Friends and Contemporaries of Lord Clarendon*,' then lately published, he says—

'One feeling above all lives in your pages, though it be dead in the hearts of our generation—I mean that sort of idolatry of royalty which ennobled obedience, and made men capable of acts of self-sacrifice, not only to the principle of government, but to the person of the sovereign. It may be said that this feeling is gradually disappearing entirely from the world. In some countries, as in France, not a trace of it remains. I met with it again in your narrative, and the more kindly as the scenes to which it belongs carry me back to the earliest days of my childhood. I remember even now, as if it were still before me, one evening, in a chateau where my father was then living, and where some family rejoicings had brought together a large number of our near relations. The servants had retired. We were all sitting round the hearth. My mother, who had a sweet and touching voice, began to sing an air well known in our civil disturbances, to words relating to Louis XVI. and his death. When she ceased every one was in tears, not for the personal sufferings they had undergone, not even for the loss of so many of our own blood on the field of civil war and on the scaffold, but for the fate of a man who had died fifteen years before, and whom most of those present had never seen. But that man had been the King.' (Vol. ii. p. 383.)

Alexis de Tocqueville was ten years old at the Restoration in 1815, and his father became successively prefect at Metz, at Amiens, and at Versailles. He was also raised, very deservedly, to the rank of a peer of France. These mutations had some effect on the earlier career of his son. In 1822 he gained the prize of rhetoric at the Academy of Metz; and in 1827 he entered the profession of the magistracy, as Juge Auditeur at Versailles. In the interval he had made a tour in Italy, of which some record has been preserved. Probably Alexis de Tocqueville had then never heard of the celebrated passage in Gibbon's *Memoirs*, where that great historian relates that the idea of his '*Decline and Fall*' came into his mind as he sat amidst the ruins of the Capitol and heard the voices of the barefooted friars

singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter. But a similar vision seems to have passed over the mind of another youthful traveller on the same spot; as Tocqueville describes in his journal a procession of barefooted friars mounting the steps of the Ara Cœli, whilst a shepherd calls his goats browsing in the Forum, the past history of Rome rises before him, and he traces the extinction of her greatness to the day when her liberties fell beneath the sceptre of imperial power.

The following years were eagerly devoted to extend the range of his education, as well as to qualify himself for his legal functions; but it is easy to perceive that his ambition would never have contented itself with the honours of the bench, and, in those days more especially, the whole youth of France were launched with inconceivable energy in historical researches, in literary controversies, in philosophical theories, which called forth the full powers of a mind earnest in the pursuit of all knowledge. In political affairs he took as yet no part, but his sympathies were entirely on the side of the liberal party, whilst his remarkable foresight enabled him to discern the perils of the monarchy. In August 1829, on the formation of the Polignac Ministry, a year before the celebrated ordinances, he wrote—

‘These ministers can neither summon a new chamber with the present law of election; nor pass a new law of election in the existing chambers. They are launched then on the plan of coups d’état of laws by ordinance; that is, the question lies between the royal power and the popular power, a conflict in closed lists, a conflict in which, in my opinion, the popular power only stakes its present, but the royal authority will stake both present and future. If this ministry falls, the crown will suffer much from its fall; for it is the creation of the crown, and it will cause securities to be taken hereafter, which will still further restrict a power already too limited. God grant that the House of Bourbon may not one day repent what has just been done!’ (Vol. ii. p. 6.)

The Revolution, which in 1830 realised these sinister predictions, was a severe, if not a fatal blow to the hopes of a man of five-and-twenty entering with M. de Tocqueville’s prospects and opinions on public life. It was not only that his personal chances of advancement in the world were at an end, and that his family, deeply imbued with the passions of the Royalist party, viewed with horror a new form of popular government. These considerations had small weight with a mind alike disinterested and independent. But it became manifest in 1830 that the passions of the French Revolution had slumbered, but were not extinct. Another experiment had failed—another form of government had been overthrown. To use an expression of his

own, 'The Revolution has not stopped. It no longer, indeed, 'brings to light any great novelties, but it still keeps everything 'afloat. The mighty wheel turns and brings nothing up, but it 'seems that it will turn for ever.' What then was this blind but irresistible force which swept before it in ever-recurring paroxysms the institutions, the orders, the government of the country? Not merely the love of freedom, for freedom has existed in England for nearly two hundred years, without any grave perturbation of social order, and it has existed for seventy years in the United States, combined with a purely democratic state of society. Nor indeed had the love of freedom acquired any permanent hold over the French people. They adored it in 1789, they were indifferent to it in 1800; and the same phenomenon has since been repeated.

'Accustomed though we be to the fleeting inconsistency of men, there is something astonishing in so vast a change in the moral inclinations of a people; so much selfishness succeeding to so much patriotism, so much indifference to so much passion, so much fear to so much heroism, so great a scorn for that which had been so vehemently desired and so dearly purchased. A change so complete and so abrupt cannot be explained by the customary laws of the moral world. The temperament of our nation is so peculiar that the general study of mankind fails to embrace it. France is for ever taking by surprise even those who have made her the special object of their researches; a nation more apt than any other to comprehend a great design and to embrace it, capable of all that can be achieved by a single effort of whatever magnitude, but unable to abide long at this high level, because she is ever swayed by sensations and not by principles, and that her instincts are better than her morality; a people civilised among all civilised nations of the earth, yet, in some respects, still more akin to the savage state than any of them, for the characteristic of savages is to decide on the sudden impulse of the moment, unconscious of the past and careless of the future.' (Vol. i. p. 278.)

This inconstancy in the pursuit of political objects, this inability to estimate the true value of such objects or to retain them, and lastly the malignant passions which the Revolution had arrayed against all social, intellectual, and moral superiority, were the evil powers which M. de Tocqueville was resolved to combat and to resist. The shock of the Revolution of 1830 was scarcely needed to teach him that a deep gulf lay fixed between the principles to which he was immutably attached, and the dreams which his countrymen were determined madly and vainly to pursue. He was led, or rather compelled, to the study of democratic institutions not by any natural sympathy with popular agitation or any illusion as to the results of it, but by consternation at



the ravages it had already made, and by a deep-seated dread of its furthest consequences. Throughout his writings, throughout his parliamentary career, throughout his correspondence, the conviction may be traced that modern democracy tends to the establishment of absolute power, unless it be counteracted by a genuine love and practice of freedom. The modern theory of democracy is not so much a love of freedom as the love of a particular kind of power. Democratic power differs in its origin, but not at all in its nature, from other forms of absolutism. It is as impatient of control, as liable to overleap the restraint of law, as much addicted to flatterers and abuses, as the most arbitrary monarchy or the corruptest oligarchy. He perceived that freedom itself could with difficulty be practised or maintained in countries where high principles were giving way to low interests; where the spirit of personal dignity and independence was crushed by the government and hated by the masses; where, to use his own illustration, the impulses of savage life prevailed over the laws of civilisation, and revolution triumphed over tradition. He perceived, too, that as the ruling principle of democracies is the principle of interest, so the principle of aristocracies, if they are to last, must be that of duty. It is apparent from what we have already said of his descent and education, that he belonged by nature to a chosen order of men. Indeed, the extreme delicacy of his physical organisation, the fastidious refinement of his tastes, the exquisite charm of his manners, made him the very type of a high-bred gentleman; and if these were in him the outward signs of distinction, not less was he ennobled by the very soul of chivalry, by that purity and simplicity of character which are the truest nobility, and by a combination of manly virtues with an almost feminine grace,—qualities which Englishmen are wont to trace to an ideal perfection in the person of Sir Philip Sidney.

Conceive such a man placed by fate on the brink of the French Revolution, stripped of the traditions of the past by one blast of that great convulsion, robbed by another blast of the hopes of the future, hating with an equal hatred the abominations of the *Ancien Régime*, the crimes of the Revolution, and the iron yoke of the French Empire, whether imposed by the military genius of one Napoleon, or by the civil craft of another; and all this time, viewing with almost superhuman penetration and with patriotic despondency the gradual decline of the French people from that standard of moral dignity and public spirit which could alone enable them to fulfil the generous aspirations of their forefathers! Well aware

of the difficulty, perhaps the impracticability, of so great an enterprise, he never ceased to contend for those genuine principles of liberty which could alone, as he thought, preserve society and civilisation from the greatest calamities. He held 'that the first duty which is at this time imposed upon those who direct public affairs is to educate the democracy; to warn its faith, if that be possible; to purify its morals; to direct its energies; to substitute a knowledge of business for its inexperience, and an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities. A new science of politics is indispensable to a new world.'\*

Such were the views, still probably indistinct, which led the young 'Juge Auditeur' to throw up his office at Versailles, and in the company of M. Gustave de Beaumont to proceed in 1831 to the United States. A mission was given them by Count Montalivet to examine the Penitentiary System, then recently introduced in America: they performed this part of their duty conscientiously; but the real motive of their journey was to examine the political institutions of the American people, and the imperishable result of it is the book entitled 'Democracy in America.'

M. de Tocqueville was not thirty years old when his great work appeared. He woke one morning, like Byron, and found himself famous. 'I feel,' said he, in a letter to his friend Stoffels, written in February 1835, 'like a lady of the Court of Napoleon, whom the Emperor took it into his head to make a Duchess. That evening, as she heard herself announced by her new title when she came to Court, she forgot to whom it belonged, and ranged herself on one side to let the lady pass whose name had just been called. I assure you this is just my case. I ask myself if it be *I* that they are talking about? and when the fact is established, I infer that the world must consist of a poor set of people, since a book of my making, the range of which I know so well, has had the effect this appears to produce.' (Vol. i. p. 427.) His first interview with Gosselin, the publisher, was by no means flattering. That great man consented with some hesitation to strike off an edition of 500 copies, and Tocqueville remarked that it was rather a humiliating condition of the profession of authors to have to treat one's bookseller as if he were a superior being. Nine months afterwards the tables were turned. 'I went yesterday to see Gosselin, who received me with the most

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\* Introduction to 'Democracy in America,' vol. i. p. xxii., Reeve's translation.

‘expansive countenance in the world, exclaiming, “Ah ça! ‘mais il paraît que vous avez fait un chef-d’œuvre!”’ The success of the book was indeed prodigious. It was instantly translated into all languages. It has become a text-book of constitutional law in the United States, where the English translation has run through numberless editions. It shortly afterwards opened to Tocqueville the doors of the French Institute, and eventually of the Academy. M. Royer-Collard affirmed that since Montesquieu, nothing like it had appeared. Even the compositors and readers in the printing office testified their interest in the production of it.

Soon after the publication of his first two volumes in 1835, M. de Tocqueville paid a visit (though not his first visit) to England. He was received by many Englishmen with attention and hospitality, which soon ripened into cordial friendship and the deepest mutual regard. Indeed, no inconsiderable portion of the collection of letters now given to the public, mark the strong attachment and the sedulous interest with which he kept up his connexions in English society. Perhaps, indeed, there was no society now in existence to which he may be said so naturally to have belonged, as that which he met with in this country. In the polished circles of Lansdowne House and Holland House, his manners and his powers of conversation ensured him a cordial reception; he found there not only the easy citizenship of good-breeding, but the same deep interest in the progress of mankind, and the same ardent attachment to every great and free object which had become the ruling passion of his life. His own ideal of social excellence and political greatness lay precisely in the combination of aristocratic tastes with popular interests, and in that independence of position and character which is never more complete than when it is united to a high sense of the duties and obligations of property and station. That is what he found in the Whig society of this country. Twenty years elapsed before he revisited England, and was again received with all the honours that could be paid by society to one of the most eminent and interesting men of the time. But during the whole of that interval his intimacy with his English friends had been strengthened and increased, partly by correspondence, and partly by their visits to his own country house in Normandy. It is no light praise to say, that of all the men we have known, he had the loftiest and most entire conception of friendship. His confidence and his affection were not easily given; they were given to few; but when given, his friends became a portion of himself; none

of them was ever in the faintest degree slighted, or neglected, or forgotten; between them and him, each in his respective manner, there was entire communion; not one of them ever broke from that charmed circle, nor did the vicissitudes of life at all affect the unalterable tenderness of his regard. It is not less interesting to us to know that the first and only object of his affections, who became his wife, and who in that name comprised the strongest and purest ties of human existence,—his constant companion, counsellor, and friend; with whom no place was solitary to him, and without whom no society was attractive,—was an Englishwoman, who brought him for her portion that best of gifts the comfort and the trust of English domestic life. Although it be somewhat out of its chronological place, we are here tempted to quote a short letter in which he conveyed to M. de Corcelle his impression of England on his last visit in 1857.

‘Tocqueville, July 29. 1857.—I should have so much to say about England, which I saw again after the lapse of twenty years, and with a larger experience of men, that several letters would be requisite to convey to you the impressions I received and the ideas suggested to my mind by the spectacle before my eyes.

‘It is the greatest spectacle in the world, though not everything in it is great. Especially things are to be seen there which are wholly unknown in the rest of Europe, and which singularly gratified me.

‘Doubtless there exists in the lower classes a certain amount of feeling hostile to the other classes of society; but this feeling is not perceptible, and that which is perceptible is the union and accord which exist between all men belonging to the educated classes, from the lower tradesmen to the highest aristocracy, to defend society and direct it in common. I did not envy England her wealth and her power, but I envied her this; and I breathed when I found myself for the first time for so many years, out of the reach of those class hatreds and jealousies which, after having been the source of all our misfortunes, have ended in the destruction of our freedom.

‘England has given me a second joy which I had long been deprived of. I found there a complete harmony between the world of religion and the world of politics, between private virtues and public virtues, between Christianity and freedom. I heard Christians of all denominations advocating free institutions as necessary, not only to the welfare, but to the moral being of society, and I nowhere met that sort of moral monster now so common all over the continent, where men of religion are the advocates of despotism, leaving to those who are without religion the honour of raising their voice for freedom.’ (Vol. ii. p. 394.)

Our limits forbid us to enter as fully as we could wish on M. de Tocqueville’s Correspondence with his English friends, though these letters will be read with extreme interest in this

country, because they touch on topics more familiar to ourselves, and, we must add, more agreeable, than the gloomy aspect of modern French society. But one or two of his observations may find a place here.

In common with all the French Liberals, Tocqueville had been bitterly wounded by the disposition of a certain class of English politicians to make light of the overthrow of liberty in France, and even to express a servile admiration for Louis Napoleon, because it suited the interests of this country to conciliate that personage, and even to contract an alliance with him. Some trace of this feeling may be perceived in the following passage of a letter to Mrs. Grote, written in 1857:—

‘What you say of the simple nature of the English mind has always struck me. It consists in a downright perception, somewhat narrow, but distinct, which enables you to see thoroughly what you are looking at, and to do thoroughly what you have in hand, but not to see several things at once. This is probably the cause of a peculiarity of the English mind in politics, which has always surprised me. In the eyes of the English, that cause which is most useful to England is always the cause of justice. The man or the government which serves the interests of England has all sorts of good qualities; he who hurts those interests, all sorts of defects. So that it would seem that the *criterion* of what is right, or noble, or just, is to be found in the degree of favour or opposition to English interests. The same thing occurs to some extent in the judgments of all nations; but it is manifested in England to a degree which astonishes a foreigner. England is often accused on this account of a political Machiavellism, which, in my opinion, not only does not exist among you more, but rather less, than elsewhere. The principal reason of this phenomenon consists, I think, in the inability to see two things at once; and, on the other hand, in the laudable desire to connect the actions of one’s country with something loftier and more stable than interest, even than national interest. You want to make a thing answer, and with that intent you accept this or that man, this or that government; that is all you see. You overlook or scarcely perceive his faults, because the whole attention is absorbed by a single object. In France, things have often been done in politics which were convenient though unjust, but their convenience did not conceal their injustice. We have even sometimes made use of great scoundrels, but without imputing to them the smallest virtue.

‘As for the sort of indifference the English seem now-a-days to show for the freedom of several nations on the continent, which appear themselves to have forgotten that they once were, and might again be, free, I think it very natural. On this point strangers cannot be expected to feel for us more than we feel ourselves. I grant then that you may very fairly not seek to destroy bad governments, which are endured by the countries living under them; but don’t tell us they are good governments. The times, I confess, are not

favourable to the exercise of the great and ancient influence of England as a liberal power in the world. But let her, at least for a time, lay that influence on one side. She cannot in one country claim the advantages of despotism, and in another, *as in Italy*, the honour of liberalism. Let her choose.' (Vol. ii. p. 369.)

One of the subjects connected with the politics of this country which had long excited M. de Tocqueville's curiosity and spirit of reflection was the government of our Indian dependencies. He was possessed with the idea that the civilisation of Europe was more and more destined in this and in future ages to subdue the barbarism of the East. With this impression he plunged at one time into the study of the affairs of Algeria; he visited the country, and nearly lost his life, between Philippeville and Constantine, from exposure to the climate, which was all but fatal to his sensitive frame. On the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and China, in 1840, he observed to Mr. Reeve:—

'If I were an Englishman I should not see without anxiety the expeditions now in preparation against China. Here then is the mobility of Europe pitted against the immobility of the Chinese! 'Tis a great event, especially if one remembers that this is only the sequence, the last link in a multitude of events of the same kind which gradually push the European race abroad, and subject successively to its empire or to its influence, all other races. There is happening in our days, without our perceiving it, a thing more vast and more extraordinary than the establishment of the Roman Empire. I mean the subjection of four portions of the globe by the fifth. Let us not think too ill of our age and of ourselves. Men are small but events are great.' (Vol. ii. p. 98.)

Under the same impression he had collected and read a vast quantity of materials for the history of British power in India, and at one time meditated a book on the subject; but he gave it up from the conviction that he ought first to visit the country.\* These circumstances inspired him with the most

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\* M. de Beaumont informs us that a manuscript on this subject, which would make about sixty printed pages, is actually in existence. It is divided into three chapters: 1. 'A description of British India.' 2. 'Effect of the British government on the Hindoos.' 3. 'How the British Empire in India may be destroyed.' But on the cover is a note in Tocqueville's handwriting. 'Tout ceci n'a de valeur que si je reprends le projet d'écrire sur ce sujet.' M. de Beaumont seems to think that it is impossible to give to the public this or any of his other unfinished papers. We submit that this depends entirely on their intrinsic merit, and that it is probable that some of these papers would do no discredit to M. de Tocqueville's reputation. The '*Pensées de Pascal*' were fragments of an unfinished work, originally published

intense interest and excitement when the great revolt of 1857 broke out in Bengal, and the letters written to several of his English friends during this period are eminently instructive. Nothing can be finer or more profound than the words in which one of the letters concludes: 'Je crois que les horribles événements de l'Inde ne sont en aucune façon un soulèvement contre l'oppression; *c'est une révolte de la barbarie contre l'orgueil*;' and in his opinion one of the chief difficulties for the future government of India would arise from the dangerous necessity of bringing a larger number of dominant Englishmen into contact and collision with the Hindoo population. The following letter to Lady Theresa Lewis contains a more ample view of the subject:—

'India is almost as great a subject of anxiety to us at Tocqueville as it is to you in London. My wife speaks and thinks of it incessantly, and more than one mail has kept her awake at night. For myself, there is nothing now in the world which interests me more than the destiny of your great nation. You may therefore conceive with what interest we have read all you say of the present state of affairs in the East. I agree with you that there was probably more of *accident* in the outbreak than was at first supposed; but I think with you again, that the accident led up to the action of certain general causes and set them in motion. To these general causes I would add this one. The people of England, who are the only civilised people who still govern themselves aristocratically, are led by a strange caprice of fortune to strike down or crush aristocracy wherever else it exists. That is the inscrutable task of every *master*, be he foreign or native. You have been carrying it on for a century in India with prudence, but with perseverance. You have respected the native princes and the native aristocracy as much as was compatible with your dominion. But day by day you have compressed, enfeebled, or destroyed some of those foreign if not hostile powers, which were in your dominions though not within your grasp. The time is come when each of these princes and classes clearly perceives (with the aid of the light you have yourselves diffused) that they are all destined to pass under this roller. It is a question of time. This one to-day, that one to-morrow. They have already enough experience and intelligence to see this; they have still enough strength to hope to resist the destiny that awaits them. This is therefore the most critical instant of a dominion such as yours. But it is a matter of astonishment and of joy that this common sentiment has not found a man to represent it better than the miscreants who have as yet

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with very little good faith by Arnould, Nicole, and the Duc de Rohannez. Yet these scraps, hastily jotted down, form one of the noblest productions of the human mind; and we are by no means satisfied that the imperfect MSS. of M. de Tocqueville may not, some day, form a volume of fragments of equal beauty and interest.

risen against you. I think that if that had occurred, you would have seen almost all the little princes who still people Northern India, and all the principal races which inhabit it, march at once against you instead of remaining spectators.

‘I am less inclined to concur in your opinion when you say that the loss of India would not weaken England, and that it is chiefly by a sort of heroical vanity that the people of England care for maintaining their hold on that country. I have often heard this opinion expressed by very enlightened Englishmen, but have never shared it.

‘It is true that, materially speaking, the government of India costs more than it brings in; that it requires efforts at a distance which may, at certain moments, paralyse the action of England under circumstances more directly affecting her; I admit it. Perhaps it would have been better to hang Clive than to make him a lord. But I am not the less persuaded that at this time of day the loss of India would be a great diminution in the rank of England among the nations of the earth. Among many reasons for this opinion, I confine myself to the following.

‘There has never been anything so extraordinary under the sun as the conquest, and still more the government, of India by the English; nothing which, from all points of the globe, more attracts the eyes of mankind to that little island whose very name was to the Greeks unknown. Do you conceive, Madam, that a nation which has once filled this amazing space in the imagination of our race, can withdraw from it with impunity? For my part, I do not think so. I think the English are obeying an instinct, which is not only heroical but true, and a real motive of conservation, in their resolution to keep India at any cost, since it belongs to them. I add that I am perfectly certain they will keep it, though perhaps under less favourable circumstances.

‘I am certain that you agree with me in desiring from the bottom of my heart that their victory may be as little tinged as possible by the vindictive passions which are naturally excited in their hearts. The civilised world is now on their side. It pities their sufferings; it admires their endurance. Nothing would be more easy than to turn against them this sympathetic opinion of Europe, by exceeding the proper bounds of repression. Symptoms of this change are already perceptible. You have undoubtedly had to do with savages whose barbarity surpasses all known limits, and you have seen in India horrors at which the imagination recoils. But you have no right to be the masters of those pitiless savages, except inasmuch as you are worthier than they. It is your business to punish, not to imitate them; and it would be to imitate them if, for example, as many people propose, the population of Delhi were massacred. Forgive me the warmth with which I express myself. I love the glory of England too passionately — for it is in my eyes that of freedom herself — not to desire fervently that the English may be as great in their victory as they have hitherto been in the struggle; and it seems to me that all who are in power, or who act upon the public mind in England, must work together for this end. (Vol. ii. p. 411.)



This noble passage is so characteristic of M. de Tocqueville's enlightened regard for this country, that we have stepped out of our course to cite it. It was his wont to discuss with his correspondents all the great topics of the day, and the books he read with the same eloquence and earnestness; and even from this limited collection of his letters, a multitude of other examples of not inferior interest might be culled. But we must now return to the business of his life.

In 1837, when Alexis de Tocqueville had not been long settled in the old family chateau of his house, he came forward as a candidate for the representation of the *arrondissement* of Valognes in his own department. His reception was not very flattering. A trace of the old revolutionary prejudices lingered in the neighbourhood; a cry of *pas de nobles* was got up: his opponent, a retired cotton spinner who had built a big house, said: 'Prenez garde! il va vous ramener les pigeons,' pointing to the mighty dovecote of Tocqueville Manor; and, in short, the aristocratic though liberal candidate was defeated. He was himself surprised at the intensity of the democratic passions which sent up the large Norman farmers to vote against him. 'My opponents admit,' said he, 'that I have none of the prejudices they ascribe to the nobility; but there is something in the head of these fellows against us which resembles the instinctive aversion of the Americans to men of colour.' So that by a curious coincidence, at the very moment when the 'Democracy in America' was in everybody's hands, and generally regarded as a vindication of democratic institutions, the democracy of his own county rejected the author for his aristocratic descent.

It is true that his opponent also had the support of the Government, and that by M. de Tocqueville's own act and choice. When Tocqueville's name was first announced as a candidate, Count Molé, then Prime Minister of France, gave orders that he should have all the support the Government could afford him, and this without the slightest pre-engagement or even inquiry as to the line he intended to follow in politics. M. Molé was his kinsman, and no slight admirer of his works. But this proceeding on the part of the Minister ruffled the sensitive pride of Tocqueville. He instantly wrote to M. Molé to decline the support of the Government, and to insist on standing in a position of absolute independence if he were to be elected at all. M. Molé's answer, which is published in this correspondence, though not written without warmth, is a masterpiece of dignity, good sense, and good breeding. He protested against the supposition that because he had proffered the support

of the Government without conditions to a man whom he esteemed, this support was to be considered as an intolerable burden or a humiliating bargain; he observed with truth that isolation is not independence, and that a deputy is more or less engaged to whatever party may return him; lastly, he urged that the ministerial party was not a mere band of dependents, but a body of men acting together from convictions in defence of the parliamentary institutions of the country, a task at no time easy, and certainly rendered more difficult by the opposition and hostility of men of M. de Tocqueville's own character. This correspondence left no unfriendly feeling between these two eminent men; they were both of them consummate gentlemen, and each knew that the other was contending, not for an interest, but for a principle. Men of that stamp are more eager to sacrifice a personal interest than to trade on it.

Two years later, at the general election of 1839, when M. de Tocqueville had made his way in the department, and had become an object of real attachment to his immediate neighbours and of respect to all the country round, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by a great majority, and he retained his seat under all circumstances as long as there was a free Parliament in France.

Nevertheless we have adverted to this occurrence because it marks the first important step of M. de Tocqueville in public life by a fixed predetermination to join the Opposition, and to owe nothing at any time to the King's Government. We take the liberty to say that this step on his part, and on the part of several of the able men with whom he acted, was a most unfortunate one for his own public utility, and for the welfare of parliamentary government in France. That form of Government was not so firmly established that it could resist the attacks of those who were in the main sincerely attached to the constitution, though they disapproved the policy of the Ministry and the Court; and no one repeated more emphatically than M. de Tocqueville his prophetic warnings that it was not this or that Minister, this or that system, but representative Government itself which was at stake and in danger. The fixed idea of his life was that the constitution would be undermined by the democratic passions of the nation, and encroached upon by the insincerity of the Court, until nothing stable would remain, and the overthrow of the Parliamentary system would be followed at no distant time by the despotism of a single ruler. But with a foreknowledge of this danger, which no one else possessed to the same degree, and which as expressed in his earlier writings and speeches looks like a gleam of superhuman

intelligence, what political conduct ought he to have pursued? He thought it his duty to throw the weight of his lofty intellect and unblemished character on the side of the Opposition. But what was that Opposition? He himself admits in one of his letters that there never had been a real constituted Opposition in France capable of fighting its way to a majority, and then assuming the direction of affairs. M. Thiers, if he was to be considered its head, was certainly quite as far removed from Tocqueville's standard of political morality as M. Guizot. To thwart the schemes of the court, and once or twice a year to deliver a few set speeches against the policy of a Cabinet, was, after all, a wretched substitute for true political life. He acknowledged himself that he had no party spirit, yet he acted with those to whom party spirit was the sole guide, on the principle, as he himself expressed it, 'On n'a quelque chance de maîtriser les mauvaises passions du peuple, qu'en partageant celles qui sont bonnes.' Under this influence his votes on some of the party divisions of the day were votes which we disapproved at the time, and to which we look back with regret. They failed to promote any good object; they assisted to strengthen the very evil they were designed to oppose.

M. de Beaumont observes with great candour that Tocqueville was not fitted by nature for opposition; he had none of the passions which belong to it; his speeches were earnest, but not impetuous; his caution and conscientiousness restrained him from extreme steps; and in the tribune of the Chamber he fell far short of the greatest orators of his time. The most useful acts of his parliamentary life were his reports on the questions of negro emancipation in the French colonies, on prison discipline, and on the administration of Algeria, which are masterpieces of their kind, and ought to be republished with his principal speeches.

In our judgment the result of his political career would have been still more honourable to himself, and far more useful to his country, if, instead of wasting long years in the sterile warfare of opposition, he had joined the Cabinet. He would there have acquired a practical knowledge of affairs, which, in fact, he never fully obtained, and he would have thrown his clear discernment and disinterested patriotism on the side of a more liberal and dignified policy. To those of his friends, who sometimes ventured to urge this course upon him, he was wont to reply — 'It may be so. But I hold it to be impossible to serve the King. When he is gone we shall see.' There was a radical incompatibility between Tocqueville's chivalrous conception of high political principles, not one of which he would have sacrificed

for the wealth of empires, and the system of expedients in which the King was no mean proficient and which he regarded as the art of government. Perhaps, too, there was a latent trace of resentment, almost unconsciously entertained, on the part of the royalist gentleman against the son of the Duc of Orleans and the King of the Barricades. But in this M. de Tocqueville was wrong. Had the King been a thousand times less worthy of respect than Louis Philippe actually was, he was not the less the head of the state, and it was not consistent with practical political wisdom to stand aloof from the Court. The parliamentary government of England continued to strike root under the two first Georges, who, both as sovereigns and men, were immeasurably below the King of the French. Had Sir Robert Walpole thrown his talents on the side of Opposition, the House of Hanover might have been overthrown, but we know not who would have been the gainer by it. Doubtless the Government of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot committed errors which led to its political destruction; but what is equally certain is that for a long period of years the Opposition were the unconscious tools of those factions which eventually upset the dynasty and the constitution itself.

At length the storm came. By no man had it been so clearly foreseen as by M. de Tocqueville, and for several months before the catastrophe he had carefully abstained from all participation in that mad system of agitation which produced the popular banquets and republican demonstrations of 1847. On the 27th January 1848, soon after the opening of the last session of the Constitutional Parliament, he rose in the Chamber of Deputies, and said —

‘They tell me that there is no danger because there are no disturbances; they say that as there is no visible perturbation on the surface of society, there are no revolutions beneath it. Gentlemen, allow me to say that I think you wrong. Disturbance is not abroad, but it has laid hold of men’s minds. The working classes are quiet, and are not agitated as they have sometimes been by political passions; but can you not perceive that these passions, which were political, are now social? Can you not see that opinions and ideas are spreading amongst them which tend not only to overthrow this or that law, this or that minister, or even this or that government, but society itself, and to shake the foundations on which it rests? Can you not hear what is daily repeated, that everything which is above their own condition is incapable and unworthy to govern them; that the present division of wealth in the world is unjust; that property rests upon no equitable basis? And are you not aware that when such opinions as these take root, when they are widely diffused, when they penetrate the masses, they will bring about, sooner or later, I

know not when, I know not ~~how~~, the most tremendous revolutions. Such, Sir, is my conviction; we are slumbering on a volcano. I am certain of it.' (Vol. i. p. 66.)

• Within four weeks the explosion took place. The King fled. The Republic was proclaimed; and not only the Republic, but all the demoniac passions of a socialist revolution were let loose on France.

Then, indeed, neither Tocqueville nor any one of his political friends hesitated as to the part they were called upon to pursue. In the first Revolution the sanguinary violence of a small faction had prevailed over the great majority of the nation. Under the second Republic, the nation itself, appealed to by universal suffrage, gave an unequivocal answer to the call, and elected an Assembly firmly resolved to defend property and public order. An attempt was made by the Revolutionists to annihilate the Assembly itself; it was saved by a miracle; a few days later the fate of the nation hung on the issue of a battle in the streets of Paris. Thanks to the courage and union of the Assembly, the law triumphed, and the country was saved. In all these events M. de Tocqueville took an active part; and we are informed by his biographer that the volume in which he has recorded them, for the information of posterity, is complete, and will one day see the light. Tocqueville had naturally been selected by the constituent body as one of the members of the Committee to frame the new Republican Constitution; and it is a curious example of the difficulty of governing human affairs that a constitution, now universally acknowledged to be a masterpiece of absurdity, was the work of several men of undoubted intellectual power and political foresight. An attempt was made by Tocqueville to induce his colleagues to adopt the principle of a second Chamber; but this and every other attempt to construct the machinery of a true Republican Government utterly failed. The Republic was destined to a short-lived existence, between the frenzy of democratic socialism on the one hand, and the violence of that popular reaction which speedily assumed the name of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte. The newly-elected President of the Republic had long appreciated the philosophical insight of M. Tocqueville into the nature of democratic institutions; and perhaps he inferred that the predictions of a single dominion, with which his books abound, were naturally to be fulfilled, in a restoration of the Empire. Soon after his election to the Presidency he invited M. de Tocqueville to dinner, placed him by his side, and paid him marked attentions. On leaving the Elysée, Tocqueville said — 'I have been dining with a man

‘who believes in his own hereditary right to the Crown as firmly as Charles X. himself.’

One chance remained to avert the final catastrophe. It was possible that the President might still be content to accept a constitutional position; to govern by responsible Ministers who hoped to effect a revision of the constitution by legal means. At any rate, to abandon or to oppose him was to compel him to resort to an immediate *coup d'état*. On this principle M. de Odilon Barrot and the leading liberals formed an administration on the 2nd June 1849, in which M. de Tocqueville took the important office of Minister of Foreign Affairs. We shall not enter at length into the transactions in which he was engaged. As he said, on quitting his office four months later — ‘I have contributed to maintain order on the 13th June, to preserve the general peace, to improve the relations of France and England. These are recollections which give some value to my passage through affairs. I need hardly say anything to you of the cause which led to the fall of the cabinet. The President chooses to govern alone, and to have mere agents and creatures in his Ministers. Perhaps he is right. I don’t examine that question, but we were not the men to serve him on these terms.’

On one point, however, we think it proper to enter into some further details, although M. de Beaumont has passed it over in silence. We allude to the expedition against Rome. That celebrated expedition, even more embarrassing in its consequences than it was supposed to be at the time, occurred while M. de Tocqueville held the Foreign department in France. He conducted the first negotiations with the Pope; and it is therefore of importance to show precisely what were then his own views and those of the French Government. For this purpose we shall translate two letters, not included in M. de Beaumont’s collection, which were addressed by M. de Tocqueville to an English friend at that time: —

‘Paris, 9th July, 1849.’ — I attach so much importance to the opinion of enlightened men in England, that I sit down to write you a few lines, though I have but little time for this sort of correspondence; but I want to furnish you with the latest information on this affair of Rome. I am better placed than any one to speak of it, for, as you have remarked, I am an entire stranger to all the decisive measures which have hitherto marked the course of this proceeding. When I took office the order to attack Rome was already given; it might even be supposed that Rome was already taken; at any rate, it was certain that our army was *committed*: and things having got

to this point, it was impossible to recede. Not a public man in France, whoever he might be, either could or would have receded. I have therefore only assumed the responsibility of the acts which have followed or will follow the aggression, not of the aggression itself. My mind is therefore able to judge it freely.

‘The actual state of the case is judged with severity; but you lose sight of what the case might have become. Allow me to remind you of it. Is it true—yes or no—that the Catholic Powers were resolved to restore the Pope? Is it true—yes or no—that Austria had announced that she was going to enter the States of the Church and to march on Rome in order to overthrow the Roman republic? Do you doubt that they would have done as they said? Let us then take these first points for certain. Now here are others which are not less so. If the Austrians, Neapolitans, and Spaniards had arrived before Rome, do you doubt, in the first place, that they would have caused far greater ravages than we have done, and that they would have bombarded Rome in earnest, instead of the imaginary bombardment of which your consul has calumniously accused us? and, secondly, do you doubt that their triumph would have been not only the overthrow of the republic, but the extinction of all liberty and the mere return of the old priestly government? You cannot question it, I hope. I take these points therefore also for certain.

‘How then, I ask the public men of England, do they think that it was for the interest of your country to allow Austria to acquire so great a prépondérance over the whole Italian peninsula? And to the philanthropists, to the liberals, to the archæologists of England, I say, What! does the ancient animosity against France blind you to that degree, that you prefer to see the Roman republic destroyed by main force by the soldiers and the principles of Austria rather than by our’s?

‘I know well enough, between ourselves, where the weak point of our expedition lies,—it is on the side of republican France. Yes; the French may fairly say to their own government that there is in this expedition something repugnant perhaps to the principle of the sovereignty of the people, which is the basis of our whole political edifice. But why should not foreign countries, and especially enlightened England, prefer that we took this task upon ourselves instead of leaving it to others? For you surely can’t suppose we have any desire to establish ourselves in the Papal dominions. We go there evidently for a purpose which is extremely clear and intelligible, especially to England, to prevent the omnipotent influence which Austria exercises over the north of Italy, from extending over the whole peninsula, and the total destruction of all equipoise there; and to save the Roman States and the whole of Italy from the inevitable return of the Old Court, and of the restoration, not of the lawful sovereign, but of the abuses of that ancient and bad government. We have never had any other objects, nor shall we ever have any others. The re-establishment of the Pope, made upon these conditions, is all we desire, and I cannot conceive that there is anything in this to wound, in any respect, the instincts and the just

ART. VII.—*Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale)*. Edited, with notes and an introductory account of her Life and Writings, by A. HAYWARD, Esq., Q.C. 2 vols. London: 1861.

THESE volumes (if we may judge of them by our own impressions) belong to that class of which the attraction appears to grow on the reader as he peruses them. We took them up with but a languid feeling of interest, and that arising merely from the collateral circumstance of the large space filled by the lady who forms their subject in the history of Dr. Johnson and his circle. We lay them down, not only with a lively impression of the dramatic character of their contents, but already imbued with something of a spirit of partisanship. We enter with all our hearts into the important biographical controversies:—how far Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi was justified in the very uncompromising language which she uses respecting her first husband the brewer, and the equally unsparing eulogies which she bestows on her second husband the fiddler;—whether her children were heartless as King Lear's, or righteously indignant as Queen Gertrude's of Denmark;—whether the great moralist was actuated, in snubbing the lady as severely as he did, by a just sense of the fitness of things, or by regrets for the fleshpots of Streatham. We fancy ourselves admitted to her drawing-room, mixing familiarly with its members, and taking our part in the gossip and scandal concerning its mistress and her affairs, in which they all so profusely indulged.

There is scarcely any sketch of a real human life so dull or so trifling—and this, though assuredly not dull, is trifling enough—which is not a text for endless meditation. It stirs the imagination to fill up the deficient details, and add appendices of our own composing. And herein lies a distinction between real and fictitious narrative, rather in favour of the former. Novel-reading, in one shape or another, has been the passion of all ages, and in its present shape it has almost superseded the kindred attractions of the drama, and greatly weakened the taste for poetry. But absorbing as are the charms of romance, it lacks, on the whole, this peculiar advantage. It is deficient in suggestiveness. Of course every one will remember plenty of exceptions to so comprehensive a rule. But on the whole, the more high wrought the fiction, the more powerfully it may address itself to the sympathies and the sentiments, the more strongly it may occupy the memory, the less it calls on imagi-



nation to cke it out. We can add but very little, from our own stores, to 'Jane Eyre,' or to 'Adam Bede.' The train of thought which such pages produce does not wander far beyond those pages themselves, while even the most indifferent memoir excites the imaginative faculty to fill up its meagre outlines. A good novel, like a good dinner, affords a pleasure doubtless high, but complete in itself; a good biography leaves the reader with an inexhaustible appetite for a further acquaintance with the subject of it.

It is plain, from the manner in which Mr. Hayward has performed his editorial labour, that he partakes with us in this peculiar zest for the details of biography; by no means despising its trivialities, which are often the most captivating and sometimes the most instructive parts of it. He entirely realizes to himself the incidents of the little domestic epic contained in these fragmentary remnants. He warms with the subject, and is easily converted from the impartial editor into the eager advocate. Scarcely could Fanny Burney or Sir John Hawkins, or the great Boswell himself, have entered with keener spirit into the quarrels, and jealousies, and recriminations of that clever coterie to which they belonged, but which lives for us in their records only. It is needless to say how much additional enjoyment it gives to travel along the road with an editorial companion of this description, who stops you at every turn to give his own opinion on the prospect, instead of the ordinary guide who simply shows the way, and leaves you to your meditation. It provokes discussion. We fancy ourselves to have very considerable ground of controversy with Mr. Hayward, as we shall presently have to show. But whether he be right or wrong, he has at all events very good reasons to give for the judgments which he forms: they are the judgments of a critic applying his knowledge of human nature as modified by the habits of modern social life, to problems arising out of the same human nature moulded by the habits of a time recent in point of years, but already distant in many of its usages.

Mrs. Thrale during her long life contributed largely to the amusement and edification of her contemporaries by publications concerning herself and her family affairs. It is but just to add that this liberality of exposure was in some degree authorised by the gross personalities of which she was made the victim. Her 'Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson,' her 'Correspondence' with him, her two volumes of travels in Italy, abound with confidences of this description. But, in addition, she had the habit of scribbling every thought that came uppermost concerning the same deeply interesting subject, in diaries, in me-

moranda, and on the margins of books. Many of these have been preserved. The raw materials which Mr. Hayward has made use of, and which form indeed the groundwork of his publication, consist of 'Autobiographical Memoirs' of a fragmentary kind, marginal notes on books, letters, and, last not least, an extract in his second volume from 'Thraliana,' a miscellaneous storehouse of manuscript anecdotes to which she seems to have resorted whenever pique, or self-defence, or love of scandal, or any kindred feeling, required a vent through the pen. If this last relic of the lady's talents, contained, as we are here informed, in six books of about 300 pages each, and extending over thirty-two years and a half, answers in any degree to the single example which Mr. Hayward has been allowed to give us, its contents must possess a piquancy far exceeding anything we have yet obtained on the subject. But we are not told whether there is any probability of its ever seeing the light; and judging by the fragment now produced, we have doubts whether it ought to do so.

We must pass over many an amusing anecdote of the early history of Hester Lynch Salusbury, her high Cambro-British lineage (she boasts somewhere of a descent from Charles the Sixth of France and Isabella of Bavaria), her good looks—which induced Hogarth to take her likeness, at fourteen, in the 'Lady's Last Stake'—and only dwell a moment on her singular, masculine education; a less uncommon exception, in those days, to the conventional dreariness of feminine tuition, than in our more monotonous society. Her first instruction was that of the stable—'kicking her heels on a corn-bin, and learning to drive of the old 'coachman'; then came a thorough training in Latin, with some smattering of Greek and Hebrew, and very considerable acquaintance with French and Italian literature. It was a mind thus disciplined which both attracted her in the first instance towards Dr. Johnson, and led his attention towards herself. Her writings show the extreme readiness with which she used the knowledge thus obtained, and prove thereby that it was by no means that of a 'schoolboy of the lowest form,' as Johnson is reported to have said in one of his fits of contradiction. Far from being pretentious or pedantic, she seems to us to have rather depreciated her own acquirements, and neglected the display of them; her extreme versatility of tastes, and disengaged mind, carrying her off from literary occupation to livelier employment so rapidly that the traces of blue disappear, almost as soon as developed, in the rainbow hues of her variety. In truth, and to say it once for all, while we have not found our estimate of Mrs. Piozzi's heart, or of her judgment, raised by the con-

tents of these volumes,—notwithstanding Mr. Hayward's chivalrous running commentary of defence,—our opinion of her talents has been considerably augmented. However deficient in taste and coarse in sentiment she may have shown herself, a very clever woman she unquestionably was.

And a thorough woman also. It may be doubted whether her proficiency in classics and philosophy would have been half so great if she had not begun, school-girl fashion, by falling very much in love with her old tutor. This was a Dr. Arthur Collier\*, a personage who has passed away without leaving any memorials of himself, but whose power over his fair pupils appears to have been of a most romantic character—Cadenus and Vanessa, Abelard and Heloise, rise to the recollection as we read her account of him. She drove away her early suitors in order to make Dr. Collier laugh—

'Who did not perhaps *wish* to see me give a heart away which he held completely in his hand, since he kindly became my preceptor in Latin, logic, rhetoric, &c. We began, I think, before I was thirteen years old. On the day I was sixteen he confessed sixty-four, I remember; the difference or agreement never crossed my mind, nor seemed to have crossed his.' (Vol. i. p. 250.)

'Never have I failed remembering him with a preference as completely distinct from the venerating solicitude which hung heavily over my whole soul whilst connected with Dr. Johnson, as it was from the strong connubial duty that tied my every thought to Mr. Thrale's interest, or from the fervid and attractive passion which made twenty years passed in Piozzi's enchanting society seem like a happy dream of twenty hours. My first friend formed my mind to resemble *his*. It never did resemble that of either of my husbands, and in that of Dr. Johnson mine was swallowed up and lost. . . . Sophia Streatfield too, if yet living, will bear testimony to the strange power of Dr. Arthur Collier over the minds of his youthful pupils when past seventy years old, and to the day of his death; which, when I knew her, she lamented annually by wearing a black dress,' &c. (Vol. i. p. 305.)

'I have heard Miss Streatfield say that she grudged his old valet the happiness of reaching him a glass of wine; and out of her house did he never more seek his residence, but died in her arms, and was buried at her expense, the moment she came of age.' (Vol. i. p. 296.)

The only portion, however, of Mrs. Piozzi's life which interests the ordinary reader is the period of seventeen years, from 1764 to 1781, during which Dr. Johnson was the close friend and

\* We imagine him to have been Arthur Collier, LL.D., described by the author of '*Lives of the Civilians*,' as an 'ingenious but unsteady and eccentric man,' the confidential law adviser of the notorious Duchess of Kingston.

constant visitor of herself and her first husband. And here the revelations contained in these volumes certainly throw a new and unexpected light on the scenes of a household with which we had imagined ourselves most familiar. For who has not had the circle at Streatham in his mind's eye? the wealthy owner, a man of business and politics, yet fond both of society and literature; full of respect and tenderness for his learned friend, and at the same time controlling his eccentricities by the force of masculine friendship; full of attachment for his lively capricious little wife, and though apparently surrendering every minor point to her, yet keeping her as well as his household in order, as Johnson himself phrased it, by lifting up his finger only? A more genial, thoroughly English domestic life than theirs, as described by Johnson, Boswell, and Miss Burney, has certainly never been portrayed. And now we have to learn, on the authority of its mistress, that, with all its plausible exterior, their home was at no time the seat of conjugal peace and confidence, hardly at any time of pecuniary security. We learn that Mr. Thrale, the man of business, was weak, incapable, credulous, ill-tempered, more than once on the verge of bankruptcy, once at least rescued from it only by the energy and cleverness of his wife; that Mr. Thrale, the indulgent husband, was a selfish glutton, utterly regardless of any one's feelings but his own, with no tastes but those of animal enjoyment; that between his wife and himself there was not a grain of love, and scarcely even the affectation of it; that while he provoked her sensitiveness by his unbearable ill-humour, he aroused her jealousy, not only by vulgar misconduct, but by at least one sentimental attachment which caused her the greatest pain, and which is curious enough in its details to merit a passing notice.

For the great rival whom Mrs. Thrale dreaded in her husband's affections is now for the first time disclosed to us, in the person of 'the fair S.S.,' otherwise Miss Sophy Streatfield, already mentioned as the favourite pupil of Dr. Collier; a lady whom Mr. Hayward deserves thanks for having brought to light from the 'limbo of fair women,' and introduced to our acquaintance. Not quite for the first time, indeed; for readers familiar with Madame D'Arblay's memoirs may remember her satirical descriptions of this charming member of Mrs. Thrale's circle, against whom she, the then Fanny Burney, evidently cherished no common spite, not only for her superior beauty, but also for her classical acquirements, her

‘Ivory-neck,  
Nose, and notions à la Grecque;’ •

‘her tearful eyes and her alluring looks;’ and the too obvious partiality with which she was regarded by every one whom Fanny herself wished particularly to attract. Mrs. Thrale’s was, however, a much more fiery and yet less ill-natured jealousy:—

‘Jan. 1779. — Mr. Thrale is fallen in love really and seriously with Sophy Streatfield; but there is no wonder in that; she is very pretty, very gentle, soft, and insinuating, hangs about him, dances round him, cries when she parts with him, squeezes his hand slyly, and with her sweet eyes full of tears looks \* so fondly in his face — and all for love of me as she pretends—that I can hardly, sometimes, help laughing in her face. A man must be not a *man* but an *it* to resist such artillery. Marriott said very well,—

“Man flattering man not always can prevail,  
But woman flattering man can never fail.”

On one occasion the mortification went so far on Mr. Thrale unceremoniously proposing that his wife should change places at dinner with Miss Streatfield, who was threatened with a sore throat, that the poor wife burst into tears, — ‘said something petulant, that perhaps ere long the lady might be at the head of Mr. T.’s table without displacing the mistress of the house, &c., and so left the apartment.’ And she quarrels very seriously with Dr. Johnson and Burke for witnessing the ‘outrage’ with ‘blandness and composure.’

‘Here is Sophy Streatfield again, handsomer than ever, and flushed with new conquests. The Bishop of Chester feels her power, I am sure. She showed us a letter from him that was as tender, and had all the tokens upon it as strong, as I remember to have seen ‘em. I repeated to her out of Pope’s “Homer”—Very well, Sophy, says I—

“Range undisturbed among the hostile crew,  
But touch not Hinchliffe, Hinchliffe is my due.”

‘Miss Streatfield (says my master) could have quoted these lines in the Greek. His saying so piqued me, and piqued me because it was true. I wish I understood Greek! Mr. Thrale’s preference of her to me never vexed me so much as my consciousness — or fear at least — that she has reason for his preference. She has ten times my beauty and five times my scholarship; wit and knowledge has she none.’

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\* According to Miss Burney, she had the singular gift of being able to cry whenever she was asked. ‘Without any pretence of affliction, to weep only because she was bid, though bid in a manner to forbid any one else,—to be in good spirits all the time,—to see the whole company expiring in laughter at her tears, without being at all offended,—and at last to dry them up, and go on with the same sort of conversation she held before they started.’ (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 222.)

'May, 1781.—Sophy Streatfield is an incomprehensible girl. Here has she been telling me such tender passages of what passed between her and Mr. Thrale, that she half frights me somehow; at the same time declaring her attachment to Vyse, yet her willingness to marry Lord Loughborough. Good God! what an uncommon girl! and handsome almost to perfection I think: delicate in her manners, soft in her voice, and strict in her principles. I never saw such a character, she is wholly out of my reach; and I can only say that the man who runs mad for Sophy Streatfield, will have no reason to be ashamed of his passion. Few people, however, seem disposed to take her for life. Everybody's admiration, as Mrs. Byron says, and nobody's choice.'

'Jan. 1. 1782. — Sophy Streatfield has begun the new year nicely with a new conquest (Dr. Burney). . . . How she contrives to keep bishops, and brewers, and doctors, and directors of the East India Company, all in chains so, and almost all at the same time, would amaze a wiser person than me; I can only say, let us mark the end.' (Vol. ii. p. 332.)

Poor S. S.! between the vigilant eyes of Mrs. Thrale and Fanny Burney, she had need to have walked more warily than seems to have been her practice. 'The end' was pretty much what her brace of fair critics anticipated, and probably helped to produce. She was 'finally given up by her injurious lover, 'Dr. Vyse,' says Madame D'Arblay's Diary for 1792. Once, after many years, that lady met her in 1820,—still S. S., and 'living by herself, in Clifford Street.' She inquired after Mrs. Piozzi, and they parted; and we hear no more of her.

Altogether, however, the portrait of Mr. Thrale by his clever widow is one which we receive with considerable distrust. So entirely hard and loveless a delineation was perhaps never placed on record by woman of the husband of her youth, with whom she had lived on apparently affectionate terms to his death, and the father of her children. She seems to have revenged herself, on the ghost of her first spouse, for all the suffering which the displeasure of her children, the indignation of her friends, and the censure of the world, brought on her in relation to her union with the second. We must, however, hasten over the history of this part of her married life, in order to dwell more particularly on what will, to most readers, be the most interesting part of these volumes,—the account of her quarrel with Dr. Johnson. On this subject Lord Macaulay has left a few very peculiar and characteristic pages; strongly displaying that extraordinary power of condensing old materials, and binding them together by the cement of his own imagination, which he had in common with Gibbon, and beyond all other men; and which perhaps made him what he was more than any

other of his singular mental faculties. It has however exposed him to many shrewd attacks. Mr. Hayward in this instance undertakes, we will not say to amend Lord Macaulay's elaborate structure, but altogether to demolish it. And, as the great historian's reputation for good or evil is matter of interest to all of us, we wish to induce our readers to judge between them. Here is his statement of the events which happened in the Streatham household on the death of its master:—

'The kind and generous Thrale was no more; and it would have been well if his wife had been laid beside him. But she survived to be the laughing-stock of those who had envied her, and to draw from the eyes of the old man who had loved her beyond anything in this world, tears far more bitter than he would have shed over her grave. With some estimable and many agreeable qualities, she was not made to be independent. The control of a mind more steadfast than her own was necessary to her respectability. While she was restrained by her husband, a man of sense and firmness, indulgent to her taste in trifles, but always the undisputed master of his house, her worst offences had been impertinent jokes, white lies, and short fits of pettishness ending in sunny good humour. But he was gone; and she was left an opulent widow of forty, with strong sensibility, volatile fancy, and slender judgment. She soon fell in love with a music master from Brescia, in whom nobody but herself could discover anything to admire. Her pride, and perhaps some better feelings, struggled hard against this degrading passion. But the struggle irritated her nerves, soured her temper, and at length endangered her health. Conscious that her choice was one which Johnson could not approve, she became desirous to escape from his inspection. Her manner towards him changed. She was sometimes cold and sometimes petulant. She did not conceal her joy when he left Streatham; she never pressed him to return; and, if he came unbidden, she received him in a manner which convinced him that he was no longer a welcome guest. He took the very intelligible hints which she gave. He read, for the last time, a chapter of the Greek Testament in the library which had been formed by himself. In a solemn and tender prayer he commended the house and its inmates to the Divine protection, and, with emotions which choked his voice and convulsed his powerful frame, left for ever that beloved home for the gloomy and desolate house behind Fleet Street, where the few and evil days which still remained to him were to run out.' (*Macaulay's Miscellaneous Writings*, vol. ii. p. 300.)

Mr. Hayward's pleading, on behalf of the lady, in opposition to this indictment, is rather to be collected from various passages in the volumes before us, than to be presented to our readers in the form of an extract. He explains away the gradual decline of the lady's attachment to Johnson. He denies the real strength of Johnson's attachment to her. He

regards their connexion more as one of the every day half-friendships of social existence, like Madame du Deffand's and Pont-de-Veyle's in the old French story, maintained as long as people are pleasant to each other, and discarded so soon as their mutual convenience or agreeableness ceases, than as the romance of a life which Macaulay delineates. He attributes its cessation, not to any neglect on the part of the lady towards her friend, but, in the first instance, to that friend's unamiable and exacting ways; subsequently, and mainly, to his coarse unauthorized interference in the matter of her second marriage. And, lastly, he indicates gross errors of detail in Macaulay's statement of the particular facts from which he draws his conclusions.

Now we have no hesitation in saying, that although Mr. Hayward's argument is conducted with great ingenuity, — although he maintains the side which is at first sight the most probable, certainly that towards which the assent of people of the world is most naturally attracted, — although, too, he has fully succeeded in pointing out some marked inaccuracies; still, the more comprehensive the view we take of the whole case, the more strongly does the persuasion come over us that Macaulay was substantially in the right: that here, as in so many other cases where his accuracy has been controverted, that power of divination which he derived from his astonishing memory for details and intuitive perception of their bearing on general views, has led him in the main more near to truth than his critics, notwithstanding all the minuteness of their inspection: —

'If,' says Mr. Hayward, 'Johnson chose to repudiate and denounce one whose kindness had soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched because she refused to submit to his dictation in a matter of life and death to her and of comparative indifference to him, the severance of the tie was entirely his act.' . . . 'The reader will not fail to admire the rhetorical skill with which the banishment from Streatham, the gloomy and desolate home, the marriage with the Italian fiddler, the painful and melancholy death, and the merry Christmas, have been grouped together for the sake of giving picturesqueness, impressive unity, and damnatory vigour to the sketch. Action, action, action, says the orator: effect, effect, effect, says the historian. Give Archimedes a place to stand on, and he would move the world. Give Talleyrand \* a line of a man's handwriting, and he would engage to ruin him. Give Lord Macaulay a hint, an insulated fact or phrase, a scrap of a journal, or the tag end of a song, and on it, by the abused prerogative of genius, he would construct a theory of national or personal character, which should confer undying glory or inflict indelible disgrace.' (Vol. i. p. 132.)

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\* Surely it was Fouché of whom this was said, truly or falsely.



This is a brisk attack, and, for aught we know, a deserved one in other instances; but let us look at the present. Mr. Hayward evidently implies that the quarrel was, as we have said, the result of Johnson's meddling at the time of her marriage with Piozzi; Lord Macaulay says that it arose from gradual estrangement on *her* part, beginning long before that event.

Now, on March 21. 1783, fifteen months before the marriage in question, Boswell speaks of the severance of the old friendship as effected: '*Appearances of friendship*,' he says, '*were still maintained between them.*' Boswell was at feud with the lady when he wrote, as we all know. But his evidence is surely sufficient as to the fact of the rupture, though not as to its causes. As to these, let us hear Mrs. Thrale herself.

In April, 1783 (the month after this visit of Boswell's), she left London definitively for Bath; and thus she states the reason for the step in her '*Anecdotes*': —

'I had been crossed in my intentions of going abroad, and found it convenient, for every reason of health, peace, and pecuniary circumstances, to retire to Bath, *where I knew Mr. Johnson would not follow me*, and where I could for that reason command some little time for my own use,—a thing impossible while I remained at Streattham or at London; as my hours, carriage, and servants had long been at his command, who would not rise in the morning till twelve o'clock perhaps, and oblige me to make breakfast for him till the bell rang for dinner, though much displeased if the toilet was neglected; and though much of the time we passed together was spent in blaming or deriding, very justly, my neglect of economy, and waste of that money which might make many families happy. Veneration for his virtue, reverence for his talents, delight in his conversation, and habitual endurance of a yoke my husband first put upon me, made me go on so long with Mr. Johnson; but the perpetual confinement I will own to have been terrifying in the first year of our confinement, and irksome in the last; nor could I pretend to support it without help, when my coadjutor was no more.' (Vol. i. p. 101.)

If this passage does not completely justify Macaulay's representation that the change was on her side, not his, then language has no meaning. Let us now see how Johnson himself wrote respecting it, just two months later, after Mrs. Thrale's secession to Bath, in a letter cited by Mr. Hayward himself: —

'June 19. 1783.—I am sitting down in no very cheerful solitude, to write a narrative which would once have affected you with tenderness and sorrow, but which you will perhaps pass over now with the careless glance of frigid indifference. For this diminution of regard, however, I know not whether I ought to blame you, *who may have reasons which I cannot know*; and I do not blame myself, who have for a great part of human life done you what good I could, and have

never done you evil.' (*Letters to and from Dr. Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 268.)

Next, as to the real state of Johnson's feelings for the lady who thus threw him over. 'The old man,' says Macaulay, 'had loved her far beyond anything in the world.' So sentimental a statement by no means coincides with Mr. Hayward's far more matter-of-fact and world-like view of the case. Miss Seward had said long ago, smartly though somewhat coarsely, that 'his last and long-enduring homage for Mrs. Thrale was perhaps composed of cupboard love, Platonic love, and vanity tickled and gratified, from morn to night, by incessant homage.' On this hint Mr. Hayward enlarges, nothing loth:—

'Johnson's affection for Mrs. Piozzi was far (says he) from being a deep, devoted, or absorbing feeling at any time.' 'His gallantry, and the flattering air of deferential tenderness which he knew how to throw into his commerce with his female favourites, may have had little less to do with his domestication at Streatham than his celebrity, his learning, or his wit.' 'If' (he says elsewhere, referring to the vulgar gossip of the day, attributing to Johnson the intention of proposing himself to the widow) 'the notion ever crossed Johnson's mind, it must have been dismissed some time prior to her marriage.' . . . 'But the threatened loss of a pleasant house may have had a good deal to do with the sorrowing indignation of his set. Her meditated social extinction among them might have been commemorated in the words of the French epitaph'—

"Ci git une de qui la vertu  
Fut moins que la table encensée:  
On ne plaint point la femme abattue  
Mais bien la table renversée."

(Vol. i. pp. 129. 28. 122.)

Had Mr. Hayward, when he passed such slighting judgment on the motives of the venerable sage who awes us still, no fear before his eyes of the anathema aimed by Carlyle at Croker for similar disparagement? 'As neediness, and greediness, and vain glory are the chief qualities of most men, so no man, not even a Johnson, acts, or can think of acting, on any other principle. Whatever, therefore, cannot be referred to the two former categories, Need and Greed, is without scruple ranged under the latter.'

We take an entirely different view at once of the character and the feelings of Johnson. Rude, uncouth, arrogant as he was—spoilt as he was, which is far worse, by flattery and toadying and the silly homage of inferior worshippers—selfish as he was in his eagerness for small enjoyments and disregard of small attentions—that which lay at the very bottom of his character, that which

constitutes the great source of his power in life, and connects him after death with the hearts of all of us, is his spirit of imaginative romance. He was romantic in almost all things — in politics, in religion, in his musings on the supernatural world, in friendship for men, and in love for women. He made to himself ideal heroes and heroines of real people, far more attractive than he could portray in fiction, raised them on pedestals, and laid before them imperishable offerings. Savage, Beauclerk, Hervey, even poor old Levett, were to him exalted characters. His ugly old wife was an angel. As regards the ladies, indeed, Miss Seward, with feminine acuteness, hit this point of his character long ago, while his male biographers missed it: —

‘Love,’ she says, ‘is the great softener of savage dispositions. Johnson had always a metaphysic passion for one princess or another: first, the rustic Lucy Porter, before he married her nauseous mother; next, the handsome but naughty Molly Aston; next, the sublimated, methodistic Hill Boothby, who read her Bible in Hebrew; and, lastly, the more charming Mrs. Thrale, with the talent of the first, the learning of the second, and with more worth than a bushel of such sinners and such saints.’

Why, therefore, Mr. Hayward should say that ‘his affection for Mrs. Piozzi was far from being a deep, devoted, or absorbing feeling at any time’ we are at a loss to imagine. His own writings, as well as the evidence of his biographers, are surely more than sufficient to prove the contrary; and to prove, moreover, that he worshipped in her, not the pleasant woman she really was, but a princess of ideal perfection, to which she had not the smallest claim. The quaint but most lover-like Latin sapphics addressed to her from Skye,— the passionate words of his last recorded letter to her: ‘I who have loved you, esteemed you, revered you, and served you; I who long thought you the first of womankind,’—these breathe the language of a very different feeling from an ordinary old gentleman’s penchant for a lady with a good table and agreeable drawing-room. Such was the estimate which Baretti formed of the relation between them (and he was a keen observer) when he speaks of —

‘All those exaggerations in her favour which his simple heart intended as most serious and most solemn.’ ‘So far,’ he adds, ‘did the fascinated Doctor push his immoderate encomiums, as to tell her, even in writing, of a “consanguinity between their intellects;” an expression which I am sure would highly have offended him if uttered by anybody else.’ ‘On the praises of Mrs. Thrale’ (says Miss Reynolds, in a passage quoted by Mr. Hayward himself) ‘he used

to dwell with a peculiar delight, a paternal fondness, expressive of *conscious exultation* in being so intimately acquainted with her.' 'One day, in speaking of her to Mr. Harris, author of "Hermes," and expatiating on her various perfections, the solidity of her virtues, the brilliancy of her wit, and the strength of her understanding; he quoted some lines (a stanza, I believe, but from what author I know not), with which he concluded his most eloquent eulogium, and of these I retained but the last two lines —

"Virtues — of such a generous kind,  
"Good in the last recesses of the mind."

Such was his fancied 'padrona,' his 'mistress,' his 'Thralia 'dulcis,' a compound of the bright lady of fashion and the ideal Urania who rapt his soul into spheres of perfection. Such she was for the few happy years of his long life. And when, with the close of that life in near prospect, the heart was at once wounded by the gradual but marked cessation of her interest in him, and the eyes opened to her real character by what he (and the world) esteemed her miserable fall, is there any necessity for attributing to spite, or to selfishness, or to churlish disappointment, the inexpressible bitterness, nay savageness, of the feelings which struggled into light in his last correspondence and dealings with her?

Not that there is any reason for visiting on the poor lady the fantastic errors of her self-deceiving admirer. She has quite enough of her own to answer for without being saddled, in addition, with supposed sins against the standard of that imaginary excellence which he ascribed to her. Theirs was but the case, familiar to us in ordinary life, of many an ill-assorted couple in love or in friendship. The swain is rough, uncouth, neglectful, sullen, acrimonious even, and yet, internally, a very fountain of enthusiasm; living in dreams, half stupefied himself by the incense he is lavishing on idols. The lady, it may be, is full at once of frolic and of tenderness, as ready for tears as smiles, and fluttering all over with superficial sentiment; and yet, at the very core of her heart, destitute of every grain of romance, thoroughly realistic in her appreciation of the world as it is, and valuing in her own soul her admirer's rhapsodies merely for the consequence which they add to herself. Many such fair ones there be, to whom we can but apply the words uttered by the inspired but most ungallant Italian in disparagement of the whole sex: —

'A quella eccelsa imago  
Sorge di rado il femminile ingegno :  
E ciò che inspira ai generosi amanti  
La sua propria beltà, donna non pensa,  
Nè comprender potria. *Non cape in quelle*  
*Anguste fronti alto consiglio.*'

From the beginning to the end of their connexion Mrs. Thrale, — though she heartily admired Johnson, though her regard for him was real, though for a long time she was not only flattered by his society but liked it, though fully able to appreciate his literary excellence, and to value many of his nobler traits of character, — yet never, in the real sense of the word, understood him, or measured the depth of his sentiment for herself. The well-known passage which we have cited from the ‘Anecdotes,’ giving her account of their separation, is proof enough of this. ‘It is to be regretted,’ says Mr. Hayward, truly enough, ‘that Mrs. Thrale should have rested her partial estrangement from Johnson upon grounds which would justify a suspicion that much of the cordiality she had shown him during the balmy days of their friendship had been forced.’ He was unjust to her, because what he condemned was, not the weaknesses of a very foolish but still loveable woman, but departures from a poetical standard of excellence established by his own fancy. She was unjust to him, because she did not perceive from what an unfathomed depth of feeling his anger towards her sprang, nor make allowance for that which her lighter nature could scarcely comprehend, — how

‘To be wrath with one we love  
Doth work like madness in the brain!’

And in this cloud of misunderstanding each went his way, and was seen of the other no more. ‘Tis an old tale, and often told,’ and it is precisely because it has been so often told, and not on account of the eminence of one of the individuals concerned, that we love to discuss it over and over again with an undying interest. ‘It is we ourselves who are Hamlet,’ says Hazlitt, accounting for the special interest with which we regard that character. In the same manner, it is we ourselves who feel and converse in the drama produced by Boswell and Company; and therefore it is immortal.

So much as to the general nature and cause of the interruption of Johnson’s and Mrs. Thrale’s intimacy: let us now add a few words as to the errors of detail imputed by Mr. Hayward to Lord Macaulay in its history. On the passage ‘she never pressed him to return to Streatham,’ and so forth, he thus comments: —

‘Streatham had been let to Lord Shelburne, and they quitted it together. She never pressed him to return, because she never returned during his lifetime. For the same reason he could not have come again as her guest, bidden or unbidden; and instead of leaving Streatham for his gloomy and desolate house behind Fleet Street, he

accompanied her, on the wonted footing of an inmate, first to Brighton, where we have seen him making himself particularly disagreeable to her friends, and then to Argyll Street.' (Vol. i. p. 123.)

This is coming to close quarters; but let us look at the question a little more microscopically still. 'She never pressed him to return, because she never returned during his lifetime.' This is true enough in fact, but does not the writer misconceive Macaulay's statement? Macaulay adds, 'If he came unbidden, she received him in a manner which convinced him that he was no longer a welcome guest.' He is speaking, therefore, *not* of the final departure, but of other temporary departures and returns. What authority Macaulay may have had for the statement we know not, but Mr. Hayward's answer to it (if we understand them both right) is beside the mark. Johnson's *final* departure is afterwards described by Macaulay, with greater detail and in different language.

He accompanied her on the wonted footing of an inmate to Brighton, and then to Argyll Street.' Quite true as to Brighton; and Macaulay's omission to notice a fact which is patent in all the common accounts of Johnson's life is either strangely careless, or an unjustifiable sacrifice of truth to effect. Johnson went in October 1782 from Streatham to Brighton; where he seems to have lived a kind of boarding-house life with the Thrales and Burneys, and where (as Mr. Hayward truly remarks) he 'made himself particularly disagreeable to Mrs. Thrale's friends,' and indeed to all the world. In fact, so odious did he just then become, that (according to good-natured Fanny Burney) the society of Brighton made up their minds to cut him, and he was not asked out into company with his fellow lodgers. No doubt the growing 'estrangement,' ill veiled by outward familiarity, was beginning to work on his temper. But when Mr. Hayward adds, 'and to Argyll Street;' and when he says (vol. i. p. 98.) that 'on Boswell's arriving in London the year following, March 20. 1783, he found Johnson still domesticated with Mrs. Thrale and her daughters in Argyll Street,' he in his turn seems to us to overstate his case, to rely too much on the colouring given by Mrs. Thrale to her own story; and to produce a false impression. It is clear enough from Miss Burney's Diary (see vol. ii. pp. 211, 228, 233, 260.) that after escorting Mrs. Thrale back to town, in November, 1782, the Doctor removed at once to his own 'desolate home behind Fleet Street,' and remained there with little interruption all that winter. It is true that Boswell found him on March 20. in Argyll Street, but it is also clear that this was a mere temporary visit (Johnson, it must be

remembered, had much business to transact with her), and that *next day* he returned to his own lodgings. (Croker's Boswell, one vol. edit. p. 714.) And this was the last visit he paid her. In April she went, as we have seen, to Bath, whereby, according to her account, she kept him at a distance. And though their correspondence was kept up, between tenderness and huff, for more than a twelvemonth longer, we are not aware of any evidence *that they ever met again*.

The general result seems to be that if Macaulay had been able to resist the temptation of the picturesque leave-taking scene in Streatham library, and had made the quarrel a little later and a little less abrupt, he would have been strictly, as he is substantially, accurate; while Mr. Hayward, justly noticing Macaulay's errors of detail, is himself unconsciously led by his championship of Mrs. Thrale to adopt her little 'white lies' on the subject, and to give a version of the transaction which does not faithfully represent either its growth or its causes.

How far their disunion may have been promoted by the lady's consciousness of the growing attachment for Piozzi, against which she was vainly struggling during her sojourn at Bath, and by Johnson's knowledge or suspicions respecting it, neither he nor she have clearly told us. We are left to conjecture on this head. Piozzi had been driven out of England by the urgency of Mrs. Thrale's family, especially her eldest daughter, — as we shall presently see, — in the beginning of 1783. He was recalled in the spring of 1784, and they were married that summer. On the occasion of that marriage a famous correspondence took place between the two old friends. Mrs. Piozzi published some part of it. Mr. Hayward has now been enabled to print the whole from her manuscripts. It consists of five\* letters. A garbled version of No. 3. appeared in a very singular shape in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for December, 1784 (beginning: 'If you are already ignominiously married'). Dr. Johnson said of this forgery, that 'not a sentence of it was his, but it was an *ad-umbration* of what he wrote on the occasion.' And so it appears to be; every paragraph almost exactly corresponding in sense to the original, the style thoroughly similar, and yet not a sentence the same. 'Probably,' says Sir John Hawkins, 'some one who had heard him repeat the letter had given it to the public in the form in which it appeared.' The knight may have known more about this little piece of treason than he chose to avow (see vol. i. p. 114.) or possibly Lady Lade, Mr. Thrale's sister. It is, at all events, a curious freak of the Protean spirit

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\* Six, Mr. Hayward says, but he prints only five.

of literary fabrication. But Mrs. Thrale's reply to this letter (No. 4.) is the gem of the collection. She was stung by reproof into energy, and her natural eloquence will fully bear comparison with the laboured antitheses of her lecturer: —

'July 4. 1784. — Sir, I have this morning received from you so rough a letter in reply to one which was both tenderly and respectfully written, that I am forced to desire the conclusion of a correspondence which I can bear to continue no longer. The birth of *my second husband* is not meaner than that of my first; his sentiments are not meaner; his profession is not meaner; and his superiority in what he professes acknowledged by all mankind. It is want of fortune then, that is ignominious; the character of the man I have chosen has no other claim to such an epithet. The religion to which he has been always a zealous adherent will, I hope, teach him to forgive insults he has not deserved; mine will, I hope, enable me to bear them at once with dignity and patience. To hear that I have forfeited my fame, is indeed the greatest insult I ever yet received. My fame is as unsullied as snow, or I should think it unworthy of him who must henceforth protect it.

'*I write by the coach, the more speedily and effectually to prevent your coming hither.*' — (That is, to Bath, on which we shall have a word to say presently.) — 'Perhaps by my fame (and I hope it is so) you mean only that celebrity which is a consideration of a much lower kind. I care for that only as it may give pleasure to my husband and his friends.

'Farewell, dear Sir, and accept my best wishes. You have always commanded my esteem, and long enjoyed the fruits of a friendship never infringed by one harsh expression on my part during twenty years of familiar talk. Never did I oppose your will or control your wish; nor can your unmerited severity itself lessen my regard; but till you have changed your opinion of Mr. Piozzi, let us converse no more. God bless you.' (Vol. i. p. 111.)

But did the fair widow's unlucky attachment deserve such severity of rebuke as the moralist bestowed upon it, and as Macaulay echoes? Was it justly described as 'a degrading passion for a music-master from Brescia, in whom nobody but herself could find anything to admire'?

On this nice question Mr. Hayward, in his capacity of advocate, is not only extremely severe towards the lady's detractors, but chivalrously tolerant towards herself.

'Did Johnson,' he says, 'or the rest of her acquaintance who joined in censuring or repudiating her, ever attempt to enter into her feelings, and weigh her conduct with reference to its tendency to promote her own happiness? Could they have done so if they tried? Can any one so identify himself or herself with another as to be sure of the soundness of the counsel, or the justice of the reproof? She was neither impoverishing her children (who had all independent



fortunes) nor abandoning them. She was setting public opinion at defiance, which is commonly a foolish thing to do; but what is public opinion to a woman whose heart is breaking, and who finds, after a desperate effort, that she is unequal to the sacrifice demanded of her? She accepted Piozzi deliberately, with full knowledge of his character; and she never repented of her choice.' . . . 'Her love match was an eminently happy one; and the consciousness that she had transgressed conventional observances or prejudices, not moral rules, enabled her to outlive and bear down calumny.' (Vol. i. p. 115.)

'The repugnance of her daughters to the match,' he says elsewhere, 'was reasonable and intelligible; but to appreciate the tone taken by her friends, we must bear in mind the social position of Italian singers and musical performers *at the period*. "Amusing vagabonds!" are the epithets by which Lord Byron designates Catalini and Naldi in 1809; and such is the light in which they were undoubtedly regarded in 1783. Mario would have been treated with the same indiscriminating illiberality as Piozzi.' (Vol. i. p. 106.)

Nothing can be more reasonable; and we should certainly live in a more peaceful (if not more entertaining) world, if nobody in it reproved another until he had so far identified himself with the culprit as to be sure of the justice of the reproof; perhaps, also, if a fiddler were rated higher in society than a duke without accomplishments, and a carpenter far higher than either. But neither reasoning nor gallantry will alter the case, nor prevail over the world's prejudice against unequal marriages, any more than its prejudices in favour of birth and fashion. It has never been quite established to the satisfaction of the philosophic mind, why the rule of society should be that 'as the husband, so the wife is,' and why a lady who contracts a marriage below her station is looked on with far severer eyes than a gentleman *qui s'encauille* to the same degree. But these things are so,—as the next dame of rank and fortune, and widow of an M.P., who, rashly relying on Mr. Hayward's assertion that the world has grown wiser, espouses a foreign 'professional,' will assuredly find to her cost, although she may escape the ungenerous public attacks which poor Mrs. Piozzi earned by her connexion with literary men.

No doubt it was additionally hard on her to encounter at once the prejudices of two societies which do not in the least comprehend each other. For the Piozzis at home were proud of their family, as became Lombard nobles, and 'doubted' (as she laughingly complained) 'her being a gentlewoman by birth, 'because her first husband was a brewer.' But the question is, was the union such as to justify her real friends in their earnest opposition to it, and excuse their bitterness afterwards? It

surely was so, and she felt that it was so. ‘She was perfectly ‘aware of her degradation,’ says the late Miss Williams Wynn, who knew her in later life in Wales. And though Mr. Hayward, who quotes Miss Wynn’s remark (vol. i. p. 123.) would set it aside as contrary to ‘uniform and concurrent’ testimony, we cannot but believe the lady. As for the rest, there is no doubt that Piozzi made her a good husband, although it is not explicable how he could have ever inspired a passion; and although she doubtless vaunted a little the felicity of her condition, in order the more boldly to defy the world’s judgment. Piozzi (we are told) ‘was one of fourteen children of a poor ‘nobleman of Brescia. He was destined for the Church; but his ‘uncle prophesied truly: “I fear, Gabriele, thou wilt never get “nearer the altar than the organ loft!”’ He seems to have been a well-intentioned, worthy fellow; whether good or ill looking is much debated; extremely ‘innocent company,’ as Pepys says of his own father; with only two attachments, his wife and his fiddle; and incapable, to the end of his life, of comprehending in the slightest degree her blue-stocking raptures and smart conversation.

But the scandal lay still less in the marriage itself, than in the preliminaries and the manner of it. We feel that it is almost ignoble work to be disinterring, one by one, the frailties of this poor lady for the idle purpose of a posthumous controversy; but as the story has been commenced, it may as well be told out. The ‘Miscellaneous Extracts from *Thraliana*,’ printed at the end of the second volume, reached Mr. Hayward, as he informs us, ‘after the preceding pages had been printed off.’ Had they reached him earlier, we cannot but suspect that he would have been less eager to break a lance in defence of his dame’s discretion. In these pages, not composed with an after-thought but written off in the true spirit of a diary, she exhibits to the full the progress of her infatuation. Already, in 1780, she tells us of Piozzi’s performance on the piano, ‘that every ‘tone goes to the heart, I think, and fills the mind with emotions ‘one would not be without, though inconvenient enough sometimes.’ By August, 1782, fifteen months after Thrale’s death, they had reached the stage of a half-recognised engagement. ‘Piozzi thinks still more than he says, that I shall give him up; ‘and if Queeney (her eldest daughter, afterwards Lady Keith) ‘made herself more amiable to me, and took the proper method, ‘I suppose I should.’ Her child, therefore, — indeed, all her elder children, — were by this time engaged in earnest endeavours to rescue their mother from her own weakness. ‘Then came the enforced parting of the pair in the spring of 1783: —

‘Mr. Piozzi and I had made what we considered as our final parting in London about a month before, when I requested him to tame the newspapers by quitting England, and leave me to endure my debts, my distractions, and the bitter reproaches of my family as I could. He had given up all my letters, promises, &c., into Miss Thrale’s hands.’ . . . ‘Miss Thrale took the papers and turned her back on him, I remember.’ (Vol. i. p. 272.)

What concurrence of events could have brought on her this most strange humiliation of having her loveletters and pledges returned, not to herself, but to her daughter, a girl of twenty, can only be conjectured. It would seem from some passages in these ‘Remains’ as if pecuniary difficulties had placed her at the mercy of her children, and this was the price she had to pay for their forbearance. She soon repented of her own forced obduracy. However, she ‘meant not to call him back till all ‘her debts were paid.’ But the effort was too much for her health: —

‘After much silent suffering, Doctor Dobson, who felt for me even to tears, left me one evening in the slipper-bath, and I suppose ran to Lady Keith and spoke with some severity; for she came into the room with him, and said, “The doctor tells me, Madam, he must write to Mr. Piozzi about your health: will you be pleased to tell us where to find him?” “At Milan, my dear,” was the faint reply, “with his friend the Marquis D’Araciel, a Spanish grandee. *His* palace, Milan, is sufficient direction.” . . . So Dr. Dobson, I trust, took pen and ink, and the next day I was better.’

So the family gave up fighting the point, and Piozzi returned in the summer of 1784\*, and they were married in hot haste; but when? There is a mystery about the date which, now that we are fairly launched into this stream of gossip *de minimis*, may be worth a moment’s effort at elucidation. According to the periodicals of the day, and Mrs. Piozzi’s own statement, the ceremony took place at Bath, on the 25th July. Yet the two last letters of the correspondence with Johnson on the marriage, just cited, evidently treat it as an accomplished fact; and Mrs. Piozzi, in her publication, added the signature ‘Hester L. Piozzi’ to that we have extracted. Mr. Croker did not know what to make of this, and resorted to the unsatisfactory suggestion that ‘Mrs. Piozzi, to avoid Johnson’s importunities, wished him to understand as done that which was only settled ‘to be done.’ Mr. Hayward thinks he has cleared up the difficulty by discovering that there is no signature to her first

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\* On July 2, says Mr. Hayward, which, however, is not quite consistent with the lady’s own story, as we shall presently see.

autograph letter (but, as he saw the collection among Mrs. Piozzi's papers, this must have been a copy; the original must have been either kept or destroyed by Johnson himself), and that both Dr. Johnson's autograph letters are addressed to 'Mrs. Thrale.' This only proves that the Doctor was not sure of the completion of the marriage, though he may have suspected it. Now let us look a little closer at the dates.

The letter headed No. 2. of this 'Correspondence' is a circular addressed by Mrs. Thrale to the guardians. It is dated 'Bath, June 30,' and says:—

'As one of the executors of Mr. Thrale's will and guardian of his daughters, I think it my duty to acquaint you that the three eldest left Bath for their own house at Brighthelmstone in company with an amiable friend, Miss Nicholson.' . . . 'I waited on them to Salisbury, Wilton, &c., and offered to attend them to the sea-side myself, but they preferred this lady's company to mine, having heard that Mr. Piozzi is coming back from Italy, and judging perhaps by our past friendship and continued correspondence that his return would be succeeded by our marriage.' (Vol. i. p. 111.)

This letter is now printed for the first time by Mr. Hayward. But he has omitted to notice the light which is thrown on it by Baretti's account of the marriage. That account is given in the 'European Magazine' for 1788. It is very circumstantial, and too long to transcribe, but the upshot is this: He says that, in order to meet her returning lover, she left Bath with her daughters as for a journey to Brighton; quitted them on some pretence at Salisbury, and posted off to town, *deceiving Dr. Johnson, who continued to direct to her at Bath, as usual.* 'In London she kept herself concealed for some days in my parish, and not very far distant from my own habitation, . . . in Suffolk Street, Middlesex Hospital.' 'In a few weeks,' he adds, 'she was in a condition personally to resort to Mr. Greenland (her lawyer) to settle preliminaries, then returned to Bath with Piozzi, and there was married.' Now Baretti was a libeller, and not to be believed except upon compulsion; but if he does speak the truth, then the date, 'Bath, June 30,' of her circular letter, is a mystification; so is the passage in her letter to Johnson of July 4, about 'sending it by the coach to prevent his coming.' Of course she was mortally afraid of the Doctor's coming, for if he had come he would have found her flown. According to this supposition, she did not return to Bath at all, but remained perdue in London, with her lover, during the whole 'Correspondence.' Is it the true one?

We cannot but suspect that it is, and that the solution of the whole of this little domestic mystery is to be found in a passage

in the 'Autobiographical Memoir,' vol. i. p. 277. There were *two* marriages : —

'Miss Nicholson went with us to Stonehenge, Wilton, &c., *whence I returned to Bath* to wait for Piozzi. He was here on the eleventh day after he got Dobson's letter. In twenty-six more we were married *in London* by the Spanish ambassador's chaplain, and returned hither to be married by Mr. Morgan, of Bath, at St. James's Church, July 25. 1784.'

Now in order to make this account tally with Baretti's, we must allow for a slight exertion of that talent for 'white lies' on the lady's part, of which her friends, Johnson included, used half playfully and half in earnest to accuse her. And we are afraid Baretti's story does appear, on the face of it, the more probable of the two. It does seem more likely, since they were to be married in London (of which Baretti knew nothing), that she met Piozzi secretly in London on his arrival, than that she performed the awkward evolutions of returning from Salisbury to Bath to wait for him there, then going to London in company with him to be married, and then back to Bath to be married over again. But if this be so, then the London marriage most likely took place almost immediately on the meeting of the enamoured couple, and while the 'Correspondence' was going on. In which case the words in the 'Memoir' 'in twenty-six days,' &c., were apparently intended, by a little bit of feminine adroitness, to appear to apply to this first marriage, — of the suddenness of which she may have been ashamed, — while they really apply to the conclusion of the whole affair by the *second*. Will any one have the Croker-like curiosity to inquire whether any record remains of the dates of marriages celebrated by the Spanish ambassador's chaplain?

And now, having summed up as far as the materials admit the history of this unworthy courtship and unhonoured wedding, we must ask once more whether Johnson, the friend of her deceased husband, her children's guardian, and her own devoted admirer, in his fierce condemnation of her conduct, deserves rather Macaulay's sympathy or Mr. Hayward's criticism?

The newspapers and magazines, which had been the plague of her early widowhood by their personalities, now assailed her with almost unexampled scurrility; their shafts being chiefly directed, as it should seem, by the odious Baretti, the former inmate of her house; the history of whose hostility is extremely well told in Mr. Hayward's pages. She and her husband escaped from them to Italy, where they spent two years which seem to have been among the happiest of her agitated life. She gave the result of her travels to the world in 1789, in two

volumes of 'Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany.' The raptures of ordinary Italian tourists entertain us but little in print even when new, and still less when the sensations recorded are those of seventy years since: but Mrs. Piozzi had the rare advantage of knowing the interior of Italian families; and what from the life which this circumstance imparts to her pages, what from her own real talent for description, they are full of interest even now.

We can, however, afford to chronicle Mrs. Piozzi's doings and writings no farther, through the period of her second happy marriage, or her busy, rattling, social widowhood. She became a most prolific scribbler, trying her hand with great intrepidity at every style of composition, from 'frightful stories,' *bouts-rimés*, and other innocent amusements of the Della Crusca coterie, into whose congenial society she got at Florence, up to 'Retrospection: or a Review of the most striking and important Events, Characters, Situations; and their Consequences, which the last eighteen hundred years have presented to the view of Mankind,' in a thousand pages quarto. She built a house in Wales and christened it 'Brynbella'; was at moderate feud with her daughters all her days, each side accusing the other of 'want of heart;' and excited a good deal of Cambrian animadversion by leaving some of her property to a nephew of Piozzi's, as she had a perfect right to do. She lived to be eighty; and to form, when close on that age, a last *belle passion* for Conway, a handsome actor: on which circumstance Mr. Hayward, as in duty bound, touches with much gentleness. We must add that in all relations of life, except those with her first husband's family, she appears to have been friendly, generous, and kind-hearted. 'Her piety,' says Mr. Hayward, 'was genuine;' and 'old fashioned politicians, whose watchword was Church and King, will be delighted with her politics.' She was a personage, on the whole, to be remembered with more of cordial feeling than of censure, and whose errors might have been passed over as those of one who, in common phrase, was 'no one's enemy but her own,' had not the vindication of the dearer and more honoured memory of her great friend been incompatible with such silence.

- ART. VIII. — 1. *Babrii Fabulæ Æsopææ cum Fabularum Depeditarum Fragmentis.* Recensuit et breviter illustravit GEORGIUS CORNEWALL LEWIS, A.M. 1846.
2. *Babrii Fabulæ Æsopææ.* E Codice Manuscripto Partem Secundam nunc primum edidit GEORGIUS CORNEWALL LEWIS, A.M. 1859.
3. *The Fables of Babrius.* In Two Parts. Translated into English Verse by the Rev. JAMES DAVIES, M.A. 1860.

THE name of Babrius is one which for the last hundred and eighty years has been gradually becoming more and more significant to students of antiquity. That he was a fabulist of one or other of the Greek classical periods, who wrote in choliambic verse, was already evident from a few fragments preserved by lexicographers and grammarians. But the first to make him more than a name was Bentley, in a dissertation on the supposed fables of Æsop, appended to the first draught of the immortal work on Phalaris. In reducing the father of fable to a mere shadow, he showed that some of the substance which had invested him really belonged to Babrius, whose half-corrupted choliambics might occasionally be traced through the prose versions of late paraphrasts. Tyrwhitt followed up the hint in a 'Dissertatio de Babrio,' published in 1776, detecting verses in a Bodleian MS. of the prose fables, and collecting all the remains of Babrius that were then extant. The publication, in 1809, of more prose fables belonging to an earlier version, from a Florentine MS., led to further choliambic discoveries, prosecuted in the first instance by Bishop Blomfield and Mr. Burges, though with different degrees of success, and afterwards by Sir George Lewis, whose *coup d'essai*, containing a collection of all the fables capable of entire restoration, appeared in 1832, in an elaborate paper in the Philological Museum. In 1835 a similar collection was published by a German scholar, Knoch, who appended the fragments, forming altogether a kind of variorum edition of all that had been written by or on Babrius up to that time. The year 1842 witnessed another discovery, much more important than any — that of an actual MS. of Babrius, containing a collection of fables supposed to have originally amounted to about 160, but now consisting of 123 fables and two short prefatory poems. The discoverer, M. Mynas, a Greek, was employed by the French Government; and accordingly the duty of giving the new-found

treasure to the world devolved on M. Boissonade, the patriarch of French scholarship. Other editions soon followed; and the list of editors or critics of Babrius now includes the names of Dübner, Orelli, Baiter, Fix, Ahrens, Lachmann, Meineke, the Hermanns, Schneidewin, and Sir George Lewis. In 1857 it was announced that M. Mynas had made yet another discovery; and two years later Sir George Lewis introduced to the public a Second Part of Babrius, containing an independent collection of ninety-four fables and a prefatory poem. As we shall soon see, there are reasons for doubting whether this Second Part affords a very favourable field for the display of English scholarship: but at any rate, it will be apparent that to English scholarship Babrius has already been greatly indebted. When he existed only in a fragmentary form, English scholars were his most felicitous restorers; and though when the MS. of the First Part was discovered, there was no Porsonian school in England to do the work of Lachmann and his friends, producing by joint labour an amended text in a short time, the accuracy, judgment, and fullness of information displayed in Sir George Lewis's edition, embodying as it does the chief results of continental criticism, entitle it to rank as the standard one.

The discovery of the First Part of Babrius made a substantive addition to the treasures we already possess in the remains of Greek poetical literature. Whatever the date of the fabulist—and dates of all kinds have been suggested, ranging from about 250 B.C. to as many years after the Christian æra—he certainly wrote in a time when the echoes of classical poetry had not yet died out. In terseness, point, and eloquence he is, we think, equal to Phædrus, whom indeed he sometimes excels in treating the same subject. Let our readers compare the two following versions of an old favourite, 'The Fox and the Crow':—

'Qui se laudari gaudent verbis subdolis  
Sera dant pœnas turpes pœnitentia.  
Cum de fenestra corvus raptum caseum  
Comesse vellet, celsa residens arbore,  
Hunc vidit vulpes, dehinc sic cecepit loqui:  
O qui tuarum, corve, pennarum est nitor!  
Quantum decoris corpore et vultu geris!  
Si vocem haberes, nulla prior ales foret.  
At ille stultus, dum vult vocem ostendere,  
Emisit ore caseum, quem celeriter  
Dolosa vulpes avidis rapuit dentibus.  
Tum demum ingemuit corvi deceptus stupor.'

(PHÆDRUS, book i. fab. 13.)



Κόραξ δεδηχώς στόματι τυρὸν εἰσθήκει·  
 τυροῦ δ' ἀλώπηξ ἰχανώσα κερδῶν  
 μύθῳ τὸν ὄρνιν ἠπάτησε τοιούτῳ·  
 κόραξ, καλαὶ σου πτέρυγες, ὅξέη γλήνη,  
 θηητὸς αὐχὴν· στέριον αἰτοῦ φαίνεις·  
 ὄνυξι πάντων θηρίων κατισχύεις·  
 ὁ τοῖσι ὄρνις κωφὸς ἐσσί καὶ κρώξεις!  
 κόραξ δ' ἐπαίνῳ καρδίην ἰχθυήσθην,  
 στόματος δὲ τυρὸν ἐκβαλὼν ἐεκράγει.  
 τὸν ἢ σοφὴ λαβοῦσα κερτόμῳ γλώσσει,  
 ὅς κ' ἦσθ' ἄφρωνος, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ φωνήεις.  
 ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα· τοῦς δὲ σοὶ λείπει.\*

(BABRIUS, part i. fab. 77.)

There is much quiet humour in the following, which seem either to have suggested or to have been suggested by Horace's  
 'Lupisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti: Tempus abire tibi:—'

Ζωμοῦ χύτρα μῦς ἐμπροσθὼν ἀπωμάστω,  
 καὶ τῷ λίπει περιγόμενος, ἐκπνέων τ' ἤδη,  
 Βέβρωκα, φησί, καὶ πέπωκα, καὶ πάσης  
 τροφῆς πέπλησμαι· κωφὸς ἐστί μοι θνήσκει.

(Fab. 60.)

We subjoin Mr. Davies's version, which, though somewhat deficient in freedom, is commendably close to the original:—

'A mouse into a lidless broth-pot fell:  
 Choked with the grease, and bidding life farewell,  
 He said, "My fill of meat and drink have I,  
 "And all good things; 'tis time that I should die."'

The following, which is rather a poem than a fable, touches the mythological history of the swallow and the nightingale with an imaginative delicacy which may remind our readers of Shakspeare's lines:—

'King Pandion, he is dead:  
 All thy friends are lapped-in lead.'

Ἀγροῦ χειλῶν μακρὸν ἐξεπώθηθη·  
 εὐρεν δ' ἐρήμοις ἐγκαθημένην ὕλαις  
 ἀηδὸν ὀξύφωνον· ἣ δ' ἀπεθρήνει  
 τὸν Ἰτύν ἄωρον ἐκπεσύντα τῆς ὥρης.

\* One of the prose versions points to another reading of the last line, which we should prefer as more humorous: ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα· τοῦν μόνον κτῆσαι. Such variations are not uncommon, the citations in Suidas occasionally differing so much from the text of the MS. of Babrius, as to indicate the existence of a different recension. For an instance in which Phædrus's treatment of his subject is more successful than Babrius's, compare Phædr. iii. 7., with Babr. part i. fab. 99.

ἐκ τοῦ μέλους δ' ἔγνώσαν αἱ δὴ ἄλλήλας ·  
 καὶ δὴ προσέπτησάν τε καὶ προσωμίλουν.  
 ἡ μὲν χελιδὼν εἶπε · Φιλτάτη, ζώεις;  
 πρῶτον βλέπω σε σήμερον μετὰ Θράκην.  
 αἰεὶ τις ἡμᾶς πικρὸς ἔσχισεν δαίμων·  
 καὶ παρθένου γὰρ χωρὶς ἦμεν ἀλλήλων.  
 ἀλλ' ἔλθ' ἐς ἀγρὸν καὶ πρὸς οἶκον ἀνθρώπων·  
 σύσκητος ἡμῖν καὶ φίλη κατοικήσεις,  
 ὅπου γεωργοῖς κοῦχί θηρίοις ἄσεις·  
 ὑπαιθρον ὕλην λείπε, καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις  
 ὁμώροφόν μοι δῶμα καὶ στίγην οἶκει.  
 τί σε ἐροσίζει πηκτὸς ἐννυχὸς στίξῃ,  
 καὶ καῦμα θάλπει, πάντα δ' ἀγρότιν τήκει;  
 ἄγε δὴ σεαυτὴν, σοφὰ λαλοῦσα, μήνυσον.  
 τὴν δ' αὖτ' ἀηδὼν ὀξύφωνος ἡμεῖσθε·  
 Ἔα με πέτραις ἐμμένειν ἀοικήτοις,  
 καὶ μὴ μ' ὀρεινῇς ὀργάδος σὺ χωρίσσης.  
 μετὰ τίς Ἀθήνας ἄνδρα καὶ πόλιν φεύγω·  
 οἶκος ἐξέ μοι πᾶς κἀπύμιζις αἰθρώπων  
 λύπην παλαιῶν συμφορῶν ἀναξάνει.  
 παριμυθία τίς ἐστὶ τῆς κικλῆς μοίρης  
 λόγος σοφός καὶ μωῦσι καὶ φυγῇ πλήθους·  
 λύπην δ' ὅταν τις οἷς ποτ' εὐθενῶν ὠφθῇ  
 ταῦτοισι ταπεινὸς αἰδοῖς ὡν σινοικήσῃ.

(Fab. 12.)

'Far from men's fields the swallow forth had flown,  
 When she espied among the woodlands lone  
 The nightingale, sweet songstress. Her lament  
 Was Itys to his doom untimely sent.  
 Each knew the other through the mournful strain,  
 Flew to embrace, and in sweet talk remain.  
 Then said the swallow, "Dearest, liv'st thou still?  
 "Ne'er have I seen thee since thy Thracian ill;  
 "Some cruel fate hath ever come between;  
 "Our virgin \* lives till now apart have been.  
 "Come to the fields; I visit homes of men;  
 "Come dwell with me, a comrade dear, again,  
 "Where thou shalt charm the swains, no savage brood:  
 "Dwell near men's haunts, and quit the open wood:  
 "One roof, one chamber, sure, can house the two:  
 "Or dost prefer the nightly frozen dew  
 "And day-god's heat? a wild wood life and drear?  
 "Come, clever songstress, to the light more near."  
 To whom the sweet-voiced nightingale replied:  
 "Still on these lonesome ridges let me bide,

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\* Mr. Davies here apparently mistakes the sense, which seems to be, 'Even when we were maidens, we lived apart from one another.'

“Nor seek to part me from the mountain glen :  
 “I shun, since Athens, man and haunts of men :  
 “To mix with them, their dwelling-place to view,  
 “Stirs up old grief, and opens woes anew.”

Some consolation for an evil lot  
 Lies in wise words, in song, in crowds forgot.  
 But sore the pang when where you once were great  
 Again men see you, housed in mean estate.’

—(DAVIES.)

We have heard that this First Part of Babrius has been used as a class-book in one of our public schools, and we really think the example might be worth following. The subject matter ensures that the thoughts will be simple, while the language is just sufficiently difficult and characteristic to give that exercise which constitutes to a schoolboy one great advantage of a classical training. Some few forms of expression will require to be unlearned when the student comes to compose in Attic Greek : but the general character of the style is classical enough for all intents and purposes.

The Second Part purports to have been discovered under much the same circumstances as the First. Each professes to have been found in a monastery at Mount Athos,—whether in the same monastery we do not hear: in each case the monks made a difficulty about parting with their treasure, which accordingly reached Europe only in the form of a transcript. The difficulty in the case of the First, however, appears to have been only on the score of expense; and this M. Mynas was able to overcome in a subsequent visit, when he became the purchaser of the original. Of the MS. of the Second Part we hear only that the monks refused to part with it, and that M. Mynas brought away a facsimile, which, with the original MS. of the First Part, was sold by him to the authorities of the British Museum, in August, 1857. We understand that it was offered in the first instance to the French Government, the purchasers of the copy of the First Part, but that they disbelieved the story of the second discovery, and refused to buy. Sir George Lewis, however, as Mr. Davies tells us, had no doubt that the copy was what it professed to be—made from a genuine archetype. Genuine or not, it is admitted on all hands that the Second Part is of far less value than the First. It professes to be not Babrius, but Babrius spoiled. The whole collection, from first to last, has passed through the hands of a ‘diaskeuastes,’ a scribbler who, apparently for his mere pleasure, has turned classical Greek into a barbarous jumble, and good choliambics into a kind of political verse, as it is technically called,—lines having the requisite number of syllables, but written with scarcely any

regard to quantity; so that nearly one half of the verses are shown by the metre alone to be such as Babrius never could have produced. Such writers were not uncommon at various periods during the decline of Greek literature, though their function was more usually that of turning verse into prose, or *vice versâ*, or one kind of recognised metre into another. Still, even Babrius spoiled, if we could be sure that we really possessed him, would be of some literary value. He would scarcely give pleasure to the student who reads Greek poetry for the love of it, nor could we recommend him as a school-book; but he would still have his place somewhat above those prose versions which, no doubt, still conceal various Babrian fables,—the great point of superiority consisting partly in traces of the Babrian manner, which could hardly be obliterated, and partly in the certainty which we should then have, and which in the case of the prose versions is wanting, that each particular fable had a real Babrian original.

Our own opinion is, we confess, strongly adverse to the genuineness of these new fables. An attentive examination of them has led us to suspect that they are a forgery, and that of a very recent date. It is not easy to prove fabrication where the thing fabricated is, as we have said, not Babrius himself, but Babrius barbarized, and where the document to be appealed to is not an original MS. but a copy, for the absolute accuracy of which we have no definite guarantee. We believe, however, that the evidences of spuriousness we have discovered are neither few nor small. We can only state them briefly and generally, leaving those who care to pursue the subject to seek further details in an article ‘*De Babrii Fabularum Parte Secunda*,’ in the *Rheinisches Museum*.

First of all, we think it improbable that a new collection of ninety-four fables by Babrius should ever have existed. By far the greater part of the fragments and restored fables which were extant previous to 1842 are comprised in the former collection, and those which remain are no more than may well have been contained among the forty additional fables which that collection originally comprehended. Again, nearly half of the verses of which the new fables consist are obviously unmetrical, while a large portion of the remainder are not such as a poet like Babrius is likely to have produced; yet of the actual fragments of Babrius which these fables embody few are altered at all, and not more than two lines out of twenty-four rendered unmetrical. Another most suspicious symptom is to be found in the extraordinary coincidences between the text of these new fables and Lachmann’s conjectures on the frag-

ments and restored fables as appended to his edition. This can only be estimated by those who will examine the matter in detail; and therefore we will only say that Lachmann's judgment is confirmed not only where he is probably right, but where he is almost certainly wrong, or, at any rate, where he has conjectured with scarcely any data to go on. It should be observed that we have here the twofold improbability that Lachmann should have restored the text of Babrius, and that the text of Babrius should not have been altered by the barbarizing 'diaskeuastes.' Fourthly, while most of these fables closely coincide with one or other of the prose versions (a thing itself explicable on either hypothesis of genuineness or of spuriousness), the remainder, with a single exception, are copies more or less servile of fables occurring in such writers as Aristophanes, Plutarch, Lucian, and Appian, and included in the collections made by such scholars as Di Furia and Coraes; whereas the genuine Babrius, when telling the same fable as Lucian or Plutarch, takes care to tell it in his own way. Lastly, the general worthlessness of the fables is a strong reason for believing that they do not contain Babrius in any shape. Besides the veritable fragments of Babrius, they contain perhaps 100 lines which Babrius might have produced; not one of these, however, seems to us so decidedly stamped with his genius that it could not have been produced as well by any clever writer of iambics, such as are common enough in England, though possibly less so in modern Greece. The treatment of the fables is almost without an exception just up to the level of the prose versions, and no more, — another point of contrast with the genuine Babrius, who frequently throws into his fables poetical images, dramatic touches, and passages of dialogue which the prose fabulists discard as unsuited to their humbler purpose. On the whole, we cannot doubt that these new fables are the work of a forger who has turned the prose versions into choliambic lines, occasionally good, but generally very indifferent or worse than indifferent, and who, if he has not used the prose collections by Di Furia or Coraes, has certainly been a tolerably attentive student of Lachmann. At the same time, we do not profess to account for all the phenomena which the work presents. No one can do this who is not prepared to identify the forger and trace his antecedents. But we see no difficulty in supposing that his extraordinary command of unusual words, — the chief point which we have heard alleged in favour of the genuineness of the fables, — may have arisen from a study of ancient grammarians and glossarists, aided by a

native power of invention, while the better choliambics may easily have been furnished to him by some more skilful composer than himself. Forgery is an art, and a forger would naturally provide himself with appliances for practising his art with success. So a few obvious errors which exist in the text of the fables may either have been introduced accidentally in the process of transcription from a foul copy, or inserted deliberately to give an air of genuineness. A forger who should be unable to produce these and other plausible appearances would be a very poor forger indeed.

It would be too much to wish that Sir George Lewis may find leisure to enter into the controversy; but we need not say that all scholars would be interested in hearing the mature conclusions of one whose judgment and learning have already done so much for Babrius.

Of Mr. Davies's version we have already spoken incidentally. It is close and faithful, but wants facility. Even where the individual lines are expressed with ease, the effect of the whole is frequently that of too great compression and slowness of movement. The rhymes are generally accurate, but there are a few instances like *beheld*, *held* (p. 142.), and in one place (p. 208.) *broth* is paired with *forth*. Babrius would be nothing without his style, and any want of grace or finish therefore is sure to be noticed in his translator.

ART. IX.—*Iceland ; its Volcanoes, Geysers, and Glaciers.* By CHARLES S. FORBES, Commander, R.N. London: 1860.

THE appearance of a new volume on Iceland, in speedy sequel to other recent publications descriptive of this extraordinary island, leads us to devote a few pages to the subject;—the rather so, as it seems probable that the fashion of travelling adventure, so characteristic of the vigour of English life, will direct itself frequently in future to this northern region. In an article of our last number, we spoke of the enthusiasm for Alpine exploits, duly seasoned and sobered by scientific research, which has made Switzerland and the Tyrol so favourite a resort of our summer tourists. But these Alpine adventures begin to lose somewhat of their novelty; and Mont Blanc has been too often scaled to leave much of glory or gain to those who now follow in this mountain toil. Science may still reap its harvest on glaciers, and the exhaustion of a city life find recreation among Swiss mountains. But curiosity and the love of enterprise—deeply engrafted in the English temperament—are restless and competitive qualities, and fresh objects will ever be sought for to meet their demands. We learn that some members of the Alpine Club—itsself so newly created—are already casting their eyes northwards to this island of Iceland, in which fire and frost have worked together in such unwonted and wonderful combination. And one object of the present article will be to furnish suggestions, in aid and guidance of those who may undertake this northern adventure.

The island on which we ourselves live shows, even on its fair and populous surface, signal marks of those ancient disturbances and revolutions of the earth which it is the business of geology to record. Going below the surface—as in our mines, quarries, and tunnels—we gather at every step of descent fresh proofs of those vast changes by elevation, subsidence, or dislocation, slow or paroxysmal in kind, which in times anterior to all estimate have moulded the strata into their present aspects; entombing in them the multitudinous remains of ancient life, which form a new and wonderful subject of human study. The result, as regards Great Britain, has been to render it fruitful, beyond any equal known space, in those mineral products which serve to the uses and social comforts of man. Our commercial tables best show the magnitude and variety of these subterranean treasures, which minister so largely to English sovereignty on the globe.

These treasures are now a quiet and undisturbed possession. No volcanic fires find vent in any part of our island. Our hot springs are scanty in number and low in temperature. Our rocks, of whatever geological age, lie underneath us unchanged by any present physical action, other than the slow attrition of waters on the surface and around our shores. Earthquakes we now and then feel; but they are not the violent convulsions which torment 'old beldame earth' in other climes and amidst living volcanoes. Even where from local causes most frequent, as in the Perthshire valley of the Earn, they are little heeded for any serious injury they inflict. A wider rent, indeed, than any ever made by earthquakes originated in this very valley. The social shock which produced final disruption in the Kirk of Scotland was first felt in a petty town on the banks of the Earn, close to the spot where these physical disturbances have most frequently occurred.

While thus resting in comparative quiet on our own island, we have 'within a few days' sail of our northern coast another island, larger in surface than Ireland, and which may almost be described as one vast volcano;—so completely is it made up of volcanic materials, and so active and incessant are the operations of heat still going on under every part of its surface. This is Iceland—a fire-created land, rising precipitously from the depths of the northern Atlantic; stretching its northern promontories beyond the Arctic circle; and distant less than 300 miles from the eastern coasts of Greenland, which we have reason to suppose constantly beset with Arctic ice. Our knowledge of the volcanic isle of Jan Mayen, 500 miles still further north, and yet more of the lofty and wonderful volcano which Sir James Ross saw in activity at the point of his nearest approach to the south pole, furnish proof, if such were needed, that the evolution of heat from within the earth is little dependent on the conditions of climate without. We live upon a thin shell, wrapping round\* the molten material, whatever it be, which forms the great mass of our globe. It is hard to imagine this, looking at the stern solidity of rocks and mountain masses, and at the ocean spread over three-fourths of the earth; but both theory and observation concur in the proof. Local causes, presumable, though not wholly understood, have ruptured this shell at different places and at different periods of time; and given exit, in one form or other, to the various materials and forces which heat under pressure evolves. The phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes belong to these movements of a central heated material, acting outwards upon and through the solid crust which confines it. We cannot go further here into the



history of these phenomena, but may merely say that geological facts, as well as the whole theory of the earth's consolidation, make it probable that they were more extensive and violent at earlier times in the history of the globe than they are now, though still testified, not only in these local outbursts, but more remarkably in the slow elevation or depression of large tracts of continent, from physical changes within, which we cannot explain, but are bound on observation to admit.

Modern travel and research have made these things familiar to us as they occur in various regions of the earth; and Iceland, from accumulating on its single surface a wonderful variety and grandeur of such phenomena, offers especial attractions to the naturalists of our time. Steam here, as elsewhere, has come in aid of this now facile enterprise. The southern part of Iceland is distant only about 500 miles from the Orkneys; and though this part of the island is well nigh inaccessible from its high and rugged coasts, a voyage of 200 miles further brings the traveller to the quiet harbour of Reykiavik, on the Faxe-fiord, the capital of the island; if that name may be given to a group of about a hundred habitations, lying upon a beach of lava and volcanic ashes. Two mid-summer months, diligently and discreetly used, will enable the traveller from England to see several of those districts and objects which best characterise the wonders of Icelandic scenery. These districts lie in the south-western and western portion of the island, and are most easily accessible from Reykiavik, both as a local centre and as best affording the equipments needful for traversing the country.

Before this new æra in navigation a voyage to Iceland was an adventure rarely and with difficulty accomplished; and our scanty notices of the island were chiefly derived from Denmark, under whose gently-exercised sovereignty it has remained for nearly 500 years. Exactly ninety years have elapsed since Sir Joseph Banks made the voyage thither, which Van Troil has recorded. Twenty years later Sir John Stanley (afterwards Lord Stanley of Alderley) visited the island in a vessel chartered by himself, carrying artists with him, who brought back some excellent drawings of the scenery. Twenty years yet later Sir G. Mackenzie made the same voyage; and with his companions, Sir Henry Holland and Dr. Bright, remained four months in Iceland; traversing the island more extensively than had before been done, and embodying their researches in a work published the following year. About the same time the island was visited by Sir William Hooker, whose eminent acquirements as a botanist added much to our knowledge of this part of its

natural history. A less scientific, but far more extensive survey of Iceland was made in 1814 and 1815 by Mr. Henderson, a missionary of the Bible Society; who, in the pious and useful labour of replacing the many bibles lost in this remote island by time and decay, made a complete circuit of the inhabited parts of the country, and has narrated these journeys, simply and earnestly, in a volume published soon afterwards.

Other travellers have succeeded in later years — English, French, German, and Danish; — the latter the most numerous, from the political relation of Denmark to Iceland; and from the zealous researches of late years into the old Scandinavian literature, of which the Icelandic forms a principal and most curious branch. A French expedition to this island and to Greenland, sent out in 1835 by the Government of the day, furnished six folio volumes as its results; a work more ostentatious and expensive than its materials warranted. A much more important accession of knowledge as to the physical history of Iceland was obtained from the voyage of Messrs. Bunsen and Descloisèaux, in 1845, amply related in various scientific journals of the day; and from the volume of Walterhausen on the physical geography of the island, published about the same time. Professor Bunsen, eminent from many discoveries, and engaged at present in researches prolific of still higher results, very successfully applied his great knowledge to the peculiar phenomena of Iceland, as we shall hereafter more fully point out.\*

Coming yet nearer to the present time, Lord Dufferin has given a lively narrative of his short visit to Iceland, in 1856; as part of his more adventurous voyage beyond. The French expedition of the same summer, under Prince Napoleon, which returned after sighting Jan Mayen's Isle, has been recorded in an inflated style, not justified by any novelties or perils which these voyagers encountered. During the last year, the project of the North Atlantic Telegraph led some of our most eminent Arctic navigators to Iceland, as the proposed second stage of this submarine communication to America. And further, we have, before us a Memoir by Dr. Landor Lindsay, who went thither, seduced by intelligence of a great

\* We allude here to the conjoint discoveries of Bunsen and Kirchhoff by the *Spectrum Analysis*, — a new and wonderful path opened in physical science; leading not solely to larger knowledge of the earth we inhabit; but telling us, by an assured induction, the nature of many of the material elements composing the atmosphere of the Sun.

eruption from the Kötlegaia. Jökul, which he arrived too late to witness; and a volume by Captain Forbes, relating journeys he performed during a few weeks' visit to the island in the summer of 1859. Of this volume, though adding little to our knowledge, we shall speak somewhat more in detail; as the latest in the series of Icelandic travels, and as suggesting some remarks on the matter and style of the work, applicable to many kindred writings of the day.

The unwonted facility now attained in traversing land and sea, has undoubtedly done much to give fresh energy and effect to those higher qualities of the traveller, to which we are indebted for our most valuable attainments in the knowledge of the world we inhabit. Physical geography, in its largest sense, and all the sciences having kindred with it, have wonderfully gained from this source. Nor has the daring intrepidity of travel been abated by the new facilities thus afforded. Vast deserts still remain to cross: mountain chains to climb and explore; rivers to follow to their sources; and polar seas to navigate. Easier access is given to the points where labour begins; but labour and peril are still to be found, and are sought for with no less eagerness than heretofore. Concurrently, however, with these advantages, we have to notice the numerous growth of another and inferior race of travellers, fostered by these various facilities, and by the further facility with which books now make their way to the press. We allude here to the many, who merely touching on the surface of countries, and hurrying from place to place, in obedience to the times and course of the universal steamboat, forfeit all the true purposes of travel; yet come before the world with narratives seasoned for sale by ambitious titles, a flippant style, and puerile personal anecdotes; making large drafts upon earlier works for all the better information they contain. Such faults we find very especially in many of those modern books of travel (we gladly say not all) which describe the classical or sacred countries of the East, now become almost unhappily familiar to our common tourists. A journey in Syria, Palestine, or Egypt is rarely recorded in the manner best befitting countries which do not need the hackneyed phrases of sentiment, or those conventional and exaggerated stories of perils from Bedouin tribes and desert adventures, by which it is sought to give an Oriental colouring to the narrative.

Passing, however, from these general comments to the volume before us, we find in Captain Forbes a gallant naval officer, who did good service to his country in China; and whose spirit of adventure has since carried him to the mountains of

Caucasus, to the lavas of Iceland; and to a companionship with Garibaldi in Sicily. But as an author we are bound to say that he has some serious faults. Evidently a young writer, he has followed the false fashion of seeking for effect by a smart and jaunty style, of which there are too many recent models before him. A quaint epithet or similitude will now and then bring before the reader the picture of an object not equally to be got from a lengthy description, or from the technical phrases of admiration of which we have so copious a vocabulary. But these arts of style, to be effective, must be sparingly used, and not show the labour of workmanship. Captain Forbes is much given to metaphor, without understanding its proper limits. We are willing to let an author stand a short time on his stilts, when describing the Geyser, and the sudden and magnificent eruptions from this great boiling caldron; but examples like the following go beyond all the allowance due to such cases:—

‘As in portraying the life of a hero, his lineage being duly acknowledged, the chronicles of the nursery are ransacked for their unmistakeable evidences of his predestined greatness, which the monthly nurse never fails to shadow forth, or the fond mother to receive; so, in the present instance, having discussed our hero’s (id est, the Geyser’s) lineage, we will follow him in youth, manhood, old age, and death. For though not built of clay, he is built of silica; and like man passes through all these phases of existence; but, with more forethought, on the day of his birth prepares the foundation of his tomb. In infancy it is the bubbling thermal spring; matured in your roistering Geyser; old age creeping on in the tranquil “*laug*,” light wreaths of vapour curling over the still simmering contents of its fairy azure grottoes, where it calmly awaits the fleeting of its once restless spirit, which is finally divested amidst the thunders of natural convulsions,’ &c., &c. .

Our readers will be glad to get out of this entangled web of metaphor; the simple similitude in which, apart from these decorations, occurs in a paper on the Geysers by Professor Tyndall; who well knows how to render description graphic and vigorous without passing into bombast. And this leads us to notice another and more serious fault in our author; viz. the omission of all mention of, Professor Bunsen, in reference to the theory of the Geyser eruptions. It is known to scientific men that a new view has been propounded on this subject; based upon M. Bunsen’s own observations, and on his profound knowledge of chemistry and general physics, applied to the facts observed. This theory, of which we shall speedily speak, has superseded the cavern-theory of Sir G. Mackenzie, and is now generally accepted as the true solution of the phenomena. In the volume before us, we find it fully stated; but without

a word to indicate whence the explanation is derived. A reader coming newly to the subject, might well suppose that it was the science of the author alone which dictated this happy illustration. We do not exact quotation marks for all facts or phrases which writers borrow from their predecessors; but this is a case in which we might justly expect an acknowledgment of the source whence the information is derived. Science has its rights of property, as well as other human things; and requires protection for these rights, even where fame alone is the property to be guarded and guaranteed.

We have spoken of the faults of Captain Forbes's style; but must add that his descriptions are often natural and vigorous; such as that of the strangely rugged lavas about Havna-fiord; and of the promontory and fearful pass of the Bulandshofde, on the south coast of the Breyde-fiord. His first journey from Reykiavik was to the great Solfaterra of the Guldbringe Syssel; that singular serrated mountain ridge, which, in its sulphurous colouring and numerous columns of vapour, shows to the voyager approaching this coast the strange character of the island before him. The extraordinary aspect of the volcanic tract between Havna-fiord and the Sulphur springs or craters, is well described. It may fitly be termed the 'devilry' of volcanic action;—the whole surface, mile after mile, and laterally as far as the eye can reach, blistered, cleft, and contorted by heat into endless fantastic shapes;—chasms and caverns yawning at every step;—streams suddenly emerging from the rocks, and as suddenly swallowed up in these chasms. Very extraordinary, too, are the vast natural caldrons of steam, sulphur, and coloured clays on the southern flank of the mountain ridge; the result of the vapours of sulphurous acid, sulphuretted hydrogen, and steam finding exit in these places; after decomposing in their passage the palagonite or tuffa rock, which furnishes part of the material thus thrown up. It is perilous treading on the thin and treacherous crest of this hotly-steaming Solfaterra, where the vapours themselves tend to disturb the senses and steadiness of the traveller. Both Sir W. Hooker and Dr. Bright would seem to have had narrow escapes on this spot.

The actual extent and resources of the Sulphur field of Krisuvik have not yet been well defined. We presume, however, that Mr. Bushby, who in 1857 visited this district for commercial purposes, is in possession of more exact knowledge. This gentleman has obtained, by purchase or otherwise, the privilege of working and exporting the sulphur; but we are not informed how far his design has yet been carried into effect. The great obstacles, (though not irremediable if capital can be got

for the undertaking,) are the want of proper labour on the spot, and of tolerable roads for carriage of the sulphur to the place of embarkation. The coasts near Krisuvik appear to be a line of steep cliffs; and the port sought for must be either Grundevik or Havna-fiord;—the latter in several respects the best; but approachable from the sulphur mountains only over the rugged volcanic country we have just described. We can offer no present opinion as to the economical value of these sulphur mines, in comparison with those of Sicily; or with the home produce of this mineral derived from the sulphurets of those metals, which so largely feed the forges of England. But we are inclined to believe that the results may be profitable; both here and in that northern sulphur district of Iceland, to the extraordinary features of which we shall afterwards have occasion to refer.

Captain Forbes's next and much longer journey was first to the Borgar-fiord country, and the valley of the Hvitaa, in which lie the numerous and extraordinary hot springs of Reykolt; far below the Geysers in grandeur, but with strange diversities of aspect, which render them well worthy of inspection. We find jets of boiling water and steam rising from a rock in the middle of a cold water river; and at the foot of a neighbouring cliff numerous springs, two of which throw up columns of boiling water, alternating in eruption at regular intervals of time,—one rising as the other disappears. It is worthy of note that these phenomena are described by Forbes as they were seen by Mackenzie fifty years before; a curious proof of the permanence of conditions which might have been thought, from their very nature, the subjects of unceasing change. Of smaller and simpler phenomena of this kind, indeed, we have instances stretching much further back in time. The warm springs of Thermopylae still attest the origin of that name which has been consecrated to us by the history of the spot. The hot waters of Bath still well forth from the sources which gave them vent, and the name of *Aquæ Calida*, in the time of Ptolemy. These hot fountains of Reykolt, and the cave of Surtsvellir in the same district, ought to be visited by all travellers. But voyages to Iceland are now falling too much into the fashion of modern travel in Greece. The Geysers, Hecla, and Thingvalla are hurriedly seen in the one case, as Athens, Marathon, Corinth, and Mycenæ are in the other;—in the latter instance, without the excuse of the short summer, which checks and curtails all northern enterprise.

From the Borgar-fiord, Captain Forbes travelled westwards along that peninsula,—very remarkable in the variety and singular aspects of its volcanic rocks,—which divides the Faxa-

fiord from the Breyde-fiord, and is terminated by the lofty mountain of Snæfall Jökul; an ancient volcano, as its many lavas testify, but now covered with perpetual snows. This mountain,—about 4700 feet in height, and impending over the strait which here divides Iceland from Greenland,—he sought to ascend; but failed in reaching the summit, from fogs and deep crevasses in the snow, which made it dangerous to force the attempt. This summit, however, had been reached before; first by Sir H. Holland and Dr. Bright (with imminent danger, however, to the former, from the giving way of a slender bridge of snow over one of these deep crevasses), and again by Mr. Henderson, a few years later; it being, we believe, the highest point ever attained in this latitude. The Alpine adventurers of our own day, better provided for such undertakings, will probably find no very serious difficulty in scaling the Snæfall Jökul; and the extraordinary view from the summit seems well to warrant the labour.

A vast expanse of picturesque coast lies at the southern foot of this mountain, very scantily noticed by Captain Forbes, but which the description and drawings of other travellers denote to us as very wonderful in kind; representing, under the various shapes of caverns, arches, cliffs, and islets, all the combinations of columnar scenery which we find at Staffa and the Giant's Causeway, with still greater diversity in the character of these huge rock-crystallisations. The naturalist visiting Iceland, or the lover of the picturesque in its wilder aspects, may well allot some time to this coast of Stappen, so named from the natural features thus impressed upon it. No place, seemingly, is better fitted for the study of the physical causes upon which these curious characters depend; and especially as regards the relation of the columnar forms and positions to the cooling surfaces. The interesting results obtained from the columnar basalts of the Vivarais, would probably derive illustration and extension from those of Stappen. Science is at this time dipping deeply into the theory of molecular motions; and all that illustrates this, whether on large or small scale, is well worthy of careful observation.

Captain Forbes returned eastwards along the southern coast of the Breyde-fiord, crossing the dangerous pass of the Bulandshöfde, and halting a short time at the French fishing establishment, in the deep inlet of the Grunne-fiord. We were not prepared by any prior knowledge for the report he gives of this fishery on the cod-banks of Iceland. Within some thirty years (for we are not furnished with any certain dates) it has grown up into national importance,—numbering, as we

are told, 269 vessels of from forty to eighty tons each; with crews amounting to 7000 men; who receive government bounties and other allowances, and are classed with the hardy fishermen of the same nation who frequent the Newfoundland banks. One or two French vessels of war visit the coast annually to watch over the interests of this station; a nursery of French seamen, not to be disregarded in these days, when armaments by sea and land are pressed forwards amidst professions of peace and cordial alliance.

Our own participation in Icelandic fishery is on a very modest scale; consisting solely, we believe, of a small establishment in the Borgar-fiord Syssel; where Messrs. Ritchie, of Peterhead, collect and preserve some 30,000 lbs. weight of salmon annually, from the abundant produce of the Huitaa and its tributary streams. These salmon fisheries, if under good management, might doubtless be largely and profitably extended in other parts of the island.

The remainder of Captain Forbes's stay in Iceland was occupied by journeys to Thingvalla, the Geysers, and Hecla. The scenery of Thingvalla is strikingly marked to the traveller, by the vast and abrupt chasm in the volcanic rocks, through which his route lies, and by the dark lake which spreads its waters southwards from this spot. We have heard this lake compared to the Dead Sea; and in the stern outline and lifeless gloom of the scenery, there is, doubtless, resemblance; but the colouring both of mountains and sky makes a wide disparity in other respects. Thingvalla is historically endeared to the Icelanders, as the old seat of their popular assembly, the *Allthing*; one of the earliest of those Scandinavian institutions (represented to ourselves in various localities under the names of Tingwall, Dingwall, Tinwald, &c.) whence have emanated, more or less directly, so many of those great prerogatives of freedom, of which England is now the centre and the noblest illustration.

Hecla has been visited and ascended by several travellers, and Captain Forbes follows in their train. The difficulties of ascent are not great, and there is only one neck or pass where there seems to be any peril. Though the height of the mountain is greater than that of the Snæfall Jökul, no lasting snow lies upon it, except at the bottom of the crater. Here a semi-glacial mass is found, worn by weather and by a slight issue of heated vapour, into caverns grotesque in form, and beautifully tinted with blue and other shades of light. The especial fame of Hecla as a volcano has depended on the great number of its recorded eruptions, and also on its proximity to the more inhabited parts of the island. Since the year 1000, the annals



of Iceland (as minute and exact as those of most European countries) relate about twenty-four eruptions from this mountain; varying in violence and duration, but none so vast or so destructive as some from neighbouring volcanoes. The streams of lava from Hecla are in magnitude much less than many derived from recent eruptions among the vast mountain masses (*Jökuls* they are called when covered with snow and ice-fields) which bordering on the south coast stretch northwards into a central region, yet unknown to the traveller. Looking again to other parts of the island, we find numerous proofs,—written in the rocks themselves, for no human tradition reaches the time—of ancient volcanic actions on a scale to which we can scarcely find parallel elsewhere on the globe.

The first recorded eruption in Iceland, and following closely indeed on the discovery of the island, was in A.D. 894; from the mountain group called *Kötlugja*, some twenty miles inland from the southern coast. Singularly enough, in this same spot broke out the latest in the long catalogue of Icelandic eruptions. But ten months ago, the *Kötlugja* volcano burst forth afresh, and continued in violent action for three or four weeks; melting suddenly the ice and snows of the *Jökuls*, the waters from which rushed in floods to the sea; and throwing out flames which were seen in distant parts of the island. All other notices of this last eruption are very scanty. It is not even known whether it broke forth from a mountain crater, or from some part of a deep rent in these mountain recesses, of which a distant view has been obtained; and which is indicated by the affix of the syllable *gja* to the name, denoting in Icelandic a *cleft* or *ravine*. During this period of nearly 1000 years between the earliest and latest records of the *Kötlugja*, many intermediate eruptions have occurred;—those of 1625 and 1755 notable for their violence, and for the immense floods of water, with vast masses of ice and rock, carried downwards to the coast;—much deposited by the way, but the rest, even after a transit of twenty miles, sufficing to fill up inlets, and throw out new promontories into the sea. The latter of these two eruptions is further to be noted as coinciding in time with that strange period of disturbances of the crust of the earth, of which the Lisbon earthquake formed the most signal event; but which was felt over a great part of Europe and the adjoining coasts of Africa and Asia; spreading the tumult of its waves even across the Atlantic to the West Indian isles. Correspondences of this kind, however wonderful, cannot be rejected from our theory of terrestrial relations. When science teaches us that the greater magnetic disturbances—*magnetic storms* as Humboldt

calls them—are *simultaneous* over the most distant stations on the earth, we may well suppose disturbances largely diffused through the interior molten mass of our globe; and heaving or perforating its crust in different and distant localities. We may even conjecture that the magnetic force itself, permeating our planet, is concerned in these periodical phenomena; while admitting that this very suggestion amounts to little more than an expression of our ignorance of their actual cause.

Of all the more recent eruptions in Iceland that of the Skaptar Jökul, in 1783, is by far the most wonderful in duration, violence, and in the enormous dislodgment of melted matter from within the earth, of which its lavas remain in lasting evidence. We doubt whether there exists in any part of the globe an equal mass of lava thrown up from a living volcano. The wide extent of the volcanic action is another striking feature of this eruption. It first broke out in the ocean, some thirty miles to the S.W. of Cape Reykianes, throwing up an island crater (now sunk again), with vast ejections of ashes and pumice. After a few weeks this Ocean-volcano suddenly subsided. Violent earthquakes ensued, especially in the southern parts of the island; and as suddenly these were followed by an eruption from the Skaptar-Jökul, distant about forty-five miles from the southern coast, and nearly 200 miles from the site of the marine eruption; a wild region, covered with perpetual snows, and forming part of that vast mountain ice-field which, under the somewhat vague name of Klofa-Jökul and Vatna-Jökul, spreads itself over a space equal to Yorkshire in extent. From the 10th of June, when the eruption began, it continued, with paroxysms of more or less violence and successive ejections of lava, for more than six months. All Iceland was clouded over for this time with smoke and ashes. The streams of lava, which poured forth from craters unknown to human eye, reached the sea in two main streams: one about fifty miles in length, with a breadth near the sea of twelve to fifteen miles; the other somewhat shorter in course, and seven miles in its greatest breadth. In some contracted parts of the valley of the Skaptar River the thickness of the lava-stream approaches to 600 feet. Where spread out near the coast, it still reaches to eighty or a hundred feet in height.

These statements are taken from an Icelandic narrative; but there is no reason to distrust them. The record of human destruction comes to us also with many painful evidences of truth. The number of people who perished in this great calamity is given in the returns as 9,300; being very nearly one-fifth of the total population of Iceland. Famine and disease followed

closely in the train of events; the fish even deserting parts of the southern coast, where they had before largely abounded. Had we space for it we might give, from native writers, many touching narratives of the afflictions of this time; falling upon a country, too often visited by physical calamities which no human means can avert or mitigate.

While yet speaking of the Skaptar eruption we may add, in confirmation of a remark before made, that this extraordinary event in Iceland, coincided in time with the great Calabrian earthquake of 1783, and with other disturbances over Europe, which we may fairly conjecture to be due to some common physical cause. The intervention of ocean, as we have seen, deducts in no way from the probability of such connexion.

We come now to the Geyser; the most singular spectacle in Icelandic scenery, and in its magnitude as a boiling fountain, and in the strangely intermittent character of its outbursts, unique in the world. It has been so often described in itself, and in the group of hot springs around it, that we need not dwell on other details than those which concern the theory of these periodical eruptions. We may remark generally that few travellers remain long enough at the Geyser to gain anything like average results as to the frequency or fluctuations of its action. All we know certainly is the fact of great inequality in the times of eruption, and in the height of the column thrown up at different times. It is not easy indeed to catch the exact height of a mass of water projected in jets, wrapt round in clouds of steam, and under continual fluctuation; but we may admit the measurements of Bunsen as the most precise, and from him we obtain a maximum height of nearly 150 feet. The average rise, merely guessed at by most travellers, does not appear to exceed 80 or 90 feet. We can scarcely perhaps expect any one to remain at the Geyser springs long enough to *tabulate* fully their course of action, and thereby to afford some clue to its various inequalities. But if different parties should visit Iceland in the same summer, arrangements might readily be made for a longer and more continuous record than any we yet possess.

To come next to the theory of the phenomena. We find a circular conical mound of silicious deposit from the waters of the spring, about 300 yards in circumference; on the truncated summit of which is a shallow basin, nearly sixty feet in its largest diameter. From the centre of this basin descends a perpendicular pipe, sixteen feet in diameter at its mouth, narrowing to ten feet further down, and upwards of seventy feet in depth; both basin and pipe having a silicious lining, beauti-

fully polished by the attrition of ages. These conditions of external apparatus show that they have been gradually generated by the spring itself; that the Geyser is its own builder—the artificer of the mound, basin and pipe, within which its phenomena are evolved. So far all theories pretty nearly agree; and also as to the sources of the water ministering to the eruptions of the Geyser, as well as more generally to all the hot springs, so numerous scattered over the island. These sources are doubtless rains, and the melting of snows: the nitrogen and ammonia, common to rain water, occurring in evidence of this origin; and further proof being given by the greater violence of the eruptions in wet seasons. Percolating to the heated depths below, the water acts on the palagonite or tuffa rock, largely diffused over Iceland, evolving various chemical changes and products; which we could scarcely describe without running into more technicality than we desire to do. The main results are, that these subterranean chemical processes, so brought into action by water and heat conjointly, give origin to the two classes of Icelandic springs;—the sulphurous in their several forms and deposits; and those which, like the Geysers, contain a proportion of alkaline bicarbonates, enabling them to hold a notable quantity of silica in solution. From this silicious matter, by the gradual deposit of centuries, have been formed the singular and various conduits, through which these hot and impetuous waters burst upwards into day. The order of phenomena in the Great Geyser is briefly as follows:—

Every eruption empties the basin and the pipe (full before) to a considerable but varying depth. Gradually the water rises again, filling in succession both the pipe and basin; while frequent detonations are heard, the effect of volumes of steam rising, and suddenly condensed by coming into cooler water above. It is on a huge scale what is seen in any small vessel of water, when, from heat applied below, the water begins to boil at the bottom before it does so at the top. At the moment preceding any great eruption these detonations have the sound of distant artillery, shaking the ground, or rather *crust*, on which the traveller is treading. The column of boiling water and steam then gushes upwards from the basin, not in a single unbroken column, but by successive impulses or jets, until the utmost height of the eruption has been attained. And here comes in the theory as suggested by Bunsen's observations.\* It is based on the fact that water when

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\* In a lecture at the Royal Institution in 1853, on Bunsen's theory, Professor Tyndall illustrated it by an apparatus successfully imitating the whole process of the Geyser eruption.

under pressure requires a higher temperature to make it pass into steam; and this in proportion to the pressure. In the Geyser the column of water in the tube is itself the compressing cause. While the temperature of the mouth of the tube was about 180° Fahrenheit, Bunsen found just before an eruption that the heat of the water at a depth of seventy feet reached 260°, or 48 degrees above the boiling point in open air; with a proportionate difference at intermediate depths. The steam ever pressing upwards from its subterranean sources, and condensed in the cooler sections of the tube, raises the heat of the water there; and thus the struggle between pressure, and water urgent to pass into steam, is at every moment brought nearer to the surface, and becomes more impetuous. A sudden burst of steam at some point in the tube now heaves up the water in the basin already full, and causes it to overflow. At once the pressure is lessened, and a fresh body of water in the pipe instantly gushes into vapour, throwing a column out of the basin above. Pressure is thereby further relieved; fresh volumes of steam suddenly developed; and successive jets thrown higher and higher,—with infinite variety of curious and beautiful configurations, both of the ascending and descending masses, commingled as they are with clouds of vapour, or agitated by passing winds. Neither pen nor pencil can well describe these magnificent phenomena, changing at every moment and lasting too short a time to admit of tranquil observation. The drawings we have seen of the Great Geyser in eruption differ so much, that some at least must be received as mere mockeries of the object they seek to depict.

There are few dates connected with the early history of the Geyser, but almost certain proof that it existed as a boiling fountain more than 600 years ago. We have seen that it is slowly self-created. It would be also self-destructive, were the pipe so far lengthened from continued accretion, as to prevent by vast pressure the water bursting into steam upwards. But it may be that the mound and basin which now crown and encircle it, will retard at least any such change, and preserve this grand spectacle for generations of travellers yet unborn.

The *Strochr*, or New Geyser, distant not more than 150 yards from its greater rival, might well be deemed a wonderful sight in any other neighbourhood. It is a vast vent for the periodical issue of boiling water and steam, circled round by a low border of silicious incrustation; the pipe eight or nine feet in diameter at its mouth, but narrowing downwards to the depth of forty-four feet; the temperature at this depth before an eruption from 240° to 250° Fahrenheit; at the upper

orifice nearly  $212^{\circ}$ . After the boiling water has been ejected from the pipe, in a column sometimes reaching eighty or ninety feet in height, steam continues to issue with impetuous violence, in a similar column; so well defined by the circular mouth of the pipe, that the hand may safely be brought within an inch of the rising torrent. Sir G. Mackenzie and his friends saw three of these eruptions of more than an hour's duration; one, in the night, which lasted nearly three hours. Closely contiguous though they are, and drawing their aliment of water and heat from the same sources, no certain relation has yet been made out between the Old and New Geyser, as regards their times and amount of eruption. It may hereafter be determined by more continuous observation on the spot.

Want of space compels us to omit any detailed notices of the other hot springs around the Geysers, as well as of those of Reykum, south of the Thingvalla Lake, which, on a smaller scale, have close kindred with the phenomena just described. For the same reason we can merely notice the scarcely less wonderful group of boiling springs at Hveravellir, about forty miles N. of the Geysers; where, amidst these springs, a circular silicious mound, larger than that of the Great Geyser, but now effete, betrays what may be the future destiny of the living fountain. Everywhere, indeed, in the S.W. region of Iceland, we have patent proofs of the great and subtle force of Heat, operating closely and constantly below the surface; and in numerous places rupturing the crust to give vents to the steam and other products of the chemical actions going on underneath. The case is the same in that N.E. district of the island, to which we have already alluded and shall speedily again refer.

For here we come to one of the main objects of this article; that, namely, of sketching out for future travellers, whether of the Alpine or any other school, some short outline of those things in Iceland which most need, and will best repay, future research. We have thus far chiefly spoken of the districts which are most familiar to us, from greater ease of access, or from the grandeur of their volcanic scenery. The portion thus explored is probably that which best merits to be so; but the whole of Iceland is so strange a physical anomaly, that it deserves to be seen and studied in all its accessible parts. Besides the lavas, those vast volcanic monuments of known or unknown date, and the Plutonic rocks, which form, as far as we yet know, the foundation of the whole island, we have yet much to learn as to the relative age and succession of the latter; their probable manner of elevation, and whether any of the more recent rock formations, especially if containing fossil remains,

exist in connexion with them, either by superposition or otherwise? The researches so successfully prosecuted by French and English geologists among the ancient volcanoes of Auvergne, would be an admirable text-book for what remains to be done in the volcanic geology of Iceland. And in reference to this object, as well as to its natural history at large, and the aspects of its natural scenery, we would expressly point to the *Eastern half* of Iceland, as that which has especial claim on future research. A line drawn from N. to S. in longitude  $18\frac{1}{2}$ , would divide the island into two parts nearly equal, and would, as nearly, separate the known districts from the unknown. Few travellers have visited the northern parts of Iceland;—still fewer the eastern and south-eastern coasts;—none have traversed the tract of icy mountains, and the volcanic districts interblended with them. Two learned Icelanders, Olafsen and Paulsen, nearly a century ago, surveyed the island more extensively than had before been done; and their travels, published in 1772, are still often quoted as authority. Mr. Henderson, of whom we have already spoken, is the only modern traveller who has fairly followed in their path; visiting, in the course of two years, every inhabited part of the country. His narrative may be fully relied upon for all he tells; and even after this lapse of time will be a valuable aid to those who follow his routes. But neither he, nor the travellers just named, could meet the demands which science now makes on those who traverse countries thus peculiar in all their physical features.

Taking separately the objects which still require closer research, we may first name the N.E. district, around the great and gloomy lake of Myvatn,—a region singularly resembling in its characters that S.W. portion of the island of which we have so fully spoken. We have here, as there, the proofs of heat operating largely and continuously close to the surface. We find a large tract of country heaved, rent, corrugated, and blistered in the same extraordinary way, and everywhere intersected by rugged lavas. We have three great boiling fountains, associated together as are the Geysers, and like them intermittent in their actions, and encrusted round with similar silicious deposits; the Nordur-hver, the largest of these, springing from a basin which rivals that of the Great Geyser itself. In the same tract of country again, to carry the parallel further, we find a sulphur formation, exactly like that of Krisuvick already described. It is on a ridge of mountain, five miles in length; the slope of the ridge covered with sulphur and coloured clays; sulphurous vapours everywhere steaming through them, and gushing with tumultuous violence from many caldrons or pools of boiling sul-

phurous mud. Without going into further detail, it will be seen that this is scenery which will amply repay further research. We need a closer and more continuous observation of these northern Geysers, which in comparing their phenomena (doubtless due to similar causes) with those of the southern boiling fountains, will serve to the illustration of both. We require also a careful examination of the sulphur deposits, not only on the ridge just described, but in other places further from the coast, in reference to their commercial value. Sulphur, indeed, has been gathered from these beds for the last three centuries; but very scantily, and by the casual labour of peasants only. It is important to know with what economy these mines may be worked, by aid of capital and better organised labour; and what may be the best conveyance to Husavik, or other parts of the northern coast. And further in regard to this district, we desire to know more of the great volcanic mountains of Krabla and Leirhnukr;—of the vast streams of lava which issued from them during a series of years between 1724 and 1730;—of the Obsidian mountain in the same vicinity;—and of the extraordinary pool of boiling black mud, in a crater not very far from the summit of Krabla, throwing up *intermittingly* dense columns of the same material to the height of twenty or thirty feet.

Having furnished, we believe, motive enough for visiting this part of the island, we must add a few words as to the best mode of reaching it; premising first that the travelling season in Iceland cannot be stretched beyond three or four months (that is, from the end of May to the middle of September), and may by inclement seasons be made yet shorter. The Danish steamers to Reykiavik, making several voyages every summer, will give conveyance to and fro; and it might be possible, between its first and last passage, to survey both these wonderful regions of volcanic furnaces in the south-west and north-east. The main obstacle is in the wild and lofty desert of ice-mountains, lavas, and ashes which lies between them. From the Geysers, where Mr. Henderson entered on this route, to the first habitation on the northern side the island, is about six days' journey, four of which are occupied in skirting the glaciers of Arnarfell Jökul, and traversing the mountain desert just mentioned;—a passage of great cold even in the early days of August, and of much suffering to the horses from want of pasture. Arrived at the first human dwelling, the journey of some sixty miles thence to Myvatn, is made comparatively easy by that warm hospitality of the Iceland farmers and priests, which has its limit only in the rude and scanty materials of their own subsistence.

If the travellers for whom we are now consulting, possess the



luxury of a yacht, this northern excursion becomes comparatively easy; and might be made to embrace, by a judicious conjunction of land and sea travel, the various scenery of the Borgarfjord Syssel, and of the extraordinary peninsula, of which the Snæfall Jökul is the western termination. The strange volcanic mountain of Baula in the former district, and that, equally singular, of Drapühlid in the other, may be mentioned as objects which especially need further examination. Under shelter and aid of his yacht, the traveller may penetrate yet further north, into that rugged region of deep gulfs, peninsulas, and promontories, which forms the N.W. extremity of Iceland. And here, on the coasts of the Barðastrand Syssel, he will find a vast abundance of that curious fossil wood, the *Surturbrand*; the jet black masses of which are in some places arranged in layers or strata,—the lowest the most perfectly mineralised. We have yet much to learn as to the origin and manner of deposit of this singular rock-wood; and must look to a closer inquiry on the spot as the best chance of solving these questions.

We have thus far carried our suggestions little beyond the western-half of Iceland. There remains the eastern-half, of which, as before remarked, we know only the coast border, and that scantily and imperfectly. All suggestions here become of course more difficult and doubtful. It is certain, however, that to make any fair inroads upon this part of the island, will require a full summer season to itself, and much capacity to endure toil and privation on the part of the traveller. Here, again, a yacht or small steamer, by affording conveyance from one part of the coast to another, and other appliances needful to such enterprise, would greatly assist its progress and success. Seeking to give the best guidance we can towards its fulfilment, we may specify three main objects to be accomplished: First, the survey, as far as practicable, of those great living volcanoes near the southern coast—the Kötlugáin, Skaptar, and Oræfi Jökuls especially—the eruptions of which, from their surpassing magnitude, form epochs in volcanic history. Secondly, a careful survey of the eastern coast, in its general physical features, and the geological characters of its mountains, which would seem to belong to an earlier age of igneous action, and to be free from all present volcanic energy. And thirdly, the ingress, wherever and in as far as may be possible, into that central region of ice-fields and volcanic wastes, which is known to the Icelanders themselves only by distant views or vague traditions.

In looking to the accomplishment of these objects, especially the last, we must keep in view what we know, or may presume, of the physical configuration of this part of Iceland. And here

we must refer to the admirable map, published at Copenhagen, 1844; and founded upon a Government survey, far more complete than any before made;—a map which no traveller visiting Iceland ought to be without. The chain or group of Jökuls, or ice-clad mountains—including, besides the great volcanoes just named, the Eyafjalla, Torfa, Sida, Klofa, and other Jökuls—may be said to line the whole southern coast from the Westmann Isles eastwards; stretching northwards about one-third of the whole breadth of the island. These mountains include the highest points in Iceland, which (though the data are still very imperfect) we believe nowhere to exceed 7000 feet. They furnish the watershed dividing the northern and southern rivers;—the latter, as might be presumed, shorter and more impetuous; the northern, and particularly the Skalfanda and Jökul Rivers, flowing in much longer and deeper course to the sea; while one or two considerable streams, derived from the same flank of the chain, find egress on the eastern coast. It is the first question then to those who may pursue this adventure, whether access to the central region should be sought for from the south, examining the localities of recent eruptions (and notably those of the Skaptar Jökul) by the way; and thence crossing the dividing ridge and descending the valleys of the northern streams? or whether the exploration of the centre may best be begun by ascending these rivers from the north or north-east; reserving the volcanoes of the south, and the vast mountain ice-fields of the Klofa Jökul, for a separate research? This is a question hard to answer, with the scanty materials we possess. Our belief is, however, that the first scheme would be impracticable, seeing the rugged beginning it would have amidst pathless and probably *pastureless* lavas,—the lofty mountain ranges to be crossed,—and the long tract of unknown country to be traversed before reaching the more open valleys of the north. The same difficulties, inverted in order, apply to the second scheme also; and we doubt much the possibility of connecting, in any single plan, the country north of the summit level, and the volcanic region lying south of it.

These convictions lead us to propose what we think by far the best course for the traveller, who is earnest in his design to survey this part of Iceland. We must take for granted a yacht or small steamer as almost indispensable to the plan. In this vessel let him seek first the deep and safe harbour of Berufjord, on the eastern coast; an admirable locality in reference to any contingent scheme of travel, either north or south. At the trading factory here, he is sure to find intelligent Danes and Icelanders, competent to give information, or to point out the

best means of obtaining it. If necessary, a tentative journey might be made southwards along the coast, towards the foot of the lofty Oræfa Jökul; in which journey, while gathering the knowledge he requires, from the priests more especially, he may visit the extraordinary moving ice-field of Breidamark, described as nearly twenty miles in length and four hundred feet in thickness. The instructions obtained at Beruford, or upon this journey, ought, we consider, to decide the traveller as to his further course; and he will thus also best provide himself with other aids needful for whatever enterprise is attempted; guides who know the country, and ponies fitted for hard and ill-fed work. Here, however, we are obliged to notice certain other contingent difficulties. The Iceland peasant is slow and cautious in his habits, travels only on his beaten track, and is not easily persuaded to undertake any new adventure. His ponies too, hardy though they are, must have food; which the rugged volcanic surface of this central region, covered with ashes or snow, seems very little fitted to supply. Sir G. Mackenzie and his companions, in quest of a reported tract of Obsidian, N.E. of Hecla, penetrated some thirty miles into this rude country; making the journey to and fro without finding a single spot of pasture for their horses. From an eminence on these glassy rocks, they looked far northwards, upon a landscape of intense desolation—the conjoint effect of centuries of volcanic fires and winter snows. The deep bogs, and large and rapid rivers of Iceland, dangerous though they seem to the traveller who has not learnt to rely on the better instincts of his horse, might well be coveted in exchange for these wild and barren wastes. As such hindrances and difficulties exist, we are bound to state them. They suggest the need of as much previous knowledge as can be got on the verge of this unknown country; and a series of experimental excursions, before entering upon any one long journey, without the faculty of ready return.

We have spoken of the traveller as a unit; but no one ought to attempt discovery in Iceland without companions of his enterprise. It is not a country in which to travel alone. The day requires to be cheered by society; and at night there is much more comfort in three portable beds under cover of a tent or Icelandic church, than in one only. Another necessity, and more difficult to supply, is that of a good interpreter. A certain sort of Latin conversation may here and there be kept up with the priests; and a few of the Danish factors on the coast speak English. But in entering the more unfrequented parts, it is a matter of absolute necessity to have some attendant through whom to communicate with the Icelandic guides,

as well as the dwellers on the road. No journey could prosper, or even be practicable, without this. And if our travellers be seriously bent on their undertaking, we would strongly recommend a previous inquiry at Copenhagen, where we have reason to believe such aid might best be obtained. An actual visit to the Danish capital would add little to the voyage, and might give other material facilities to the objects in view.

Some tales will reach the traveller, especially on the borders of the uninhabited country, of robbers living in those wild regions, and coming down for plunder. None such need be dreaded or believed in. These are old stories, possibly derived from the still older traditions of the Berserkir, a race of mysterious warriors known in Icelandic mythology. Such superstitions may well be excused in a people who have so little wherewith to excite or feed the imagination; when amongst ourselves we find persons, otherwise most intelligent, who give a ready belief to the follies or frauds of spirit-rapping, table-lifting, and clairvoyance.

It may seem strange that we should close this article without some more detailed notice of the people of Iceland;—a community scarcely less remarkable than the country they inhabit. This arises not from any indifference to the subject, for it is a very interesting one; but because our main object has been to invite and give guidance to a more thorough exploration of the geography and physical features of the island. The history, literature, and social condition of the Icelanders have, indeed, been made familiar to us by various writings of recent date. But it is a picture which may well permit of being reproduced from time to time, as singular in many ways in the history of human life. Here is a community of little more than 50,000 souls, scattered along coasts that touch on the Arctic circle;—an island where cold *without* and heat *within* are ever struggling for mastery;—the total surface one of lava, volcanic ashes, snows, or swamps; *treeless* throughout, and not producing any vegetable food for man;—the natives dwelling half underground; fish their principal food; bread rarely seen but at the factories on the coast; rancid butter, curds, and tallow their most luxurious condiments. Living under such conditions as these, the Icelanders possess, and have possessed for nearly a thousand years, intellectual and moral qualities, and a system of self-government and religious instruction, which place them on a par with the middle classes and peasantry of any part of civilised Europe. This expression does not go beyond the truth, either of their past or present history. The early Icelandic annals, at once authentic and minute, tell us of that

spirit, derived from their Norwegian ancestors, which made them the discoverers of Greenland if not of America;—of that wisdom which methodized in their government all the best parts of the Scandinavian institutions;—and of the learning, poetry and romance, which not merely lighted their own native land, but diffused itself into the darkness then overhanging all European nations. Other times followed (and the 15th century may especially be noted), during which a series of physical calamities—pestilences, famines, earthquakes, and seasons rendered more inclement by the fixed accumulation of ice on the Greenland coast—clouded over the earlier and happier fortunes of Iceland. Under these afflictions more than half the population perished, and the remainder sank for a long period into a state of apathy and neglect. Yet the spirit of the olden time was not wholly gone. In sequel to the revival of learning in Europe, that of Iceland rose again; and the printing press found a site and occupation even on this desolate island. During the last century the literary activity of the Icelanders has never paused. We have no space left for details; but may mention, in proof of what we say, that there are now lying before us translations from Theocritus, Horace, Milton, and Pope;—an Annual Register (*Minnisverd Tidindi*) for 1796, in which we find record of the speeches of Pitt and Fox;—a catalogue of a dozen philosophical works, with several lexicons;—other copious catalogues of astronomical and metaphysical works, including treatises ‘De Infinito’ and ‘De Nihilo,’ which might well furnish texts for the Hegelian philosophy of our own day;—and a schedule of examinations at the public school of Bessestad which would not disgrace any college in Europe.\*

Though unwilling to quit this curious topic, we must hasten to do so. We have probably said enough to lead the traveller, even if visiting Iceland for scientific objects only, to devote some attention to what is perhaps the most singular contrast anywhere existing between the physical and mental conditions of a human community. It is fair to add that he must himself bring intelligence enough duly to observe and appreciate this remarkable anomaly.

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\* These catalogues, and other interesting facts regarding the literature of Iceland, early and recent, will be found in two chapters by Sir H. Holland, published in Sir G. Mackenzie's volume. The most recent notice of the literature of Iceland as far back as the tenth century is to be found in Mr. Dasent's version of the Icelandic ‘Story of Burnt Njal,’ just published, with an interesting introduction by that accomplished philologist.

- ART. X. — 1. *Letters from the Slave States.* By JAMES STIRLING. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1857.
2. *Travels in the Slave States.* By FREDERICK LAW OLNSTED. 2 vols. New York and London: 1857, 1860.
3. *The Great American Revolution of 1861.* A Speech delivered by the Hon. C. L. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, February 20, 1861. Washington: 1861.
4. *A Disquisition on Government and a Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States.* By JOHN CALHOUN. Edited by RICHARD K. CRALLE. New York: 1853.

THERE are at present four countries which stand at the head of the civilised world, and whose influence principally determines the march of modern civilisation. Those four countries are France, Germany, England, and the United States. Russia, though a powerful military State, with an enormous territory, is still semi-oriental in its character. It has no science or literature, and little foreign trade; its language ranks among the barbarous dialects which no stranger voluntarily learns; its influence, which is chiefly of a coercive and deadening nature, is confined to its own population. The emancipation of the serfs — a great measure, now, we may hope, accomplished by the firmness and sincerity of the Emperor, — may, in its consequences, alter the position of Russia with respect to the civilised world. Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, though they contain an enlightened and intelligent population, do not fill an important place in European progress; they contribute to it, however, by desultory and unconnected efforts. Italy and Spain, the head-quarters of that form of religion which, looking at its political and intellectual effects, we may denominate Mahometan Christianity, have, under its paralysing influence, lost the position which they formerly occupied in Europe. Their importance, both literary and political, has ceased; they are interesting chiefly from their historical associations. To use a modern metaphor, they are shunted into the sidings of civilisation, while the express trains of more vigorous nations sweep by, and pass them unregarded. Spain, indeed, has begun lately to develope some material wealth;

and we hope that the Italian revolution,—not having been conducted hitherto in a revolutionary spirit—may, through the wisdom and moderation of its leaders, be destined to combine Italy into one kingdom, to avert foreign interference, and thus to consolidate an independent native government, which will give free scope to the inherent, but suspended powers of Italian genius. With regard to the kingdom of Greece, whatever may be its future destinies, its emancipation from the barbarising effects of a long-continued Turkish dominion is too recent to admit of its holding any prominent place in European civilisation for the present.

Such being the nations which hold the primacy of the civilised world, anything which shakes the United States to its centre, and which threatens to change its internal policy and its relations with foreign governments, is an event of first-rate importance. Such an event has come to pass. The disruption of the United States is, if not consummated, at least highly probable, and indeed appears almost inevitable. Even the most sanguine Federalists scarcely venture to say more than that they hope for a reconstruction of the Union upon a new basis, after a temporary separation of its component parts. Seven Southern States have formally seceded from the Union, and have formed a provisional confederacy, constituted upon the model of the old United States: they have elected a President and Vice-president, and by their appointed organs have used language and adopted measures, which seem to commit them irrevocably to separation and independence, and to cut off all possibility of voluntary retreat.

The causes of the secession of the Southern States are deep-seated. The discord between the North and South has for some time been patent, and has exhibited itself in various forms; and many fears have been expressed that the American Union would lose its cohesion. But it must be confessed that the late secession, at the moment when it took place, was a surprise, both to the United States and to Europe. In September and October last, at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales, nobody expected that within half a year a new confederacy, with a President of its own, would be formed out of the existing States. Practically this event was no more anticipated than a hurricane or the eruption of a volcano. Now that it has occurred we can account for it; but it is important to a true estimate of political sagacity, that we should acknowledge the event to have occurred without being expected.

We are inclined to think that all the great events of history—those which have exercised the widest and most lasting

effects—have taken the world by surprise. This was eminently the case with the French Revolution of 1789. The old monarchy of France was believed, both at home and abroad, to rest on an immovable foundation. After the revolution had occurred, and the ancient government and society of France had been broken up, people found some neglected passages in different books, which appeared to predict great political changes. But those few Cassandra-like voices did not prevent the subjects of Louis XVI. from believing as confidently in the permanence of the French monarchical system, as the subjects of Louis XIV. It may be said without exaggeration, that the French Revolution of 1789 was not anticipated more than the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Nevertheless, those who look back upon that mighty change can see that its causes were laid deeply in the political and social state of France.

Men are so much the creatures of impulse, passion, and imagination; they will bear so much in patience when their mere interests are concerned; that political and social grievances may continue for a long time without leading to active measures for their redress, unless some accident occurs which rouses the simultaneous energy of numbers, and produces a sudden conflagration. Hence the immediate occasions of great political events are generally small; the real causes of such events lie below the surface, and not unfrequently escape the most acute discernment, until they are laid bare by their consequences.

One of the small events which seem destined to bring about great results is the election of President Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln is not himself an important man. Until the recent contest for the Presidency, he was little known as a politician; in a country where public speaking is one of the chief avenues to power, he does not aspire to oratorical fame. His choice was the result of a compromise among the different sections of the Republican party. He was not originally a candidate; but was thrown to the top, as it were accidentally, during the canvass. Nor can it be said that the office to which he has been elected is calculated to excite alarm by its powers. It is true that the President can choose his own ministers, and that he can keep them in office for four years, in defiance of the House of Representatives; but he has little influence over the federal legislation; his influence over foreign relations is limited by the Senate; his power over the executive is principally confined to the Customs, Post-office, and Federal Treasury; the military and naval forces at his disposal are extremely small; and the state governments, both as to legislative and executive functions, lie completely beyond his reach. Why then was it that



the election of President Lincoln was the signal for secession in the Southern States? How came it that this event was the spark which fired the train, and caused the mine to explode?

We conceive the answer to this question to be found in the fact that the President, whether his powers be great or small, is the chief magistrate; that he is the head of the state; that, moreover, he is virtually chosen directly by the votes of the entire population; and that, therefore, he appears to embody the national will, and to be the national exponent of the political principle upon which his election turns. Now it cannot be denied that the election of Mr. Lincoln turned upon the view of the slavery question entertained by the Republican party of the North. The cotton States of the South viewed his return as a national declaration against their view of this vital question. Their fears were excited, their animosity was roused; they regarded the election as an open declaration of war against their 'property';<sup>2</sup> and South Carolina, the former leader in the nullification struggle, the most impetuous and passionate, though not the most powerful and important, of the Southern States, took the lead in declaring for secession.

Although this proceeding of the Southern States may not have been purely rational, we must admit that it was not unnatural. The election of Lincoln may not have been a sufficient provocation to a philosopher, or even to a prudent statesman; but we cannot be surprised that an average planter should take alarm at a national anti-slavery demonstration. The true lesson which this event seems to us to teach, is, not the folly of the multitude in the Southern States, but the danger of an election of the chief magistrate by the simultaneous votes of the entire population, and of his consequent identification with some disputed principle, or with some political party. In France, this mode of electing the chief magistrate has destroyed the liberties of the country, by facilitating the conversion of a President into an Emperor. The 'élu de cinq millions' seemed to hold his office by a stronger popular tenure than the Chamber itself, and could appeal to the principle of popular sovereignty, in re-enacting the eighteenth of Brumaire. In America, the solemn declaration of national opinion involved in a presidential election has so worked upon the passions and imagination of the defeated party, that they have sought safety in secession. It may be true that a small number of persons, who have occupied high places, have for several years past been contriving means for a disruption of the Union. But without some event which gave a sudden and simultaneous impulse to the mind of the South, they might have continued

to plot for years in secret, and might have remained leaders without a follower.

The method of indirect election by which the President of the United States is chosen, has likewise contributed to the progress of the late secessional movement. That which is called the Presidential election is in fact nothing more than the election of a college of electors. It was intended by the framers of the Constitution that these electors should exercise a real discretion. But in practice they have become the mere ministerial organs of their constituents; the election of the electors is equivalent to the election of the President; and the delivery of their votes after an interval of several months is a mere form. When the election of a new President involves a fundamental change of policy, and a transfer of power from one political party to another, it is clear that an interregnum of four months, during which the executive power remains in the hands of a defeated outgoing party, is a period full of danger to the Constitution. We are fully conscious of the difficulties of the position in which the Federal Government has been placed since the outbreak of the secession movement; but the chances of resisting its progress would have been far greater, if Mr. Lincoln had been installed in office in November last.

We have already observed, that although the outbreak of the secession movement has been sudden and unexpected, its causes are deep-seated, and that symptoms of disunion have for some time been apparent. That these symptoms have been patent even to foreigners making a temporary visit to the States, is sufficiently shown by the following passage in the letters of Mr. James Stirling from the Slave States, written at the Havanna, 1st January, 1857, more than four years ago. It will be observed, that he anticipates disruption at no distant period, and calmly speculates on its results.

‘There is, I find, a party in the South conscientiously, and almost fanatically, in favour of disunion, and the whole South might be very easily brought to coincide in the disunion movement by an imprudent or aggressive course of policy on the part of the North. There is a party called the “Southern Party,” which is distinctly in favour of a separation. This party is striving at present to prepare for the separation which they expect and desire, by making the South what they call “independent” of the North. It consists mainly of the aristocratic democracy of the South. Its head-quarters are, of course, to be found in South Carolina, that hot-bed of agitation and nullification. But this party would, I believe, carry along with it, even in its most insane policy, a great proportion of the low white population, all that part, namely, which I have already described as participating in the passions and prejudices of the planters, though not in their

interests. Hatred of abolitionism (which with them is identical with "the North") on the one hand, and jealousy of the nigger on the other, will ever make this miserable mob a ready tool in the hands of a fanatical party. Opposed to this extreme party is all the Conservative intelligence of the South. That this element is powerful, we know by the strong Fillmore minority of the late election. But whether it may be powerful enough to withstand and overrule the fanatical favourers of disunion, is what I cannot undertake to say; and it appears to me that amid so many elements of uncertainty in the future, both from the excited state of men's minds in the States themselves, and the complication of surrounding circumstances, no wise man would venture to foretell the probable issue of American affairs during the next four years. Among the Americans themselves, the majority look on a separation as impossible; on the other hand, many consider it quite possible; and a few look on it as certain, at all events, within a generation. Men are probably swayed unconsciously by their hopes and fears in coming to a conclusion. Those who regard disunion as synonymous with civil war, comfort themselves with the idea of its impossibility; they who take a less gloomy view of its effects, are probably less incredulous as to its advent.

'Most Americans, I think, are of opinion that a peaceable separation is an impossibility, and that if it comes to a disunion, it must come to a civil war. Some say that there would be so many irritating questions in regard to national property, the army, navy, archives, &c., that they could not be amicably adjusted. Others again think that the Northern Slave States, which in case of separation would be Border States, would be so exposed to harassing evils in the way of fugitive slaves, &c., that they would not peaceably submit to a separation. For my part, I think these fears exaggerated, as also the apprehensions of evils to result from a separation of the empire. In the first place there is quite sufficient territory, and to spare, to form two great empires. The Free States have an area of 612,597 square miles; the Slave States of 851,508; while France and Great Britain together only make up 329,057, or not much more than half of the Free States. Besides this, there are 1,472,061 square miles of territory to divide, so that each of the new empires would possess nearly a million and a half of square miles of land. Nothing but the most insatiable desire for land would complain of such an allowance of the earth's surface.' (P. 94.)

When the Constitution of the United States was framed, the abolition of negro slavery in countries where the field labour of whites is impossible, had not become a practical question. The most advanced philanthropists of England at that time limited their endeavours to the abolition of the African slave-trade. In 1787, and for many years afterwards, an *abolitionist* meant an enemy not to slavery, but to the slave-trade. The authors of the American Constitution were, however, unfriendly to slavery; they considered it a blot in a system which was pre-

eminently founded upon freedom; they desired its gradual extinction; and they carefully excluded the word from the written Constitution. But though the word was avoided, two provisions of the Constitution recognised the existence of the thing; one assigning the proportion of representatives to population; the other conferring a right of recapturing fugitive slaves in a State in which slavery is not recognised by law. The reluctance of the framers of the Constitution to deal openly with the subject of slavery is apparent in the circuitous language of these two provisions. In the first, slaves are described by the circumlocution of 'persons other than free persons.' In the other a fugitive slave is designated as 'a person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another.' The Constitution likewise contained a clause prohibiting the imposition of restrictions upon the importation of slaves prior to 1808; from which year the slave-trade was subsequently prohibited by the legislation of the Federal Government. Here again the foreign slave-trade was denoted by the periphrasis, of 'the importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit.'

The division of opinions and interests, on the embarrassing question of slavery, between the Northern and Southern States, first assumed a tangible legislative form in the controversy engendered by the admission of Missouri as a new State. Upon the admission of this State, an act of Congress was passed, in 1820, containing an enactment that, 'in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act [viz., Missouri], slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and hereby is, prohibited for ever.' This was the effect of the celebrated compact known as the 'Missouri Compromise.' It drew the line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude between exclusive freedom and permitted slavery; but it excepted the State of Missouri, the whole of which lies north of this line, and it applied only to the territory purchased by the United States from Bonaparte.

At the very commencement of the question as to the admission of the Missouri Territory, in 1820, Mr. Jefferson wrote a letter to his friend John Holmes, which expressed with startling and prophetic vehemence the impression produced on his mind by that proposal.

'I had for a long time,' said he, 'ceased to read newspapers or to pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands,

and content to be a passenger in our bark to the shore from which I am not distant. But this momentous question, *like a fire-bell in the night*, awakened and filled me with terror. *I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.* It is hushed, indeed, for a moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. *A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will make it deeper and deeper.*' (*Jefferson's Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 332.)

It is impossible to express with greater truth and force the bearing of the whole question. Although the Missouri line did not apply to the existing States, yet the recent secession has unquestionably turned upon the coincidence of a geographical line with a political principle. At the close of the same letter, Jefferson added that if the authors of secession 'would but 'dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away, 'against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by 'union than by secession; they would pause before they perpetrated this act of suicide on themselves, and of treason 'against the hopes of the world.'

The conflict of interests between the South and the North has turned to a great extent upon the questions involved in the Missouri Compromise. If the United States were not an expansive and colonising community; if they had no territories; and were not, from time to time, aggregating new colonies, in the shape of new States, to the old federation, the existing differences between the North and South would not have arisen: or, at all events, would not have assumed a character of such determined animosity. The only principle on which permanent concord between the North and South can subsist, is that of complete neutrality and indifference on the subject of slavery. This was the principle adopted by the framers of the Constitution. They tried to shut their eyes to the existence of slavery, and to keep it out of sight, by avoiding the use of the unpleasant word; by legislating respecting it, in the Federal Pact, as little as possible; and by leaving it under the exclusive control of the State legislatures. The same principle of non-interference has been constantly followed by all Federalists and Unionists who regard the maintenance of the Union as paramount to all other considerations. If slavery could have been left within the exclusive dominion of State Sovereignty, this mode of treating the subject might have afforded a practical solution of the difficulty. But the territories belonged to the United States as a whole, and they became necessarily the subjects of federal legislation. As population spread to the west, as unoccupied lands became territories, and as territories

became States, the question of slavery was inevitably raised. Was the new State to be a Free State, or a Slave State; and by what authority was this question to be determined?

If any sufficient practical solution of this difficulty could have been found, the dispute between the North and South would not have led to serious consequences. But the principle embodied in the Missouri Compromise did not prove strong enough to resist the pressure of the conflicting interests. Neither party seems to have been altogether satisfied with it; for the North resisted a proposal for extending the compromise line to the Pacific, on the ground that it gave an implied sanction to the establishment of slavery in all new States south of this line; whilst the Southern States procured its repeal, and the substitution of an arrangement more favourable to slavery. In 1854 Mr. Douglas, acting in the interest of the South, carried the Nebraska Bill, which overthrew the Missouri Compromise, and substituted for it an enactment that —

‘When admitted as a State or States, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe at the time of their admission.’

The Nebraska Bill embodied the principle of what has been called ‘Squatter Sovereignty:’ that is to say, it left the character of the new State, with respect to the permission of slavery, to be decided by the votes of the original colonists, before the conversion of the territory into a State. The first fruits of this measure were the disturbances in Kansas; it made slavery or freedom a prize to be contended for by the first settlers: and a struggle for this prize naturally ensued. In the struggle between the free settlers of the North and the slave-holding settlers of the South, President Pierce, who was then in office, threw the weight of the federal power into the pro-slavery scale.\* The contest for the election of Mr. Buchanan took place in the autumn of 1856, when the Kansas controversy was still raging. Mr. Buchanan was the citizen of a free State; but he was inclined to Southern politics. The South generally voted for him; and the North supported his opponent,

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\* A full account of this controversy will be found in President Pierce’s Message of Dec. 1856. We may also refer to an article on the same subject published in the number of this Journal for October, 1856, in which the events which have since occurred were already foreshadowed as events which would in all probability have taken place four years earlier if Colonel Fremont, had carried his election at that time.

Colonel Fremont. The geographical division of interests in 1856 portended the separation which has since occurred; but Mr. Buchanan was elected as the representative of a policy of compromise; and it was hoped that he would hold the scales with an even hand between freedom and slavery. His first act belied this expectation: he at once promoted a bill for declaring Kansas a slave State. Mr. Douglas, preparing his way for the next presidential contest, thought that by the Nebraska Bill he had done enough to secure the support of the South. He therefore made a sudden turn, opposed the Kansas Bill, and threw it out.

It certainly seems to us that this course of Mr. Douglas, considered as that of a calculating politician, seeking to conciliate the support of opposite parties, was well-contrived, though it has not proved successful. The principle of 'Squatter Sovereignty,' which we conceive to be represented by Mr. Douglas, is a logical and consistent application of the policy of the Constitution respecting slavery. It is an attempt to withdraw the question of slavery in the territories from the control of the Federal Government, and to make it depend exclusively on the decision of the people of the territory, before the territory becomes a state. This policy received a legal confirmation from the decision in the Dred Scott case. In this case, the majority of judges of the Supreme Court held that the Missouri Compromise was contrary to the Constitution, and void, because it affected to legislate respecting slavery in the territories. They likewise held that the status of slavery is indelible by change of domicile; and that a slave who resided in a State where slavery is prohibited by law remains nevertheless a slave.

If the Northern States had been willing to accept this position of perfect neutrality, and if the Southern States had been satisfied to resign the question of slavery in the territories to chance, Mr. Douglas might have been returned as President in the contest of 1860. But his opinions satisfied neither party. His pro-slavery course was too strong for the North, and too weak for the South.

The candidate of the Republican party was at first Mr. Seward; but the progress of the canvass showed that Mr. Lincoln, a plain, blunt, straightforward man from Illinois, who had originally lived the life of a backwoodsman, who had practised some years at the bar, and who had gained some local celebrity as a politician, was more acceptable to the Republican party. He accordingly became their candidate, defeating Breckenridge and Bell, as well as Douglas. Bell, the candidate of the central States, stood second; Breckenridge,

the candidate of the nine Southern States, occupied the third place. Douglas was supported only by the State of Missouri, and was at the bottom of the poll.

The result of this election showed that the South, which refused to accept the compromise of Squatter Sovereignty from the hands of Mr. Douglas, must submit to the principles of the Republican party, and acquiesce at least in some form of the Missouri Compromise, if they remained members of the Union.

Such is an outline of the history of slavery, as affecting the policy of the Federal Government in the territories. Thus far the difficulties which it created were connected with colonisation, and with the creation of new communities. They might not have arisen if the Union had been a stationary country, satisfied with its existing boundaries. But the dissensions created by slavery were not confined to the new territory; disputes arose involving the internal relations of the old States.

We have already stated that a right of recapturing slaves who had escaped from their masters and fled into another State was recognised by the Constitution. It was found that this right was imperfectly enforced by the officers of the Federal Government, and accordingly the celebrated Fugitive Slave Law was passed; by which it was made the duty of the officers of the State to seize a fugitive slave and restore him to his owner. This law created a vehement reaction in the Northern States; by large classes it was viewed with indignation and disgust; it was thought that the Northern States were converted by it into accomplices in the crime of slavery. Some of the States met the federal legislation by measures styled 'Personal Liberty Laws,' which, though declared by their authors to be constitutional, denied the assistance of the State officers in the recapture of fugitive slaves, and placed legal obstacles in the way of their recovery by their alleged masters.

With these grounds of bitterness and exasperation between the two great sections of the Union,—with the North complaining of the Nebraska Bill and the violation of the Missouri Compromise, and with the South complaining of the anti-slavery agitation and of the frustration of the Fugitive Slave Law,—it was not to be wondered that the triumph of the Republican party at the late Presidential election should be followed by the often threatened secession of the Southern States. In fact, it is now manifest that this revolution (for such it may be termed) had long been contemplated by the Southern politicians as the alternative of success in the Presidential contest. Several of the members of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet had, secretly and openly, honestly and dishonestly, made preparations for the



coming change; and upon the declaration of the result of the election, they at once shifted their allegiance to the new Confederacy. It is probable, from the ease with which the machinery of the Provisional Government in the South has been brought into play, that Mr. Jefferson Davis and his colleagues had matured their whole scheme beforehand.

It follows from this brief survey of events that the cause which has led to the late divorce between the North and the South, is incompatibility of temper on the subject of slavery. Persons who wish to appear wiser than their neighbours, and who reject every truth which is obvious, have said that the quarrel between the North and South is not in reality founded on slavery, but that it has its source in other interests. We believe these ingenious theories to be delusive, and the simple explanation to be the true one. The neutral and unexcited state of feeling on the subject of slavery which prevailed in the two first decades of the century has passed away; the Northern States have learnt to regard slavery as a sin, the Southern States have begun to extol it as a blessing.

No reasonable doubt can exist as to the sincerity of the anti-slavery feeling in the Northern States. Persons who hold that the abolitionists of the North have carried their zeal to the length of fanaticism and intolerance, must at least admit their sincerity. Those who follow Mr. Sumner in politics, and who sympathise with 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' in fiction, have come to regard the cause of anti-slavery in the light in which it has long been regarded in England. It has become with them a sort of religion. The intensity of the feeling on this subject has been quite misunderstood by foreigners. It is the prevalent belief on the Continent that England abolished slavery in her colonies from Machiavellian motives, and chiefly for the purpose of ruining the United States. Foreign politicians are much too clever to be the dupes of such transparent hypocrisy.\* We

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\* M. Thiers, in the eighteenth volume of his *'Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire,'* liv. lvi. p. 682., attributes the zeal of the English for the emancipation of the negroes at the Congress of Vienna to the desire of ruining America. Now the English made no proposal for the abolition of slavery at the Congress of Vienna; what they proposed was the abolition of the slave-trade, and the declaration of the Congress related exclusively to the slave-trade. See Massan, *'Hist. du Congrès de Vienne,'* tom. i. p. 252. This measure could not have been directed against the United States, for they had prohibited the slave-trade in 1808, and their writers boast of their having taken the lead in its abolition. See Story's *'Comm. on the Constitution of the United States,'* §§ 1331-7.

need not remark what an utter misconception of the motives which really actuated the emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies is implied in this incredulity.

When a society has reached a certain degree of civilisation and refinement, and when the moral perceptions of the proprietary classes are not blunted by the possession of slaves, the contemplation of the detailed working of slavery, and of the cruelties necessarily incidental to it, infallibly creates a strong desire for its abolition. This feeling may be expected to increase steadily as the subject is more and more illustrated and exposed by speeches, lectures, and writings, and it will proceed directly to the accomplishment of its object, with little regard for political consequences. It presents itself in the light of a duty, to which all prudential considerations must yield. There are only two motives which induce men to work; one is the hope of the reward, the other is the fear of punishment. In all ages, and in all countries, slaves have been forced to work by bodily chastisement. An overseer of slaves without an instrument of corporal infliction would be like an omnibus driver without a whip. The machine under his control would speedily come to a stand. To say therefore that American planters flog their slaves is merely to say that they use the means necessary for compelling them to work. But when the details of corporal punishment are laid before the public in elaborate and impressive descriptions; when its occasional abuses are selected and dwelt upon; and when the punishment of female slaves by male overseers is minutely pictured\*, the feelings are taken captive, and the convictions of persons who may approve of slavery in general terms are carried by storm.

Another circumstance in slavery, which is eminently calculated to move the feelings of a cultivated reading class, is the disruption of domestic ties, and the general disregard of family relations which it involves. The recognition of marriage and of its consequences is in fact the main distinction between pure slavery and villenage or serfage, such as it existed in medieval Europe. Where slavery exists in its simple form, the slave is a mere chattel; he has no rights, and no permanent relations subsist between him and any other slave. He is 'property,' and therefore sale, and other accidents of property, may at any

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\* See the painful description of the flogging of a slave girl in the field, witnessed by Mr. Olmsted himself, in his *Journey in the Back Country*; 'Our Slave States,' vol. iii. pp. 84-8. Compare likewise Mr. Olmsted's argument with a Southerner on the necessity of cruelty for the maintenance of slavery, vol. i. p. 618. •

time separate him from his children and from the mother of his children.

There is a further incident of slavery which is peculiarly fitted to rouse the indignation of the inhabitants of a free State which adjoins a slave State. The ordinary condition of master and slave is that of mutual hostility. The master compels his slave to work; the slave submits with reluctance, and regards his master as an oppressor. Hence they stand to one another in the relation of gaoler and prisoner; and there is a constant inducement to the prisoner to make his escape. The helpless and isolated position of the slave; his entire denudation of money and even of food; his ignorance; his incapacity to combine with others, or to find a safe asylum, render such attempts difficult and almost desperate. Nevertheless, the slaves are frequently meditating escape. We learn indeed from Mr. Olmsted that a Southern physician has brought this tendency under a scientific nomenclature:—

‘The learned Dr. Cartwright, of the University of Louisiana, believes that slaves are subject to a peculiar form of mental disease, termed by him *drapeto-mania*, which, like a malady that cats are liable to, *manifests itself by an irrestrainable propensity to run away*; and in a work on the diseases of negroes, highly esteemed at the South for its patriotism and erudition, he advises planters of the proper preventive and curative measures to be taken for it.’ (*Our Slave States*, vol. i. p. 191.)

Mr. Olmsted describes the system of nigger-hunting in the Dismal Swamp, a large wild tract in Virginia, in which fugitive slaves conceal themselves from their pursuers.

‘I asked if they were ever shot. “Oh yes,” he said; “when the hunters saw a runaway, if he tried to get from them, they would call out to him that if he did not stop they would shoot, and if he did not they would shoot, and sometimes kill him.” “But some on ‘em would rather be shot than be took, sir,” he added simply.

‘A farmer living near the swamp confirmed this account, and said he knew of three or four being shot in one day.

‘No particular breed of dogs is needed for hunting negroes; blood-hounds, fox-hounds, bull-dogs, and curs were used; and one white man told me how they were trained for it, as if it were a common or notorious practice. They are shut up when puppies, and never allowed to see a negro except while training to catch him. A negro is made to run from them, and they are encouraged to follow him until he gets into a tree, when meat is given them. Afterwards they learn to follow any particular negro by scent, and then a shoe or a piece of clothing is taken off a negro, and they learn to find by scent who it belongs to, and to free him, &c. I don’t think they are employed in the ordinary driving in the swamp, but only to overtake

some particular slave, as soon as possible after it is discovered that he has fled from a plantation. Joseph said that it was easy for the drivers to tell a fugitive from a regularly employed slave in the swamps.' (Vol. i. p. 160.)

It must not, however, be supposed that the escape of slaves is confined to the neighbourhood of wild districts like the Dismal Swamp : —

'Handbills, written or printed, offering rewards for the return of runaway slaves, are to be constantly seen at nearly every court-house, tavern, and post-office in the Southern States. The frequency with which these losses must occur, however, on large plantations, is most strongly evidenced by the following paragraph from the domestic news columns of the "Fayetteville Observer." A man who will pay these prices must anticipate frequent occasion to use his purchase.

"Mr. J. L. Bryan, of Moose Country, sold at public auction, on the 20th instant, a pack of ten hounds, trained for hunting runaways, for the sum of \$1540. The highest price paid for any one dog was \$301, the lowest price \$75; average for the ten, \$154. The terms of sale were six months' credit, with approved security, and interest from date."

'The newspapers of the South-western States frequently contain advertisements similar to the following, which is taken from the "West Tennessee Democrat."

"Bloodhounds! I have two of the finest dogs for catching negroes in the south-west. They can take the trail twelve hours after the negro has passed, and catch him with ease. I live just four miles south-west of Boliver, on the road leading from Boliver to Whitesville. I am ready at all times to catch runaway negroes. — March 2. 1853. David Turner." (Ibid., vol. i. p. 163.)

When it is remembered that a good male slave sells for 1300, and a good female slave for 1000 dollars (286*l.* and 216*l.*), it is not to be wondered that the owners of fugitive slaves make great efforts to recover their property, and feel the loss acutely.

The tendency to escape, like the necessity of corporal infliction, is an invariable concomitant of slavery. The Romans went so far in their precautions against it, that their 'field hands' were made to work in chains, and were locked up at night in a prison called an *ergastulum*. The Digest has a title On Fugitive Slaves, in which it is laid down by Ulpian that the concealment of a fugitive slave is constructive theft. 'Is qui fugitivum celavit, fur est.' Dig. xi. 4. 1.

Now a fugitive slave may escape across the confines of his own State and reach a State whose law does not recognise slavery. But here the American Constitution steps in, and says that a slave may be recaptured in a free State. We have already

alluded to the Act of Congress which was founded upon this part of the written constitution, and to the dissensions between the North and South which it produced. There are doubtless many citizens of the Northern States who would abstain from all political action on the subject of slavery, so long as it remained the exclusive business of the Slave State legislatures. But when they are called upon to be neutral not only as to other States of the Union but as to their own State, and to employ their own officers in capturing slaves and sending them back to slavery and to vindictive punishment, their feelings are excited into repugnance, and they refuse to concur in the enforcement of a remedy which is embodied in the Federal compact, and which Southerners consider indispensable for the protection of their property.

These feelings respecting slavery in the South arise in the minds of Northerners, even although the negroes are regarded as belonging to an inferior race. It is sufficient that they should possess a common humanity. But the difference of race and colour materially aggravates the harshness of American slavery, and thus further alienates the North from the South. In the ancient republics emancipation was easy and frequent: the freedmen were a numerous class, who were nearly on an equality with born citizens. The villenage of the middle ages was extinguished by emancipation so gradually, that the exact date of its cessation cannot be fixed. Where the slaves are physically undistinguishable from their masters, the transition from slavery to freedom is easy, and the new citizen is willingly incorporated with the free class. But a free negro is still a negro. He has ceased to be a slave, but nothing can make him a white citizen.\* The colour of his skin is indelible, and the antipathy of race remains. A free State may tolerate a class of

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\* Mr. Olmsted relates a conversation with a fellow-traveller on board a steamer in Alabama, who was in favour of emancipating the negroes, provided they could be sent out of the State. The conversation concludes with the following remarks: 'Now suppose they was free, you see they'd all think themselves just as good as we; of course they would, if they was free. Now just suppose you had a family of children; how would you like to hev a nigger feelin just as good as a white man? How'd you like to hev a nigger steppin up to your darter? Of course you wouldn't; and that's the reason I wouldn't like to hev 'em free. But I tell you I don't think its right to hev 'em slaves so; that's the fac; 'taunt right to keep 'em as they is.' (Vol. i. p. 573.) The law of the Southern States does not, we believe, recognise the slavery of a person of pure white blood.

free blacks; but a slave State cannot endure a class identical in race and colour with the slaves, but separated by an impassable barrier from the free whites. Hence the discouragement of emancipation, and the expulsion of free blacks in the Southern States. Hence, too, the prohibition of education, and other measures of suspicion and jealousy, tending to keep the negro slaves in a permanent state of degradation. The unsympathising harshness of this system adds strength to the abolitionist feelings of the North; while these feelings again, by creating an incessant aggressive agitation against slavery, increase the rigour of the Southern slave-owners. Both in the political despotism of governments and in the domestic despotism of slave-masters, fear is the parent of cruelty; the severity of the 'Code Noir' of the Southern States may be taken as an infallible measure of the fears of its authors. The intolerance of free discussion respecting slavery in the Slave States\*, and the promptitude with which Lynch law punishment is inflicted upon any stranger who is even suspected of abolitionist opinions, furnish additional evidence of the perpetual alarm in which the slave-owners pass their lives, and of the necessity which they believe to exist for constant vigilance in order to defend their 'property.'

The Southern States are inaccessible to the feeling of humanity which moves the Northern States. Their view is simple, and is expressed in a single word. They regard slaves as property, and they consider an abolitionist as infringing their proprietary rights; they regard him as a spoiler and a robber. Slavery with a legislature of slave-owners is a mere question of personal proprietary interest. When England abolished slavery, that measure was accompanied by two important conditions. First, that slavery was confined to the colonies, and that the abolition was enacted by the imperial legislature, where the slave-holding interest was insignificant. Secondly, that a compensation, equal to the existing value of the slaves, was paid by the mother-country to the colonial proprietors. Neither of these conditions is applicable to a Southern State. The legislature is not free from personal interest; and the slave-owners cannot compensate themselves, if they abolish slavery. Sudden and simultaneous abolition of slavery in a Southern State is therefore regarded as confiscation. On the other hand, the difference between the black and white races renders

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\* Mr. Olmsted (vol. ii. p. 434.) gives an account of the means by which a German newspaper editor at St. Antonio, in Texas, who attempted to advocate anti-slavery opinions, was silenced and ruined.

gradual emancipation impossible. Under these circumstances, the Southerners have become habituated to the contemplation of negro slavery as a permanent institution; and instead of treating it as a necessary evil, they represent it as preferable to the freedom of the working classes, and as the Utopia of the African race. This view, which has now become current among the orators, journalists, lecturers, and even the clergy of the Southern States, is briefly embodied in the following extract from the Secession Manifesto recently issued by the State of Louisiana: —

‘We are fully convinced that the slavery engrafted on this land by France, Spain, England, and the States of North America, is the most humane of all existing servitudes; that to the slave of the South it is far preferable to the condition of the barbarians of Africa, or the freedom of those who have been liberated by the Powers of Europe; that it is in obedience to the laws of God, recognised by the constitution of our country, sanctioned by the decrees of its tribunals; that it feeds and clothes its enemies and the world, leaves to the black labourer a more considerable sum of comfort, happiness, and liberty, than the inexorable labour required from the free servants of the whole universe; and that each emancipation of an African, without being of any benefit to him, would necessarily condemn to slavery one of our blood and our race.’ (*Times*, March 12. 1861.)

Mr. Olmsted gives the following summary of the advantages which the Southern theory attributes to slavery, as compared with the system of free labour: —

‘What they suppose to be the cause of the sad waste of natural wealth, what the necessity of the ignorance and poverty of the poor white people, what the reason that capital is not attracted by the superior soundness of their form of government and society, except it may be the stupidity of capitalists, I may very probably have failed to ascertain, because of the general disinclination they have to converse with a Northerner on this topic. The only distinct answer that I have received has been, that it is not slavery; for nothing is more evident to them, although it may not be so to a stranger, than that slavery is a blessing everywhere, and always (I quote, as far as convenient, the words addressed to me) to the slave, in Christianising and civilising him; to the master, in cultivating those habits of charitable feeling which the presence of the weak, the poor, and the dependent are always suggesting, and in cherishing in him that commanding elevation of character and administrative power which is claimed to have always distinguished the owners of slaves, and the value of which they deem to have always been apparent in our national statesmanship. An institution which they know has such good influences, and which is so favourable to political success, they cannot believe to be destructive to industrial energy, and effective of commercial dependence. There is nothing essentially productive in competition; on the contrary, it is evident that the work of many

labourers must be more profitable when directed by one controlling mind, than when independent and uncombined; therefore, say they, slave labour must be cheaper than free labour. In every way they are convinced that slavery is, or should be, and can be made, a great advantage and blessing to them; and therefore, by God's grace, they are determined to maintain and defend it as their fathers did, and to bequeath it, as their fathers did to them, to their children, unimpaired and unmitigated, an inheritance for ever.' (Vol. i. p. 181.)

With this strong antithesis of opinion and interest, it was natural that the Southern States should, upon the triumph of the Republican candidate at the late presidential contest, turn at once to the remedy of secession. The nature of a federal government offers peculiar facilities, and therefore peculiar temptations, for resorting to this course. When a secession of a party of the citizens took place in an ancient republic, they hoped, by the sudden withdrawal of a large portion of the free community, to paralyse the action of the government, and to compel the dominant party to submit to their terms. If the dominant party refused their terms, they went into exile, or founded a new commonwealth. Secession was the last desperate remedy of a defeated faction; and hence Livy says that '*ultima rabies secessio ab suis habebatur.*' But the secession of a State from a federal union is a much less violent process. Every American State has a complete government, independent of the federal mechanism; it has a governor and an executive; it has a legislature; it has a judiciary. It has all the organs which are requisite for independent action; and in order to give it practical independence, nothing more is necessary than to cut the tie which attaches it to the Federal Government. This is a simple and easy process; it implies no revolutionary movement or painful sacrifice on the part of the seceding State; but, on the other hand, it inflicts no serious wound, and causes no serious temporary derangement in the remaining States, and does not create that necessity for negotiation which secession in an ancient republic produced.

The immediate cause of the disruption of the American Union has therefore been the operation of the question of slavery upon States marked by a geographical boundary. The extension of the Union to the West has raised questions essentially of a colonial nature, not determined or even contemplated by the original Constitution, on which the North and the South had conflicting opinions and interests; and the nature of a federal union, which leaves to each State a complete organisation of its own, has suggested and facilitated secession. It will be observed that each State of the American Union is



conceived as a sovereign State, parting with a defined portion of its sovereignty to the federal government, but retaining the undefined residuc. Whenever, therefore, any new question arises as to which the power is not clearly appropriated to Congress, it belongs to the legislation of the State.\*

Mr. Calhoun's 'Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States,' published after his death in 1853, exhibits what may be termed the Southern view of the Federal Constitution. He maintains that the States, though united into a Federation, retain their character of distinct, sovereign communities: that they established the Federal Constitution as a compact between them, not as a Constitution over them; that their allegiance is primarily due to their State, rather than to the Union; that the people of the several States still retain the supreme ultimate power called sovereignty, the power by which they established the Constitution; and that by the same power they can modify, amend, or abolish the Constitution. He is express in denying to the Government of the United States the character of a National Government. The States, he repeatedly declares, form a Federation, not a Nation. With respect to the 'reserved powers' mentioned in the Constitution, he gives the following explanation:—

'The powers thus designated are divided into two distinct classes: those delegated by the people of the several States to their separate State governments, and those which they still retain, not having delegated them to either government. Among them is included the high sovereign power by which they ordained and established both, and by which they can modify, change, or abolish them at pleasure. This, with others not delegated, are those which are reserved to the people of the several States respectively.' (*Calhoun*, p. 143-4.)

If this view of the Federal Pact be admitted, it is not difficult to arrive, by logical steps, at the legitimacy of secession.

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\* The probability of a dissolution of the American Union is discussed with great ability by M. de Tocqueville, in the chapter at the end of the second volume of his "*Démocratie en Amérique*," entitled, '*Quelles sont les chances de durée de l'Union Américaine. Quels dangers la menacent.*' (Tom. ii. p. 366.) M. de Tocqueville particularly dwells on the inferior strength of the Federal Government when it comes into conflict with a State Government; and he distinctly shows that whenever any portion of the United States should think it for their advantage to cease to belong to the Union, the Federal Government will be utterly unable to prevent them from asserting their independence. The doctrine of the perpetuity of the Union, except in as far as it is based on the consent and common interests of all the States, is a manifest absurdity.

General Jackson declared in 1832, that if he had caught Mr. Calhoun in Washington, he would have hanged him 'high as Haman,' but it is not the less certain that the principles of the Nullification party have survived.

'The mode in which the assent of the States was given to the Constitution of 1789 deserves particular attention, for throughout this discussion anything which encroached on the free and independent sovereignty of each State was regarded with the utmost suspicion. When the plan of the Constitution was framed, it was first laid before the Congress of the Confederacy; secondly, before a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof, for their assent and adoption; and finally, by a separate convention in each State, to represent their independent sovereignty. Refusal at any of these stages would have defeated the project, except that it was provided that the ratification of the conventions of nine States (out of thirteen) should be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution between the States so ratifying it. It was, in fact, extremely uncertain whether all would join: indeed, North Carolina and Rhode Island refused at first to ratify, and great doubt was entertained as to the final determination of Virginia. That great State, then the most powerful member of the young Confederacy, did at last ratify, but in the following remarkable terms:—"We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, now met in convention, having fully and freely discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, do, in the name and on the behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States, *may be resumed by them* whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them, and at their will: &c." So that the very act of ratification contained a direct assertion of the right of revocation and independence.' (*Calhoun*, p. 248.)

No writer on American constitutional law, with whom we are acquainted, has expressed the Federal theory with so much logic and precision as Mr. Calhoun, in this remarkable treatise; and as this is the very essence of the present dispute between the Southern Confederacy and the Cabinet of Washington, we shall quote another short passage which places it in the clearest light.

'The earliest and highest division of power resulted from, and is inseparably connected with, the primitive territorial division of the country itself—coeval with its settlement into separate and distinct communities; and which, though dependent at first on the parent country, became, by a successful resistance to its encroachments on their chartered rights, independent and sovereign States. In them generally—or to express it more precisely, in the people composing them, regarded as independent and sovereign communities, the ultimate power of the whole system resided, and from them

the whole system emanated. Their first act was, to ordain and establish their respective separate constitutions and governments,—each by itself, and for itself,—without concert or agreement with others; and their next, after the failure of the Confederacy was to ordain and establish the constitution and government of the United States, in the same way in every respect, as has been shown; except that it was done by concert and agreement with each other. That this high, this supreme power, has never been either delegated to, or vested in, the separate governments of the States, or the Federal Government, and that it is, therefore, one of the powers declared, by the tenth article of amendments, to be reserved to the people of the respective States; and that, of course, it still resides with them, will hardly be questioned. It must reside somewhere. No one will assert that it is extinguished. But according to the fundamental principles of our system, sovereignty resides in the people, and not in the government; and if in them, it must be in them as the people of the several States; for politically speaking, there is no other known to the system. It not only resides in them, but resides in its plenitude, unexhausted and unimpaired. If proof be required, it will be found in the fact,—which cannot be controverted, so far as the United States are concerned,—that the people of the several States, acting in the same capacity and in the same way, in which they ordained and established the federal constitution, can, by their concurrent and united voice, change or abolish it, and establish another in its place; or dissolve the Union, and resolve themselves into separate and disconnected States. A power which can rightfully do all this, must exist in full plenitude, unexhausted and unimpaired; for no higher act of sovereignty can be conceived. (Calhoun, p. 273.)

No one disputes that it would be competent to the people of the United States, 'by their concurrent and united voice,' to alter, amend, or even abolish their Constitution; and indeed that Constitution contains an express provision for the amendment of it by the will of three-fourths of the whole Union. This argument, however, does not materially help the claim of the minority to break up the Union by withdrawing from the compact; and Mr. Calhoun himself added that the exercise of such a power must be based on sufficient grounds, such, for example, as a manifest attempt on the part of the Confederation to crush or override its weaker members. In the present case,

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\* The distinction between a supreme Federal State and a system of Confederate States has been discussed, with his usual acuteness, by the late Professor Austin in his 'Province of Jurisprudence Determined,' (p. 259.) of which most valuable work a second edition has just appeared. Mr. Austin's view of the American Constitution was that the sovereignty resided in the States' Governments *as forming one aggregate body*, and not merely in the individual States as forming a *collective whole*. See also 'The Federalist,' No. 39.

and at the present time, no such grounds exist. Nothing whatever has been done, attempted, or even threatened, by the Executive or by Congress against the interests of the South. The mere election of Mr. Lincoln — the mere accession of the Republican party to office — are the sole grounds on which the seceding States at present attempt to justify their conduct. Here, then, their case utterly breaks down. They have acted upon a mere apprehension of some evil or injustice supposed to be impending over them, but which even their own political adversaries repudiate and deny. As therefore their avowed motives are clearly insufficient to explain and justify such a proceeding, we must look to other motives which are not avowed.

Such having been the causes of the late secessionary movement in the United States, we have next to consider what its probable course will be, so far as our present indications enable us to judge.

The seven States which have formally seceded from the Union, extend in a continuous line along the coast of the Atlantic and of the Gulf of Mexico, from South Carolina in the East to Texas in the West, for 25 degrees of longitude. They form the extreme southern zone of the old Union, and they are all Slave States. Their population, free and slave, according to the last census, stands thus: —

State.	Free Population. 1860.	Slave Population. 1860.	Total.
South Carolina	- 308,186	407,185	715,371
Georgia	- 615,336	467,471	1,082,807
Florida	- 81,885	64,839	146,694
Alabama	- 520,444	435,463	955,907
Mississippi	- 407,051	479,607	886,658
Louisiana	- 354,245	312,186	666,431
Texas	- 415,799	184,956	600,755
Total	- 2,702,946	2,351,677	5,054,623

In two of these States, viz. South Carolina and Mississippi, the slave population exceeds the free population. In the other five, the free population is the more numerous. The total population of the new confederacy of seven States, including both freemen and slaves, is somewhat greater than that of the kingdoms of Belgium or of Bavaria. The population of the Free and Slave States of the entire Union, as it existed before the late secession, according to the census of 1860, was as follows: —

Free States and territories	-	-	-	-	19,046,173
Slave States, free population	-	-	-	-	8,062,470
„ „ slave „	-	-	-	-	3,999,853
Total population of Slave States	-	-	-	-	12,062,323

With respect to the Slave States which are not included in the Southern Confederacy, and which still adhere to the North, their population, free and slave, stands thus: —

Free population	-	-	-	-	5,359,524
Slave „	-	-	-	-	1,648,176
Total	-	-	-	-	7,007,700

The entire population of the Slave States which have not seceded exceeds therefore the entire population of the States which have seceded. Their free population is in still greater excess. But the slave population of the seceding States is considerably greater than the slave population of the non-seceding Slave States.

The leaders of the Southern secession have hitherto shown no disposition to recede. They were evidently prepared for action; they declared themselves as soon as the result of the presidential election was known; they have since marched forwards with an unfaltering pace; they have used no conciliatory language, but in their declarations have parodied, with respect to the old Union, the language of the Union itself with respect to the mother country. They have formed a Southern Confederacy on the model of the former Union; have elected a President and Vice-president; have organised a federal administration: and have despatched Commissioners to Europe to obtain the recognition of foreign governments. All the leading men in the seceding States are irrevocably and openly committed to secession. In this state of things, it is scarcely possible to find any common ground on which negotiators could meet. The seceders are now masters of their own confederacy, and can direct its policy with an exclusive regard to the interests of the slave-owning class. They will not consent to return to the old Union, and resume their alliance with the Free States, except upon terms which the victorious Republican party of the North must repudiate with disdain. Nothing can satisfy the South short of slavery being a completely neutral question for purposes of joint action and federal legislation. The elaborate compromise recently projected by the 'Peace Congress' at Washington, and voted by the delegates of nine against eight States, four States not voting,

has led to no practical result. The main principle of this compromise is to prohibit slavery in the territories to the north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ ; but to permit the admission of a State into the Union, with or without slavery, as its constitution may provide. The first of these conditions renders the second nearly nugatory. If emigrants are not allowed to carry slaves north of the defined parallel, it is not likely that the constitution of any new State north of this line will sanction slavery. To the former of these conditions, however qualified or compensated, the Southern States, in their present attitude, can never assent. They will insist that, so far as the territories and federal legislation are concerned, slavery shall be subject to no disqualification.

It is true that the Northern States have never claimed to interfere with slavery in any existing State. But by claiming to prohibit slavery in the territories, they interfere with slavery in potential States; and if every new State added to the Union is a Free State, the balance of power between the existing Free States and Slave States must be changed. Such, moreover, is the immediate and inevitable effect of a secession, however partial. Supposing the two parties to be equally balanced in the Senate of the United States before the secession, it is manifest that the withdrawal of seven States from one side, gives an irresistible majority to the other. This is one of the reasons which will induce all the States retaining slavery to secede: and those which do not secede to abandon slavery.

It must be confessed likewise that the alacrity which Congress has recently shown in increasing the protectionism of the federal tariff, for the profit of the Northern and to the detriment of the Southern States, evinces a selfish and unconciliatory spirit in the now dominant party, calculated to extinguish any desire of reunion which may still be lurking in the Gulf States.

If the seceding States are not likely to be brought back by negotiation, can they be brought back by coercion? Now if these States were dependent provinces, like the Indian dominions of England, or even if they were an integral part of a nation, such as the province of La Vendée in France, they might be reduced by force to their former obedience. But a war of the North against the States of the New Confederacy would have for its object their re-incorporation, on a footing of equality, with the old Union. War carried on for such a purpose defeats its own end. The North would fight for superiority and mastery over the South. But as soon as it had conquered, it would surrender the fruits of its victory, and put the South in a position in which the process of secession might be immediately repeated.

Coercion of the Seceding States in order to bring them back to the Union, would resemble the effects of vivisection as described by Pope:—

‘Like following life through creatures you dissect,  
You lose it in the moment you detect.’

It is true that the Swiss Sonderbund was a secession of seven Cantons, and that these seven Cantons were virtually compelled by the majority of the Cantons to resume their former place in the Union. But Switzerland, even in its entirety, is a small country; it is surrounded by powerful neighbours; and the seven Cantons of the Sonderbund were not large enough to form an independent State. The utmost that they could hope to do was to extort concessions from the majority, and then to return.

The future course of events now seems to turn principally upon the decision which will be made by the midland, or as they are called the Border States, viz.: Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Missouri. In Delaware the slave population is nearly extinct; in Maryland it is insignificant in amount. These two small States will naturally follow the North. But the five great intermediate States have divided interests in consequence of the preponderance of the free over the slave element in their population:—

State.	Free population. 1860.	Slave population. 1860.
Virginia -	1,097,373	495,826
Kentucky -	920,077	225,400
North Carolina -	679,965	328,377
Tennessee -	859,528	287,112
Missouri -	1,085,595	115,619
Total	4,642,538	1,452,334

Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri lie entirely north of the compromise line of 36° 30' north latitude. Their position and climate correspond with those of Spain, Italy, and Greece, and therefore their physical circumstances do not exclude the field labour of whites. But Virginia is a slave-exporting State, and breeds slaves for the Southern market. This market will continue open, if she joins the Southern Confederacy. If she refuses, the South may succeed in interdicting the internal slave-trade with States not belonging to their Union, and may attempt to re-establish the African slave-trade. This attempt, indeed, would be perilous in its consequences; it might lead to war; and its success would be uncertain. Whatever the ulti-

mate decision of Virginia may be, her large population will give her great weight in the counsels of the other four border States. The position of Missouri, which is that of a promontory running into free territory, will render it difficult to prevent the escape of her slaves, if that territory becomes a foreign State. Her slave population is, moreover, scarcely a ninth part of her free population. These are circumstances which ought to incline the State of Missouri to remain attached to the North.

There is a further complication of interests which is sure to make itself felt, when the disintegration of the Union has advanced to a further point. The Mississippi runs from north to south, and all the States adjoining it have an interest in the freedom of its navigation, which is commanded by New Orleans at its mouth. Now Louisiana cultivates sugar rather than cotton, and her interest is to maintain a free intercourse with the States of the North. This state of things seems to indicate the possibility of a Western Confederacy, in addition to the Northern and Southern Unions; and in fact when once the process of separation has begun, there is a difficulty in assigning a limit to it, or in determining the new centres round which the wandering stars of the Union may cluster.

If the Southern States have irrevocably resolved to secede; if neither the threat of war, nor the prospect of concessions on the part of the North, nor commercial interest, nor financial distress will bring them back; then it is earnestly to be hoped that the North will not resort to the policy of coercion; but that negotiations will be opened for an amicable separation. The disposal of the garrisons and military stores in the small federal forts of the South could be easily arranged. The most important difficulty attending this gigantic dissolution of partnership would be the claims upon the unappropriated waste lands to the West. We have no wish to promote the interference of foreign States in the present critical position of the American Union; we have seen with the utmost satisfaction the abstinence both of France and England from any act which could be construed into support of either contending party. Nevertheless, we think that if the Southern Confederacy finally detaches itself from the Union, and acquires a position of independence, and if hostilities between the North and South are averted, the arbitration of a friendly Government might be usefully called in, for the purpose of settling those questions upon which the old and new unions could not come to a voluntary agreement.

It must be acknowledged, that if the existing Federal Compact be annihilated, the relations of the several States, con-



sidered in their separate and sovereign capacity, are of so complicated a nature that it can hardly be supposed that they will easily be brought to an amicable adjustment. 'If these States,' said Alexander Hamilton, in the sixth number of the 'Federalist,' 'should be wholly disunited, or only united in partial confederacies, a man must be far gone in Utopian speculations who can seriously doubt that the subdivisions into which they might be thrown would have frequent and violent contests with each other.' And he proceeded to point out, with the correct discernment of his political genius, some of the causes which would give rise to these differences. He observed, first, that as there is still a vast tract of unsettled territory within the boundaries of the United States, great part of which belonged to the several States before the Union, a dismemberment of the Confederacy would revive their separate claims, and the territory now regarded as the common property of the Union would again revert to its former owners. We know in our day, though Hamilton did not foresee it, that the vehemence of these territorial claims would be greatly aggravated by the question of the introduction or exclusion of slavery into the new districts.

Again, he pointed out that 'the competitions of commerce would be another fruitful source of contention. Each State, or separate confederacy, would pursue a system of commercial polity peculiar to itself,' — a prediction which has already been fulfilled at the very outset, by the restrictive tariff of the Northern States, and the free-trade measures of the South. On this point Hamilton added, with great emphasis and acuteness, 'We should be ready to denominate injuries those things which were in reality the justifiable acts of independent sovereignties consulting a distinct interest.'

'The public debt of the Union would be a further cause of collision in the separate States or Confederacies,' unless, indeed, that were met, on one side at least, by the summary expedient of repudiation, a thing not dreamed of by the authors of the 'Federalist.' Indeed, they considered laws in violation of 'private contracts,' as another of the just causes of war. To these arguments might be added considerations derived from the insecurity of slave property upon a long inland frontier, and from the insecurity of the public revenue when a long inland frontier invites the operation of the smuggler.

From the causes above mentioned, Hamilton, argued that if the Union were dissolved, war must ensue, and war accompanied with much greater distresses than it commonly is in those countries where regular military establishments have long

obtained. In America the scene would be wholly reversed. There is no provision for carrying on extensive strategical operations; there are no fortifications to resist them. The populous States would, with little difficulty, overrun their less populous neighbours. Conquests would be as easy to be made, as difficult to be repaired. War therefore would be desultory and predatory. Plunder and devastation ever march in the train of irregulars. The calamities of individuals would make the principal figure in the events which would characterise such military exploits.\*

These are not our words. They are the words of that great statesman who lent language to Washington himself; and though written seventy-three years ago, they appear to us perfectly applicable to the present conjuncture of affairs. The most powerful argument in favour of the maintenance of the Union is undoubtedly to be drawn from the calamities which may arise from the dissolution of it; but it is perhaps too much to expect that the people of America, not having had the power to prevent the secession, will have sufficient wisdom to avert its consequences.

The great obstacle to all permanent accommodation between the Northern and Southern States, is that the Union can only be maintained, and that new grounds of difference can only be avoided, by observing a perfect neutrality on the subject of slavery, and by permitting the Southern States to extend this institution as widely as they are able, without any legal or practical discouragement. Now in this country there will be an universal desire that the Northern States should not adopt any policy which will compel them to acquiesce in the establishment or continuance of slavery in countries where white labour for agricultural purposes is practicable; in other words, a policy which would surrender any of the unoccupied territory. All experience and all argument go to prove, that where white labour can be effectively applied, it is more profitable than the labour of negro slaves.

Now the Missouri Compromise line of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  is exactly coincident with the South of Europe. It nearly passes through Cadiz, Cape Passaro, the southern point of Sicily, and Cape Matapan, the southern point of Greece. It runs north of Cashmere, and leaves the Himalayas to the south. The isothermal lines fall rather than rise in America; and hence all the slave territory north of this line may safely be assumed as fitted for white labour. But even much of the country south of this

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\* 'Federalist,' No. viii. p. 35.

line is not of a heat intolerable to the labourer of European race. No part of the Southern States is within the Tropics. The Tropic of Cancer nearly touches the north of Cuba. Mr. Olmsted has, in his last volume, collected much elaborate statistical information, for the purpose of showing that negro slavery is an economical error in the Southern States, and that cotton could be cultivated in them more profitably by free white labour than by black slave labour. If this conclusion could be satisfactorily established, it would doubtless do more for the repression and extinction of slavery than any arguments founded on motives of humanity alone.\*

It must, however, be confessed that the English or Anglo-Saxon race, as, with its characteristic energy, it spreads over the surface of the earth, is only able to form a homogeneous and thriving community in temperate regions. It has cast its roots into the earth, and has expanded with native vigour, in the northern regions of America, and in the southern parts of Australia. But in the hot countries, where the European cannot endure field-work, it is less successful. Where the Anglo-Saxon cannot, on account of the hot climate, himself colonise the country and cultivate the soil, he is forced to avail himself

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\* The supposed failure of the emancipation of the negroes in the British colonies, and the alleged ruin of their cultivation, undoubtedly tend to confirm the planters of the South in their resolution of adhering firmly to the institution of slavery. Now it cannot be denied that the expectations of those who predicted that the free negroes would form an industrious working class of moral and orderly habits, have been falsified; but it is an error to suppose that the sugar cultivation of the British West India Islands has been destroyed by emancipation. The decline of Jamaica has been considerable, but the produce of the other islands has increased since the period immediately preceding the change: and the produce of Mauritius, where the labour of coolies has been available, has undergone a large increase. The following table exhibits the comparative quantities of the sugar-produced.

	Average of Six Years preceding Apprenticeship. Cwts. of Sugar.	1859. Cwts. of Sugar.
British West Indian sugar colonies, excluding Jamaica - - - -	2,536,582	2,698,779
Jamaica - - - - -	1,362,798	428,926
British West Indian sugar colonies including Jamaica - - - -	3,899,380	3,127,705
Mauritius - - - - -	471,200	1,165,399
The whole of the British sugar colonies - - - - -	4,370,580	4,297,104

of the labour of an inferior race. Three forms of this experiment are now in course of trial, and we cannot say that any one of them exhibits satisfactory results. One is the negro slavery of the Southern United States; another is the free labour of negroes in the British West India Islands; the third is the system of British India, by which the ownership and cultivation of the soil remain in the hands of the natives, and the entire governing power is vested in Englishmen temporarily resident in the country.

The Missouri Compromise seems to be an attempt to draw a line between the country where whites can work in the fields and where they cannot. We feel satisfied that this line is drawn too high; at all events, no good reason can exist why negro slavery should exist, as at present, to the north of this line. But in proceeding southwards a climate must soon be reached where the Anglo-Saxon cannot endure field labour, and from this line the main practical difficulty of the policy of the Northern abolitionists begins.

We do not observe in Mr. Olmsted's volumes, or in other writings of a similar nature, any attempt to explain the policy which they would recommend in a region too hot for white labour. Would they repeat the English measure of emancipation, or would they acquiesce in negro slavery? It is important that their views on this part of the question should be clearly stated, because the Southern States must meditate extension to the south of Texas, and the Federal Government, if the United States are to retain or recover their cohesion, must be prepared to deal with the questions which will inevitably grow out of the incorporation of a country within the tropics.

In addition to the grounds of dissension between the North and South above enunciated, we ought to bear in mind the difference between the democracy of a free State and the democracy of a slave State. If slavery is to be regarded as a fixed and permanent institution, and the slave class bears a large numerical proportion to the freemen, the democracy resembles the democracy of the ancients. It is a community composed of a privileged class of freemen, but in which all the working classes are slaves. It is essentially unlike the democracy of the Northern States of the American Union, in which the working classes form the majority of the voters.

The address of President Lincoln upon his taking the oath of office, augurs ill for the maintenance of the Union. The policy which it announces is neither that of conciliation nor that of defiance. He shuts his eyes to the fact of secession; and he declares his intention of enforcing the federal laws as if it did

not exist. Under the operation of this policy the Northern States must speedily drift into war, supposing it to be consistently followed. The best defence which can be made of the inaugural address is, that it does not mean what it says; that its object is to gain time, and that the Federal Executive intends to adopt no decisive step, until the intentions of the Border States are declared.

It would, in our opinion, be premature to speculate upon the probable effects of the movement now in progress. All speculations must rest on a merely conjectural basis, until it is known whether there will be war between the Northern States and the Southern Confederacy; and whether the Border States will adhere to the Free North, or join the Slave States of the South. We will only, in conclusion, express our opinion that the maintenance of the Union, in perpetuity, is impossible; and that the entire region from Niagara to Mexico, and from New York to California, cannot continue for many years to be governed by a single Federal Government. Dissolution, to some extent, and at no distant period, is, we believe, the "manifest destiny" of the United States. Whenever this dissolution takes place, international law will regulate the relations of the new confederacies upon recognised principles; there will be, as in the Old World, conflicts of interests, mutual compromises, and a balance of power, but the superior energy, intelligence, and wealth of the Northern States must, as we think, cause their influence to preponderate, and thus will enable them to occupy all the temperate regions of North America, with a population cultivating the soil by means of free labour, and renouncing the institution of slavery. We cannot concur in the opinion of those who have expressed unmingled regret at the apparent dissolution of the Union. No doubt the comparative failure of so great an experiment in the progress of mankind is to be deplored; but we are by no means convinced that the progress of mankind and of rational liberty will not be advanced by this separation. Nothing could be more deplorable than a sanguinary contest between the two great sections of the American people; but we are convinced, for numerous reasons, that such a contest, if it take place at all, will be of very short duration. On the other hand, we confidently believe that the perils of the commonwealth will call a higher class of men to the direction of public affairs, and that the fate of millions of freemen will not long be abandoned to the corrupt and incapable agencies which have lately governed it. The severance of the Union into two parts will beget in both of them a stronger sense of the obligations of international law, and a greater

respect for their neighbours. The South will follow the broad path of commercial freedom uncontrolled by Northern protectionists. The North will follow the higher track of social freedom unfettered by Southern slaveholders. To each division of the Union a vast career of power, prosperity, and usefulness remains open; and if they have the good sense to abstain from mutual aggression, each of these two great countries may continue to play as important a part in the affairs of the world as when they were united by the slender tie of a Federal Compact.

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